TENDENCIES OF CHANGE
IN THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF IRAN AFTER 1979
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ABDOLKARIM SOROUS'S IDEAS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Derya GÖÇER AKDER
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet OKYAYUZ
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Mehmet YETİŞ   (Ankara Uni., SBKY)   _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet OKYAYUZ   (METU, ADM)   _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kürşad ERTUĞRUL   (METU, ADM)   _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Ece Adviye IŞIK

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

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Işık, Ece Adviye

M.S., Middle East Studies Program

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The aim of this thesis is to shed light to the tendencies of change in the intellectual life of Iran with the framework of the development of a religious intellectual's ideas, who is Abdolkarim Soroush. In this context, the focal point of this thesis will be to show that Iran has a potential to be changed and to be freed from her Islamic nature in time. In other words, this thesis aims to show that Iran has the tendency to change its Islamic character. For this purpose, this thesis also provides a comparison of the intellectual life in Iran before and after the revolution. Abdolkarim Soroush was a 'unique' intellectual' in Iranian context since he had the ability to construct his ideas different from the other intellectual figures in Iran. This thesis benefited from the ideas of some important intellectuals of Iran; who were Ali Shari'ati, Mehdi Bazargan, and Murtaza Mutahhari, and also it benefited from the concept of 'Liberal Islam', which had defined by Abdolkarim Soroush to show his uniqueness. Under the shed light of all of these points, throughout this thesis, the development of the political thought in Iran (starting

from the beginning of 20th century) will be evaluated within the framework of Abdolkarim Soroush's political and religious ideas. Related to this target, also the effect of the Islamic revolution in the development of Abdolkarim Soroush's ideas will be explained.

ÖZ

ABDÜLKERİM SURUŞ'UN DÜŞÜNCELERİNİN ÇERÇEVESİNDE
1979 SONRASI İRAN ENTELEKTÜEL HAYATINDA
DEĞİŞİME OLAN EĞİLİMLER

Işık, Ece Adviye

Yüksek Lisans, Orta Doğu Araştırmaları

Tez Yöneticisi   : Doç. Dr. Mehmet OKYAYUZ

Temmuz 2017, 159 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı, İran'ın entelektüel hayatının değişime eğilimli olduğunu dini bir entelektüel olan Abdülkerim Suruş'un düşünceleri çerçevesinde göstermektir. Bu bağlamda, tezin odak noktası İran'ın İslami özünden zamanla özgürleşebilecek potansiyele sahip olduğunu göstermektir. Başka bir deyişle, bu tez İran'ın, İslami yapısının değişim eğiliminde olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu amaçla, tez İran da devrim öncesi ve sonrası entelektüel hayatın karşılaşmasını da içermektedir. Abdülkerim Suruş'un, İran bağlamında, entelektüel olarak 'özel' olmasının sebebi kendisinden önceki entelektüellerden farklı bir düşünce geliştirme yetisine sahip olmasıdır. Abdülkerim Suruş'un özel bir entelektüel olduğunu gösterebilmek için bu tez İran'ın önemli entelektüellerinin, örneğin Ali Şeriati, Mehdi Bazergan ve Murtaza Mutahhari'nindüşüncelerinden ve ayrıca Abdülkerim Suruş'un 'Liberal

İslam' düşüncesinden yararlanmaktadır. Tüm bu noktaların ışığında, bu tez boyunca, yirminci yüzyılın başından itibaren İran'da siyasi düşünce hayatının gelişimi, Abdülkerim Suruş'un düşünceleri çerçevesinde değerlendirilecektir. Bu hedefe bağlı olarak, İslam devriminin Abdülkerim Suruş'un düşüncelerinin gelişimi üzerindeki etkisi açıklanacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İran, Abdülkerim Suruş, dini entelektüalizm, İslam devrimi, İran siyasi düşünce tarihi

To my grandmother, mother and Ayda SUNAL...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIOC   Anglo-Iranian Oil Company

WWI   World War One

WWII   World War Two

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An intellectual is a person who involves in a serious study and thought, and s/he relates himself to the ability to think rationally[1]. The term intellectual started to be used by Iranian educated elites, who were living both in Iran and abroad in late 19th and early 20th century as a result of the Constitutional revolution. Defining the Iranian intellectuals had always been a difficult task both because of their differences and because of the continuities of traditions and modernity. By and large, the problems that intellectuals had faced in Iran, were seen as a consequence of Islamic revolution; however, the issue was problematic long before then the Islamic revolution. Therefore, degrading and linking the issue only to Islamic revolution would end up with a false inference. Besides this, it could not be denied that things had changed with the revolution. Consequently, it could be stated that the intellectual life in Iran was problematic since the beginning of 20th century; yet, the importance of the problem had crystallized with the Islamic revolution.

The problem had crystallized with the Islamic revolution as a result of the rise of religious intellectuals as the important figures of the society. Therefore, to see the continuities and changes, it is important to study Iran starting from the beginning of 20th century. Otherwise, all of the arguments that I make would fall into deficiency. Within this scope, it is worth studying Iran from a perspective that is combining pre- and post-revolutionary era.

Another important factor that led me to study Iran starting from the beginning of 20th century was because of its cultural heritage. Iran was composed of three cultures; national culture, Western culture and Islamic culture. To establish a social and cultural deem, these three cultures should always be studied

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[1]This definition of intellectual is taken from Merriam-Webster dictionary, which is an encyclopedia Britannica company since 1828.

together. Iranians were Iranians before the introduction of Islam in their territories, which constructed their national culture (the Persian culture), and they did not deny or forget their Persian cultural heritage when they met with Western and Islamic cultures. The most salient future of the national culture, which shows that Iranians still protect their cultural heritage, is the Persian language. The Iranians met with Western culture when they were living the heyday's of Islam, yet, since they were much more powerful than the West, they have eliminated the effect of that culture. However, the Constitutional revolution had caused the introduction of Western culture again and had impinged on Iranians. The Iranians met with scientific and technological elements of the Western culture during the Constitutional Revolution, and this affected their ideas and lifestyles for quite a long time. Marxism was one of the outcomes of the Western culture, and it penetrated the minds of Iranians starting from the 1940s. Nevertheless, the Islamic culture was the one, which had the cardinal importance on Iranians. Most of the intellectuals believed that the Islamic culture was the authentic culture of Iran and advocated to return the faces of Iranians to this culture for salvation. Shari'ati and Al-e Ahmad would be the most salient examples of this argument.

The changing regime of Iran through Islamic revolution ended up with a rising interest in academic circles to the issue. In this regard, a great deal of books, articles, and reports about the oppressive acts and Islamic nature of the state of Iran had written. However, their arguments were constructed by the contrasts rather than resemblances. The core idea of this thesis is, to show the conflict of resemblances in Iran, in addition to the conflicts of contrasts after the Islamic revolution. In other words, this thesis aims to show that the conflict did not only take place in religious and secular circles but, had also taken place within the religious circles after the Islamic revolution.

When it comes to the factors that motivated me to write this thesis; it was initially the lack of suchlike study in the field as it had been indicated above. During the research of the topic, I realized that there were only a few studies that were conducted previously and these studies were not covering the intellectual life both before and after the Islamic revolution. In addition to this factor, I did

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not come across such like study on Abdolkarim Soroush as I did in this thesis. Therefore, calling the topic as uncharted treasury would not be an exaggeration. Secondly, before starting to my research, I believed that Iran had entered into a suppressive period with the Islamic revolution. However, when I started my research, I found out that Iran was being ruled by suppressive governments long before the Islamic revolution. In this regard, this thesis was conducted to show that not only the period of Islamic revolution but also the previous period was constructed by a suppressive political power. At this juncture, the question of, whether the development of ideas at intellectual circles in Iran was suppressed and shaped by the state ideology or was it much easier and smoother to develop any idea after the Islamic revolution, occurs. Thirdly, and lastly, after the Islamic revolution, as I am going to explain in the fourth chapter, different ideas arose within the Islamic wing. In this regard, religious intellectuals were the leading actors of these different ideas since they had censured the acts of the state, which was an unusual circumstance because both state and religious intellectuals were in favor of religious outputs. Abdolkarim Soroush was one of these religious intellectuals and also censured the acts of the state harshly. However, in response to his attitude, the state did not impose any direct sanction against him. In other words, I believe that state could not impose any sanction since Soroush had built his ideas and also his criticisms within the realm of Islam. In this respect, I aimed to show that when an opposition arose within the religious circle, the suppressive act of state is becoming impotent.

At this point, I am aware of the fact that the subject is immense to deal within a narrow-scoped thesis. So, I limited myself with the intellectual development of a single religious intellectual figure, who is Abdolkarim Soroush. The reason why I chose, specifically Abdolkarim Soroush is because of his unique characteristic in Iranian history as an intellectual. Abdolkarim Soroush, to find the missing part of the whole, constructed his thought in the light of the findings of previous religious revivalists of the last century, starting from Sayyid Jamaluddin Afghani and continuing with Iqbal and Shari'ati. Therefore, Soroush's argument differs from the contemporary Muslim thinkers. The

contemporary Muslim thinkers agreed that Islam needs to be reconstructed by the needs of the society, which was modern. The revivalists aimed to preserve the permanent nature of religion, and they wanted to turn Islam into a compatible ideology with the changing character of the modern world. As John L. Esposito defines; 'Islamic revivalism in its broadest sense, refers to a renewal of Islam in Muslim personal and public life'[2]. Another definition for the Islamic revivalism could be as following; 'Islamic revival refers to the support for an increased influence of Islamic values on the modern world as a response to Western and secular trends'[3].

Starting from this point of view, Islamic revivalists aimed to integrate religion into politics. By doing this, they aimed to prepare a self-supporting ideology for state and society through rejecting the Western patterns and also through building an authentic identity. In this regard, Islamic revivalism adopts the idea to avoid any Western influence from both the society and state. Islamic revivalists argued that the problem of the Islamic societies had happened as a result of the imitation of the West and to cure this illness, they aimed to turn their faces to Islam. The rise of the idea of *Gharbzadegi*, which will be defined in the upcoming pages, was one of the examples for Islamic revivalism in Iran. Through rejecting the Western ideas, Islamic revivalists automatically criticized the Marxist socialism and liberal nationalism. They argued that these Western ideas were antithetical to Islam's nature and therefore, they did not bring political and economic salvation to the Islamic countries.

Soroush respected and studied these ideas, yet, felt that he should go beyond all of them. Anyhow, ultimately he advocated that the attempt of reconstructing Islam is meaningless and imaginary. According to him, not the religion but people's understanding of religion should be changed. In this regard, I call Abdolkarim Soroush as unique in the Iranian context since he is blurring

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[2]Esposito, John L. (1985). Islamic Revivalism. The Muslim World Today, Occasional Paper No.3, *American Institute for Islamic Affairs*. pp.1

[3]www.oxfordislamic studies.com/article/opr/t253/e9 [Last access: 14/07/2017]

the lines through criticizing the former Islamic revivalist's ideas. In other words, he is always going beyond the defined concepts and always trying to bring novelty.

Core aim to write such a thesis is, to show that, the internal criticism to the Islamic revivalism in Iran is coming into existence through Abdolkarim Soroush. Different from the previous examples, Abdolkarim Soroush studied both religious and modern sciences together, and this made him unique. He does not reject Western ideas as the former revivalist did and he tries to combine Western ideas with Islam. As I mentioned above, the Islamic revivalists remained at bay to Western ideas like Marxism, yet, Soroush preferred to study and understand it. And also I should add that he did not reject Marxism at all, but preferred to criticize the previous Iranian intellectuals for explaining everything through only Marx and his ideas. In this regard, the aim of this thesis is to show that the Iranian political and social life has the tendency to be developed differently from other Islamic countries. As I explained above, the previous Islamic revivalists in the Islamic world did not demolish the established boundaries as Soroush did. So, this makes me argue that Iran is a different country from all the other Islamic countries and as a result, Iran has the tendency and chance to purify her political and social life from Islam and Islamic revivalism.

Therefore, the second chapter had designed to define Abdolkarim Soroush as an intellectual. First of all, to understand how did Abdolkarim Soroush's intellectual ideas develop, we should be aware of his life. For this purpose, in the first section of this chapter, I am going to give a biographical narrative of his early life and educational background. Then, I am going to continue with the question of how Abdolkarim Soroush developed his ideas on religion.

In this regard, this section is designed in two parts, Shi'i Islam and Sufism. The main reason for giving the definition of Shi'i Islam was resulted by the need of framing this thesis with Abdolkarim Soroush's intellectual development, yet, also it could not be denied that Shi'i Islam is serving for a

more important purpose in this thesis. All the intellectuals and thinkers in this thesis that are going to be mentioned in the upcoming pages were shaped their ideas by Shi'i Islam. Because of all of these reasons, I argue that defining Shi'i Islam in the first pages of this thesis would help readers to understand how all the ideas of intellectuals, starting from the beginning of the 20ᵗʰ century, was developed.

Secondly, I included the part of Sufism in this thesis because of its undeniable effect on Soroush's ideas. Soroush started to be interested in Sufism when he was studying at the university in Iran, and he also used Sufism in his studies after his education in the United Kingdom. Although there were many figures adopted Sufism while they were constructing their ideas, Soroush was influenced very much from Al-Ghazali, Rumi, and Mulla Sadra. Soroush was affected by Al-Ghazali's ideas for a while, which he defined this influence as witnessing the fear-based mysticism. As it is going to be stated in many parts of this thesis, Rumi has non-negligible importance on Soroush's intellectual life. If one would study the writings and interviews of Soroush, then s/he would realize that almost all of these are including either the name of Rumi or his ideas. And finally, Soroush was affected by Mulla Sadra's notion of 'substantial motion' since this helped him to develop his criticisms towards the Marxist idea. Therefore, after defining Sufism, I reserved three different sections to these figures in which I could widely touch on their ideas.

Besides his ideas on religion, this chapter continues with Soroush's political thoughts that were explained in the context of religion and Marx. As to me, it was important to study Soroush's political ideas by referring to religion since he was an important actor of the Islamic revolution. Besides this; studying how Soroush defines the relationship between religion and politics, is also important for my argument, which I am trying to show how the state is becoming insufficient when a criticism rises from inside. Since Soroush argues that Islam could not be an ideology, he is falling foul with the ideology of Islamic revolution. Even Soroush is contradicting with the ideology of Islamic revolution; he is not being insulted by the government directly. As it is going to

be explained in this chapter, he is being threatened by some groups. However, the government did not have any direct sanctions on him. Therefore, this situation is helping me to show the readers that my argument is right.

The third chapter of this thesis is designed to give a historical and political background of the intellectual life of pre-revolutionary Iran, starting from the beginning of 20th century. In this sense, this chapter is designed both as a narrative of the important historical and political events that led to the significant shifts in the living styles of Iranians; and as a summary of important intellectuals and figures of the time. In this context, the first five sections of this chapter are going to provide an overall assessment of every significant political period starting from Constitutional Revolution. The last part of this chapter is constructed by defining three important intellectuals in Iran; Shari'ati, Bazargan, and Mutahhari.It continues with Ayatollah Khomeini, the most prominent figure of the revolution and one of the most important actors in Soroush's intellectual life. However, we should not forget that Khomeini was not only important for Soroush, but also he was the one, who had shaped the political and social outlook of the society after the Islamic revolution. Therefore, without having knowledge of Khomeini, we could not evaluate the effect of the Islamic revolution in the intellectual life as a whole and as a case study of Abdolkarim Soroush.

After explaining Khomeini's life and his thoughts, the fourth chapter is designed to give a political background of the Islamic revolution on the society and its effect on the daily lives of people.After giving a historical and political narrative of the Islamic republic, this chapter aims to provide information about the changing patterns of the culture. For this reason, I reserved a section to Cultural Revolution since it had an important effect both on Iranian society and on Abdolkarim Soroush. The steps, which were taken as a part of Cultural Revolution, shaped the atmosphere of both the everyday life of people and the intellectual life in the post-revolutionary era. Coming to the end of my thesis, I wanted to sum up my findings, and therefore, I finished this chapter with an assessment of the intellectual life in Iran after the revolution, which helped me to reach my conclusion part.

As a conclusion, the subjects that I had explained above were to show that Iran has the tendency to change the existing intellectual ideas (the political thought) in time. As I will discuss in the upcoming pages, Iranian intellectuals, from time to time, has the tendency and the chance to have the power to change the existing ideas in the society.

CHAPTER II

ABDOLKARIM SOROUSH

2.1. Life of Abdolkarim Soroush

Abdolkarim Soroush was born in Tehran, 1945[4] into a Muslim and middle-class family. In reality, his name is Hossein Dabbagh, yet, he uses Abdolkarim Soroush as his pen name. Soroush was named as Hossein both because he was born on the eve of Ashura, which was being celebrated to remember Hossein's baptism of blood and because "Soroush"[5]means divine muse.

Soroush completed his high school education at the Alawi Secondary School in Tehran, which was a private school established by religious merchants and teachers. The teachers at the school were well educated in modern sciences, but also they had a religious conscience too. In this sense, the school aimed educating people well in both modern and religious sciences; which could be shown as the reason for the influence of both sciences on Soroush's later studies and writings.

"Mr.Reza Rouzbeh, who was the principal of Alawi high school, had a physics master degree. Also, he had studied Eastern philosophy and knew religious cannon law, fiq'h, and usul. So he was well versed both in traditional seminary studies and in modern science"[6]. Soroush started to study with Rouzbeh when he was sixteen years old. At the beginning of their study, Soroush finds it difficult to accept Rouzbeh's arguments, but with time through their debates, he

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[4] Soroush was born on Ashura in 1366 on the lunar calendar.

[5] "Soroush" was one of the words that Hafez used frequently.

[6]Sadri, Mahmoud and Ahmad Sadri. (2000). *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush.*Oxford University Press. pp.4

turned into an open-minded child. All of these examples help us to understand why Soroush was differing from the previous religious revivalists. As it had been indicated in the introduction part, the previous religious revivalists were focused on the religious science whereas Soroush aimed at combining religious science with modern science as a consequence of his education of modern sciences and traditional Islam.

Before graduating from high school, Soroush joined two societies, and as with his words, both of these experiences left a significant mark on his religious and intellectual ideas. Initially, he joined to *Anjoman-e Hojatiyyeh*, which was a religious group that aims to understand and deals with the historical origins and texts of the Baha'i faith. Soroush discovered the existence of this society through his religious science teacher Dr. Parvizi, who was a member of the society and a teacher at the Alawi high school. The society helped Soroush to learn the history of Bahaism, yet, when he started to attend Mr. Halabi's[7] classes at school, Soroush realized that he was not interested in Bahaism but in Qur'an and Islam. Halabi's classes also helped Soroush to understand that, *Anjoman-e Hojatiyyeh* was lacking a scientific basis and therefore, his involvement with the society did not last long. Secondly, he joined to Qur'anic Moslems[8], which was aiming to interpret Qur'an.

After finishing his secondary education, Soroush entered into the pharmacology department of Tehran University. It should be added that while he was studying at the university, Soroush contacted to Ayatollah Mutahhari, to take private Islamic philosophy instructions and as a result of his request, he was directed to one of Mutahhari's graduate student, who was the Imam of one of the mosques in Tehran. In other words, Soroush continued to take religious philosophy lessons while he was studying pharmacology at the university. On the other side, Soroush also studied Persian literature, poetry, philosophy, and mysticism during his university years. In this context, Jalal al-Din 'Abd al-

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[7]Halabi was the one, who criticizes the most important book of Bahais (Iqan) in his classes.

[8]This group was effective in some neighbourhoods in Tehran.

Rahman al-Rumi played a vital role in his studies, which will be mentioned in the upcoming section.

When he had his university degree, Soroush worked both in military service and in the Public Health Department at the same time for two years. After working in pharmacology field, Soroush went to England in 1973 and studied analytical chemistry at the graduate level in University of London. Afterward, he decided to have a Ph.D. degree in philosophy of science, and for this purpose, he enrolled at the Chelsea College of Science and Technology (which is named as King's College London now). His radical decisions, leaving chemistry away and studying philosophy of science resulted with his private lessons in Iran, which were gathered around the subject of 'philosophy of Islamic metaphysics.' Studying philosophy of science helped Soroush to get familiar with Kant, Hume and Karl Popper[9]. However, Soroush did not complete his Ph.D. degree. Because of the Islamic revolution, he needed to return to Iran in 1979.

After returning to Iran, he started to give private lessons about Islamic jurisprudence at the Teacher's Training College (Daneshkade-ye Tarbiyat-e Mu'allim). Shortly after starting to work, he was appointed as the director of the college's Islamic Cultural Group and this prepared a base for his appointment to the Advisory Council of the Cultural Revolution. In 1980, the universities were closed as a result of the resistance by Muslim student movements. In 1981, Ayatollah Khomeini had appointed Soroush to the Committee of the Cultural Revolution as one of the seven members. The Committee of the Cultural Revolution was responsible for revising the curriculum of higher education and to reopen the universities, which will be explained profoundly in the fourth chapter of this thesis. In 1983, the universities were opened again, and Soroush resigned from the committee because of the different visions. Later, Soroush was criticized for his position on the committee, which was about the closure of the

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[9]When Soroush went to Britain, he started to read a book called *A Hundred Years of Philosophy* in 1973 both to develop his English and his knowledge of philosophy. Through this book, he met with Popper (especially his idea of falsifiability). Meeting Popper helped him to be accepted to Chelsea College since at the interview Soroush used Popper and his idea of falsifiability as an example to philosophers of science.

universities. However, Soroush argued that the role of the committee was to reopen the universities and he had been resigned after opening universities as a result of the different point of views. After his involvement in advisory council, Soroush became a teacher and a researcher at Tehran University. In 1983, he joined the Institute of Cultural Research and Studies. His research interests were shaped by the philosophy of social sciences, philosophy of the empirical sciences and the mysticism of Rumi.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Soroush focused on the changing interpretations of religious texts, and this has resulted with opposition towards him. The magazine *Kayhan-i Farhangi*, which was the main source for Soroush to spread his ideas, was closed. By the way, Soroush lost his pre-eminent position at *Kayhan-i Farhangi* after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini. In 1991; *Kiyan,* a monthly journal, became the primary source of Soroush's critique. His writings helped him to be popular among a mixed audience[10]. His audience both admired and attacked him because of his criticisms on Iranian clergy and the impossibility of any final interpretation of Islam. In 1992, Soroush established the Institute Research Faculty of History and Philosophy of Science, which was the first in Iran. He also gave lectures in the Imam Sadiq Mosque from 1988 to 1994. He stopped giving lectures at this mosque as a result of impoundment of the officials. In this regard, Soroush was the initial scholar who had introduced the philosophy of modern science to Iran. He is also a member of the Iranian Academy of Sciences and linked to *Kalam-i Jadid*, which is a theological trend that aims to respond modernity and secularism by Muslim scholars.

Soroush defines his post-revolutionary intellectual experience as intense as in pre-revolutionary times. At this period, he started to teach Winch, Habermas, Hayek, Motahhari, Ibn Khaldun, Hegel, Herder, and Marx in the context of the philosophy of history. Also with revolution, he started focusing more on Ali Shari'ati. He especially focused on Shari'ati's 'Ideologization of Islam.' On the other hand, Soroush was under the effect of al- Ghazali's ideas for a while and Rumi helped him to get free from al-Ghazali.

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[10]His mixed audience was composed of the Islamic Republic's elites.

As a concluding mark, it could be stated that Abdolkarim Soroush was a popular figure in Iranian society since the Islamic revolution because he was involved in the Cultural Revolution process. However, he became popular abroad after the 1990s. The reason for his rising popularity had happened through his interviews in Europe and United States. So; besides the Iranian people, he also made himself to be known by others through press starting from the 1990s. By these speeches and interviews, Soroush was selected as one of the top 100 thinkers in the world in 2009 by Foreign Policy. He was rewarded with 'Erasmus Prize' in 2004 and 'Muslim Democrat of the Year Award' in 2011.Also, Abdolkarim Soroush was selected as one of the most influential people in the world in 2005 by The Lives and Ideas of the World's Most Influential People-TIME.

2.2. Development of Abdolkarim Soroush's Religious Ideas

As it is going to be explained in the upcoming section of Soroush's political ideas, he rejected the idea of using Islam as an ideology, which was unearthed by the previous religious revivalists. According to him, the problem with the previous religious revivalists has resulted because religion and religious knowledge were not distinguished from each other. The de facto argument about religious texts is that they are divine and fixed. However, Soroush justifies that religious text is the religion itself, and it is unchangeable; but people's knowledge of religious texts is being shaped by the interpretations and these interpretations would evaluate and change within time. In his own words "The text does not speak to you, but you have to make it speak by asking questions of it."[11] Therefore; to understand, one should have the knowledge of Islam because it is a series of interpretations of Islam, whereas Christianity is a series of

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[11]He made this statement in an interview, which is called as 'A Conversation with Abdolkarim Soroush British Muslim Weekly'. For the full text of the interview, visit: http://drsoroush.com/en/a-conversation-with-abdolkarim-soroush-british-muslim-weekly/

interpretations of Christianity. So, if a person reads Qur'an and hadith without knowing the history of Islam, then s/he would not understand them at all.

In this context, this section is designed first to give a historical background of the Islamic thought and then, a general consideration of the influence of these thoughts on Abdolkarim Soroush's religious ideas. As Abdolkarim Soroush stated, the history of Islam was constructed by different interpretations through the establishment of different schools of thoughts, and therefore, one could not argue that religion and history has a single credential and an unchangeable essence of. If one argues that there is an unchanging essence for religion and a single identity, then, he would fall into a mistake. In this regard, I am aware that I could not mention all of the schools of thoughts in the Islamic context. For this reason, I will limit myself with Abdolkarim Soroush's thoughts and therefore, I will mention only Shi'i Islam and Sufism.

2.2.1. Shi'i Islam

Muslims cannot give a theological answer for the difference between Sunni and Shi'i Islam, and therefore, people use the historical background of disagreement to explain the difference between the two sects. The split between Sunni and Shi'i Muslims has happened in the early days of the Islam, and both sides see themselves as the original. Sunni's and Shi'is have different beliefs of faith and devotion, and they distinctively answer what it means to be a Muslim. According to Soroush, the split between Shi'i and Sunni Islam happened accidentally and could be defined as a historical accident. In this regard, Soroush argued that the leaders of these sects should be aware of the accidental nature of the split and should avoid any clash by their followers.

The history of the split between Sunni and Shi'i Muslims go back to the 632 C.E. When Prophet Muhammad died, there arose a conflict about the successor of him. Sunni Muslims pursued the path of tribal tradition, which was enabling a council of elders to choose a head of the society. That was a council

responsible for choosing the most respected elder as the head of the society[12]. According to Sunni's, the new leader of the Islamic community was needed to be a model of the Muslims, who can direct the religious and political affairs of the society virtuously. To serve this purpose, Sunni's selected Abu Bakr, who was the father-in-law and close friend of the prophet. After Abu Bakr; Umar, Uthman, and Ali succeeded the leadership of the Islamic society.

The rules of these four men were seen as the golden age, but in reality, it was not the case because an Iranian prisoner killed Umar and the Muslim soldiers killed Uthman. The Muslim community was shocked by these murders because of the people, who were killed, were successors of the prophet. Rebellions had happened during the period of Ali and people blamed him for causing the death of previous successors. Consequently, a civil war broke down between the caliph's army and Muawiya's forces, which ended with the assassination of Ali and rise of Muawiya to power. Muawiya was not a religious figure; however, he was guaranteeing the peace in the society, and that's why Sunni's accepted him as the leader of the society[13].

While these developments were taking place in the scene of history, there was a group of Muslims on the other side. They were not sharing the same view with Sunni's and were propounding that all of the problems, including the assassination of Ali and the rise of the Muawiya as the new power. That was because of the wrong choice of the people as the successor of the prophet. In this regard, this group argued that Muslims made a mistake while selecting the new leader of the society and this was ended up with chaos. They added that the choice of the first three rightly guided caliphs was wrong because they were chosen by a council of ordinary people. According to this group, God would choose the successor of the prophet from his family rather than choosing him from the ordinary people in the society and therefore, Ali, who was the cousin of

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[12]In our context, they were required to choose the most respected person as the head of the Islamic community.

[13]Sunni's followed the idea of accepting a regime's legitimacy as long as it provides order and protects Islam.

the prophet, should be the first leader of the Islamic community after the death of Prophet.

Shi'is did not only disagree about the successor with Sunni's, but they also did not agree with the role of the successor. Sunni's admitted that the successor of the prophet was only succeeding the leader role but not the spiritual connection to the God. On the other side, Shi'is believed that the people need to be guided. They were being guided by the prophet and after him; they need to be guided with a holy and divine figure. Shi'is admitted that without the right leadership, Islam would lose its real meaning.

Another important distinction came into the picture while these two sects were defining the successor of the Prophet. In this regard, Sunni's defined the successor of the prophet as Caliphate, whereas Shi'is defined it as Imam. For Sunni's the role of the Caliph is temporal, and on the other hand, every Imam selects his successor during his lifetime. It should be added that the spiritual characteristics of Imam's, which is being given by the predecessor, is the reason for his authority. Both the Sunni and Shi'i Muslims agreed that the role of the prophethood is to reveal the laws of God and to guide the society towards God. Sunni's believe that these two functions had ended with the death of the prophet; whereas Shi'is believes the guidance of men and the explanation of the laws of God continued through Imams. Generally, in Shi'ite tradition, the prophetic revelation (wahiy) came to Mohammad and other prophets of God (Jesus and Moses) but did not come to Imams. However, some Shi'i scholars argue that a lesser form of these wahiy's came to Imams. The Qur'an does not define the Imams, but Shi'i tradition believes that when there occurs an ambiguity to understand the book than the Imams should interpret it and guide people.

Shi'is advocate that the Imams should have several features as a necessity. Firstly, the Imamate would pass from one Imam to another through a divine reputation. In other words, next Imam should be known and selected by the present Imam. Secondly, an Imam should be without a sin. Since the Imams are the representatives of God, if they are sinful, God would lose its divine power. Finally, an Imam should be the perfect man in the society in religious

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terms. The reason for this is because of the Imam's sinless character and also if another one were better than the Imam, then God would prefer to select him as the forthcoming.

2.2.2. Sufism

Defining Sufism is an important and also a problematic issue, because, even in Arabic there is not a single definition of this word. The Islamic texts also show that there is not an agreement about the meaning of the word Sufism. The authors, who positively used the term, linked it to the ideas and concepts that are aiming to achieve the human perfection of the Prophet Muhammad's model. The other authors negatively used the term linked it with more deformed Islamic teachings.

"Sufism is the path within Islam that leads from the particular to the Universal, from multiplicity to Unity, from form to the supra-formal Essence" (Nasr 1999, 32). Sufism is a path that had been established by God for the spiritual realization of the human being, and it is a combination of the spiritual realization and the features of Islam. Sufism helps people to remember who they are in reality in which the man is being awakened from his dream of ordinary life and open his heart and soul for the freedom. Through opening the mind of men, Sufism reveals the fundemental needs rather than the needs that had been shaped by the outer world. According to the Sufi belief, a man should focus his attention on his soul to find what he is seeking and what he is in need of from life. The message of Sufism is timeless because it voices the truth. Sharia is the basis for all genuine practices of Sufism, and a man should have faith to understand the doctrine.

To understand the relation of Islam and Sufism, one should use the example of the famous saying of the prophet that is the 'Hadith of Gabriel.' One day the prophet and his companions were sitting together when a man came next to them and asked some questions to Muhammad and went away. When he went away, Muhammad told his companions that he was the angel Gabriel, who had

come to teach them the religion. The conversation between Muhammad and angel Gabriel was indicating three basic dimensions of the Islam; modesty (Islam), faith (Iman), and doing the beautiful (Ihsan)[14].

Scholars of Islam limited the definition of doing the beautiful to Sharia. Only Sufi's took the issue as its major concern and dealt with it. Islam is a religion that tells about the right and wrong behaviors through the rule of sharia. Proprietarily, Islam teaches people how to transform themselves to live harmoniously in the world. Both the activity and understanding should focus on to bring human goodness and perfection. Sufism is a latent spiritual existence that revives the authentic expressions of Islam. In this regard, we can state that Islam as a religion is supporting the idea of unity (*tawhid*), and Sufism is the way in which the idea of unity could be achieved.

Sufism arose as a reaction to both the corrupted behaviors of Abbasids and Umavids; and also as a reaction to Ash'arites and Mu'tazilites interpretation of God. Ash'arites interpreted God as a tyrannical power and Mu'tazilites interpreted God as a just ruler; which resulted in the rise of the idea of love in Sufism. Through this idea, Sufism aimed loving God rather than fear from Him. According to Sufis, the reason is a selfish thing whereas love is responsible for reducing and even killing the selfish attitudes.

In this regard, Sufi teaching asserted that God is near us in an imaginary way and all things in the world are similar to God. On the contrary, the authorities of *Kalam*[15] argued that God is distant to us and God could not be compared with anything in the world. Not with others but also within Sufism, different perspectives about the place of God in everyday life emerged. Many of the Sufis claimed that God is one and there is a possibility to unite with him. Others argued that God is superior and the duties of the people, who believe in

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[14]For more information, see: Chittick, William C. (2000).*"Sufism: A Short Introduction"*. Oneworld Publications.

[15]The word *kalam* is being derived from the word of God. It means speculative theology in Islam, which is referring to Qur'an. For more information, visit: https://www.britannica.com/topic/kalam-Islam.

God, is to distinguish the good and bad in the world. The Sufi theory differs from the other theories because it uses imaginary perception rather than rational investigation. Also, the approach of the Sufis to *mari'fa* (*Irfan*) differs both from *kalam* and philosophy. According to Sufis, *mari'fa* is the pure knowledge that is coming from the heart of God and self; whereas for *kalam* and philosophy, the prerequisite for the knowledge is the ilm. Sufis relied on both the Qur'an and Hadith but also believed that the only way to understand what had been written is to purify one's heart.

When it comes to the relation between Shi'ism and Sufism, both of them are fundamental aspects of Islam. The relationship between Shi'ism and Sufism is difficult to explain since they do not represent the same dimension of Islam. In reality, Sunni's do not differ from Shi'is, and also Sufi's do not differ from both of them since they obtained their authority from both Prophet and the Islamic divine inspiration. But if Shi'ism linked to Islamic esotericism, then Sufism could not be separated from it. Shi'ism holds both the sharia and the spiritual way (tariqah) as its characteristics whereas Sufism only possesses the spiritual way. However, both Shi'i belief and Sufi's argue that the prophet of Islam had the power for spiritual guidance that had been transferred to Fatima and Ali in addition to the power of prophethood, but the implementation of both beliefs had been changed. The most visible example of the relationship of Sufism and Shi'ism is the ceremony of the cloak wear in Sufism. In the Sufi tradition, the cloak wearing ceremony happens to give the rights of the master to his student whereas in Shi'ism Imam's select the next Imam with the same ceremony. The Sufi cloak is the symbol of the transmission of the spiritual power and Imam's through this selection transfer their spiritual power to the next generation. Another similarity between Shi'ism and Sufism is the 'Muhammadan light.' According to Shi'i tradition, there is a light that is passing from one prophet to another and from the prophet to Imams. This light is a protection for the prophet and Imams from the sinful acts of the human beings. A man could be linked to this light through attaching himself to Imam. In Sufism, to attach oneself to the

spiritual knowledge one should link itself to a chain. This chain is showing the continuity of spiritual existence.

While uttering his thoughts about intellectuals, Soroush advocates that mysticism is a minority theory rather than majority, that's why to rule the majority one should shift from the theory of mysticism to another one. Also, mysticism is constructed from a master and follower relationship, and this relationship should not happen for the majority. There should be an equality between the ruler and the ruled for the majority. Soroush also added that mysticism did not have a systematic theory and that's why it preferred to learn to live with contradictions rather than confronting them. The most important criticism of the Sufi tradition, which was raised by Soroush[16], was its little emphasis on the value of life. In this context, I feel the need to explain the ideas of three important mystic figures. Since Soroush always mentions these three names in his interviews, they should have an important effect on him while he was constructing his religious ideas.

2.2.2.1. Al-Ghazali

Al-Ghazali could be named as the most influential intellectual of his time. His birth date is not certain[17] but the historians argue that he was born in 1058 or 1059 in Tabaran- Tus (in modern terms it is in Iran). He was educated in his hometown Tus and afterwards, he went to Nishapur to study with the Ash'arite theologican Al-Juwayni, who was a teacher at the Nizamiyya Madrasa. This study helped him to get closer to both Sultan Malikshah and his grand vizier Nizam al-Mulk. For this reason, in 1091, Nizam al-Mulk appointed al-Ghazali to

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[16]Soroush raised a criticism like this because he believed that one of the aspects of being an intellectual was to make criticism of one's own society.

[17]Al-Ghazali, in his autobiography, indicated that he was born in 1055 or 1056.

the Nizamiyya Madrasa. Al-Ghazali had begun to change his ideas through the influence of Sufism in 1093 and as a result, he resigned from Nizamiyya Madrasa in 1095[18].

Al-Ghazali was an influential teacher in 11th and 12th centuries. His effect continued after his death and found a voice in the Muslim intellectual circles until 20th century. The book *Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tahafut al-falasifa),* which was written by Al-Ghazali, could be named as one of the important sources for the development of the medieval philosophy because through this book Al-Ghazali challenged the Neo-Platonic view that had been developed by Aristotle and had been dominating the intellectual life from middle ages to 14th century. This challenge could be named as nominalism[19].

In his book *Incoherence*, Al-Ghazali criticized twenty teachings of the falasifa[20] in which sixteen of them belonged to metaphysics and four of them belonged to natural sciences. In this sense, it could be argued that the book *Incoherence of the Philosophers* is a refusal of the philosophical movement. By this refusal, he did not mean rejection in which he did not find out the falsity of all of the philosophical teachings but he showed the inability of falasifa's to prove the elements of their teachings. Al-Ghazali used the technique of *kalam* in which he studied the consequences of opponent's position. The aim of Al-Ghazali by criticizing the metaphysics and the natural sciences of falasifa is to enable the epistemological claims of revelation. And he also aimed to show that although these philosophical teachings are true, they are not showing any proofs

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[18]He argued that a true religious life would not be achieved by serving sultans, viziers and caliphs.

[19]"Nominalism is the position that abstract concepts and universals have no independent existence on their own" Griffel, Frank. (2009). *Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology.* Oxford University Press. pp.97.

[20]Al-Ghazali's knowledge of the falasifa comes from his study in Nizamiyya Madrasa.

of it. Al-Ghazali did not only open a room for epistemological claims for revelation but also accused the Aristotelian philosophy in Islam[21].

2.2.2.2. Jalaluddin Rumi

As it was indicated above, Abdolkarim Soroush stayed under the effect of Al-Ghazali for a while and then, with Rumi he had been freed from Al-Ghazali's influence. In this regard, at the beginning of his book *Tale of the Masters of Knowledge*[22], Soroush mouthed that he would prefer Rumi's God rather than Al-Ghazali's God since Rumi was the one who offered love in religion and he was the one who constructed religion by love[23].

Rumi's ideas have inspired people for more than seven hundred years and his book *Mathnawi* has been accepted as the Qur'an of Persia. At the beginning of the Islamic revolution, Soroush gave lectures of *Mathanawi* on TV, yet, it discontinued broadcasting as a result of the criticisms of people. Rumi is the one who developed an entire system of thought in which idea of humanism has affected the humankind before the Western discovery of it. For example, according to Hegel, Rumi is one of the greatest thinker and poet in the world. Not only West but also East has admired him. For example, when Sa 'di[24] had been asked to select a poem, he selected the poem of Rumi.

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[21] He firstly made this accusation at the last page of his book *Incoherence* and scholars call this as fatwa.

[22] The original name of the book is *Qissah-yi Arbab-i Marifat* (Tehran: Muassassah-yi farhangi-yi sirat, 1994).

[23] The reason for specifically mentioning this had resulted because other religions were not constructed by love.

[24] Sa'di is a Persian poet, who had lived in Shiraz for all of his life. Soroush met with the poems of Sa'di when he was a child. His father had interested in the poems of Sa'di and he was reading them to Soroush. So, Soroush learned poem with Sa'di. In this regard, Soroush started to be affected from Rumi when he was a child through the poems of Sa'di.

While studying Rumi, we should not forget that the knowledge of Rumi's life comes from three sources; the writings of his own and his intimate friends, the hagiographies of the people who came after his death and the studies of the modern researchers.The most reliable of these sources came from the writings of himself and his friends, and the studies of the modern researchers because the hagiographies are in the tendency of exaggeration.

Rumi was born on September 30, 1207, and died on 17 December 1273. Many people believe that he was born in Khorasan, Iran but during his researches, Franklin D. Lewis[25] understood that Rumi was born in Wakhsh, which was in the borders of Tajikistan. Since the Anatolian people did not hear the existence of that town, they made people believe that Rumi was born in Khorasan. Rumi lived in the 13th century all of his life, so to understand him, one should be aware of the historical setting at his lifetime.

The 13th century of West was equal to the 7th century in Islam. In the first centuries of Islam, it had expanded its power to almost all of the world, yet, when it came to the 13th century, Islam started to lose its power in which it was not holding most of the territories in the world anymore. The reason why Islam had flourished in its first years would be seen as the effect of Qur'an and holy Prophet, and because of the West's failure by their dogmatic views on religion. The first centuries of Islam played an important role in the rise of the period of Renaissance in West in the 13th century, while the Islamic community moved away from the realities of the Qur'an and Prophet to dogmas. All of these caused the decline of the power of Islam in the world in the 13th century, and this power decline ended up with two threats to Islam; there was the Crusaders from the West on one side, and on the other side, there was Mongols from the East. However, it should be marked that the Islamic community was familiar with the Crusades since it started in 1096 with the aim of taking back the holy lands from the hands of Islam. The Crusaders had affected the thoughts of Rumi indirectly, whereas the Mongols affected his ideas directly.

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[25] For further reading, see: Lewis, Franklin D. (2007). *Rumi- Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teachings, and Poetry of Jalal al-Din Rumi*. OneWorld Publications. Second Edition.

The father of Jalal al-Din Rumi, Baha al-Din and his family left the city of Balkh in 1219 as a result of the invasion of the Mongols. They traveled without an aim for several years, and at the end, they settled in Konia. In Konia, Baha al-Din was granted an occupation in the high religious office and named as the king of the religious scholars. In 1231, Baha al-Din died, and Jalal al-Din succeeded his position. However, Jalal al-Din did not proclaim himself as the successor of his father for ten years. After the study of ten years, he declared himself as the successor of his father regarding his religious function. Rumi came to Konia when he was twenty-two years old, and he lived in Konia for the rest of his life except for his travels. Konia could be marked as the birth of the spiritual being of the Rumi since he met Shams here, and it followed all the ups and downs of his life. After the Islamic forces had conquered Konia, the name of the town had been changed into Konya (it was a Greek name, before the Islamic effect). The geographical place of Konya allowed it to contain different cultures together[26].

Rumi's grandfather, Husain Ibn Ahmad Khatibi, lived in a high social status and was named as the man of great spiritual prestige. Rumi's father, Baha-ud-din Muhammad Ibn al-Hussain al-Khatibi al-Baqri, inherited this fame from his father[27]. When Rumi was born in 1207, his father was fifty-nine years old and was living the highest years of his popularity and prestige. He lived for twenty-four years after Rumi was born and taught the family legacy to his son. Thus, the effect of his father is too much on Rumi that's why one should be aware of the general ideas of him. Imam Ghazali's ideas influenced Rumi's father in his studies that's why Rumi was also influenced from Ghazali[28]. Also, their

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[26]It was situated at the trade route that is starting from Syria, Iraq and Iran and therefore people, who were bringing goods, were bringing new cultures to Konya.

[27]He was inherited both the material and spiritual wealth of his father.

[28]The methods of Al-Ghazali and Rumi were differing from each other but they were making same conclusions.

educational background was similar to each other. The syllabuses in their schools were identical, and they were raised in a Sufi atmosphere.

Rumi met with the Sufi tradition when he was a child, and he had become a learner of the spiritual masters as a result of his father's influence on him. Rumi's father hired a tutor for him, who was a close friend of Baha-ud-din and whose name was Burhan-ud-din, before the migration from Balkh. So, when Rumi was twenty-four years old, he completed the required curriculum of his age and also learned much more than his peers with his tutor. After the death of Baha-ud-din, Burhan-ud-din devoted nine years to teach Rumi the spiritual knowledge of his father. In this context, Rumi is seen as the most important defender of Sufism; yet, there are not any obvious statements about Sufism in his writings *Mathnawi* and *Fihi ma fihi.*

One of the most important incidents of Rumi's life happened when he met with Shams in Konya. Rumi met Shams-i Tabriz when he was thirty-seven years old, and this event changed all of his life. When one looks at the literature, s/he will come across with many different stories about the meeting of Shams and Rumi. However, only the statement, which is saying that the meeting happened suddenly and unexpectedly, is true. The meeting saturated the soul of both, and it was really important and influential for Rumi's upcoming years since he started his actual work, which lives on in posterity, after this meeting. The meeting of these two important thinkers has another significant importance for this thesis since Soroush was affected by Rumi's discourse of 'churned over and under.' Rumi learned this idea of 'churned over and under' from Qur'an through its emphasis on revolt and revival, which means to turn oneself upside down and create a new being. And Rumi experienced this when he had met with Shams-e Tabriz. Therefore, according to Soroush, Rumi's love was different from all of the other lovers since it was experienced the upside down and Shams-e Tabriz granted him with religious love. At this point, it should be stated that Rumi did not write any poems before he met Shams because, in the words of Rumi, love was equal to find one's immortal self irresistibly and sublimely. In other words, everything was mortal, but only the love and the lover were eternal. Rumi did not

link himself to any nation or any religion, but he linked himself to the religion of love.

In this regard, Rumi's life could be divided into three periods. The first period starts from his birth in 1207 and ends with the death of his tutor Burhan-ud-din in 1240. These years could be named as the years of preparation and as the 'intellectual activities' of Rumi in which he tried to reach the knowledge. The second period starts with the appearance of Shams in his life and lasts until the death of his follower Salah-ud-din Zarkob in 1261. This period could be named as the 'lyrical activity' since Rumi devoted his life to music, lyrical poetry and dance in these years. This second period had been dominated by 'love' whereas the first one was dominated by 'intellect.' The last period starts in 1261 with his writing *Mathnawi* and ends with his death in 1273.

Rumi's thought could not be understood by looking at him as a systematic thinker because he did not have a systematic philosophy. The systematic thinkers would have a set of ideas and aim at expressing these ideas through words to people. A thinker would aim only to express the words and not to communicate with people, but Rumi had a different approach than these thinkers. Rumi preferred to express his experiences rather than expressing his ideas. In this sense, experiences could not follow a logical sequence, but only thoughts would follow a logical sequence.

The experiences of Rumi were shaped with religion, but they were not presenting the experiences of a taboo or law in religion. The experiences were linked to love that has a connection with the universe. To understand the philosophy of Rumi, one should understand his definition of the nature of self. The Reality had been divided into two in Rumi's philosophy; the realm of spirit and the realm of nature. The soul belongs to spirit whereas material objects belong to nature. Abdollkarim Soroush also mentioned this issue in one of his speeches 'Forms and Formlessness'[29]. At his speech, he gave importance to Rumi's understanding of religiosity that shaped his life and his ideas. Rumi argued that the world we are living in is constructed from forms whereas God is

[29]For the full text of the speech, visit: http://drsoroush.com/en/boundlessness-and-enclosures/

formless. So, when someone is talking about the relation between this world and God, actually he is talking about the relationship between forms and formlessness. Rumi also advocated that people should not give their focus for a long time on philosophy and theology because, with time, things would get fluid and people would make false interpretations. Forms were shaped out of formlessness; yet, humans could not prove this, they should only believe in it. Form means that a thing is defined properly. For example, a bird is defined as a bird; it could not be a cat. However, God is not defined properly, He is everything, and that's why He is formless according to Rumi.

2.2.2.3. Mulla Sadra

Mulla Sadra is a famous philosopher in Iran; consequently, his ideas are being taught in the traditional philosophy textbooks, and also his ideas are being a source of inspiration for spiritual spruce. Mulla Sadra's philosophical thinking in Islamic context lay bare, that's why he is an important thinker. He uses his philosophy, theology, religious sciences and mysticism knowledge while constructing his thought and because of this, he is bringing a new kind of thought into the literature. Mulla Sadra also has a good philosophy history background, which he uses in his writings before ending up with his ideas. Besides these, Mulla Sadra also introduced lots of new ideas and concepts into the literature like substantial movement (al-haraka al-jawharri), which was also used by Abdolkarim Soroush[30]. Sadra's thought did not only reflect his own, time but it also reflects today's world. When one reads him carefully, s/he will find out that he is talking about today's philosophical problems.

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[30]Soroush was influenced mostly by Mulla Sadra during he was studying in Iran. As a result, when he was in London, he published a book *Nahad-e na-aram-e jahan (The Restless Nature of the Universe)* in 1982 and made a philosophical approach on *tawhid* and *ma'ad* by using Mulla Sadra's idea of *harakat-i jawhari.* The importance of this book is, it had been read and approved by Ayatollah Mutahhari and Ayatollah Khomeini.

Mulla Sadra was born in Shiraz in 1571 or 1572. His family was a wealthy one, that's why he had the chance to reach the good education in his time. His father was a court employee of the Safavid dynasty that's why Sadra was raised in a scholar and political environment. However, he did not involve in any political position because according to him, a true philosopher should not get involved in any political action. His early education had shaped around the traditional Islamic one. He had learned the Arabic grammar, jurisprudence, the Qur'an and Prophet's tradition. In 1597, Shah Abbas moved the capital city to Isfahan and Sadra had the chance to study 'the rational sciences' as a result of living in these major learning centers. When he finished his study in Isfahan, he traveled to Kahak, a village that was near to Qom.

A conflict had started between two schools of thought in Safavid dynasty when Sadra started his career as a philosopher. The school of Usulis, who were the Shi'i scholars, gave priority to personal opinion and reason rather than giving priority to religious and legal issues. Here, they faced a harsh criticism by a scholar group called Akhbaris. Akhbaris were opposed to the idea of Shi'i Imams, the sayings of the Prophet and the philosophical and mystic interpretations of Qur'an. The conflict between these two schools came to its climax in the 17th century. Mulla Sadra did not mention any Akhbaris' name in his writings, but he had been criticized by this group of intellectuals. During the years in Kahak, Sadra developed his main arguments about the philosophy. However, there is not a wide source for the studies of Sadra in Kahak that's why one could not make definite claims about his years in there. After his studies in Kahak, he returned to Shiraz to work at Khan Madrasa that was built for him. At the years in Khan Madrasa, he wrote his major works and gave lessons to his students. It should not be forgotten that Mulla Sadra's school of thought was similar to Rumi's school of thought and that's why one can find similarities among their assumptions.

When it came to the 16th century, the three viewpoints of *Kalam*, Sufism as a doctrine and Aristotelian philosophy was developed in the Islamic school of thoughts. At that period, Islamic intellectuals were dealing with the issues

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A conflict had started between two schools of thought in Safavid dynasty when Sadra started his career as a philosopher. The school of Usulis, who were the Shi'i scholars, gave priority to personal opinion and reason rather than giving priority to religious and legal issues. Here, they faced a harsh criticism by a scholar group called Akhbaris. Akhbaris were opposed to the idea of Shi'i Imams, the sayings of the Prophet and the philosophical and mystic interpretations of Qur'an. The conflict between these two schools came to its climax in the 17th century. Mulla Sadra did not mention any Akhbaris' name in his writings, but he had been criticized by this group of intellectuals. During the years in Kahak, Sadra developed his main arguments about the philosophy. However, there is not a wide source for the studies of Sadra in Kahak that's why one could not make definite claims about his years in there. After his studies in Kahak, he returned to Shiraz to work at Khan Madrasa that was built for him. At the years in Khan Madrasa, he wrote his major works and gave lessons to his students. It should not be forgotten that Mulla Sadra's school of thought was similar to Rumi's school of thought and that's why one can find similarities among their assumptions.

When it came to the 16th century, the three viewpoints of *Kalam*, Sufism as a doctrine and Aristotelian philosophy was developed in the Islamic school of thoughts. At that period, Islamic intellectuals were dealing with the issues

concerned with the problems of existence and non-existence, unity and diversity, the relation between God and the human being, evil, happiness and the ultimate goal of human existence. When Mulla Sadra started his philosophical career, Shi'ism and Sufism were the dominant religious ideas in Safavid dynasty[31].

As it had been indicated in the first paragraph, Mulla Sadra introduced a new concept called as *substantial motion (harakat-i jawhari)* during his intellectual life. The base of the doctrine of substantial motion was constructed by the significant change and conversion of everything through *sarayan al-wujud (penetration of existence).* However, while studying Sadra's definition of change, we should not forget that it was different from Aristotle and Ibn Sina's definitions. Both of these thinkers accepted change in four conditions; whereas Sadra argued that change is a whole act of reality that is happening in the entire universe. According to Sadra, we could not think that changes happen accidentally because, for him, accidents would not happen alone. In other words, every change should be linked to a bigger change and in this sense; every change could be related to a substantial motion. So, starting from this point of view, we could argue that substantial motion is the main characteristic of things. Sadra defined and used substantial motion to show the transient origin of the world in which if a person assumes that everything in the universe is constantly changing, and then the world will be different from what it was before.

In this regard, it would be stated that Mulla Sadra did not aim any revolutionary act in his philosophy, but his idea of 'substantial motion' was used after the Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran by the intellectuals to explain the dynamics of social change. Not only intellectuals but also religious figures

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[31]The 14th century had been a vessel for the intertwinement of Shi'ism and Sufism. At this period, intellectuals of Persia, also Mulla Sadra, had been effected by four schools of thought; Aristotelian philosophy, which was represented by Ibn Sina and al-Farabi, the philosophy of al-Arabia and his students, the kalam debates of Sunnis and Shi'is, and the school of Illumination (*ishraq*). Mulla Sadra saw variety of the schools of thought as a chance rather than an obstacle. The Islamic philosophers dealt with different issues and found different solutions to the problems. According to Sadra, these solutions would be unified under a single ideology and that's why he developed the idea of a school called 'Transcendent Wisdom'.

studied the Mulla Sadra's ideas. For example, Ayatollah Khomeini studied the thought of Sadra and used Sadra's ideas in his work[32].

2.2.3. Assessment of Abdolkarim Soroush's Religious Thoughts

After introducing the important milestones and figures for Abdolkarim Soroush's intellectual development in regards to religion, we could now focus on how Soroush developed his ideas. According to Soroush, the religious knowledge is a series of interpretations by people, whereas religious texts are divine and fixed[33].

The definition of religious pluralism of Abdolkarim Soroush was constructed by theoretical assumptions, like salvation, rationality, rightly guided, and the spirit of religion. In this regard, Prophets could not be regarded as pluralists because they tried to convince people for a certain religion. And for this reason, people should leave their prophetic position while talking about the plurality of the religion. Soroush also added that every religion desires to be the single one in the world; only people, because they have the ability to look from outside, find plurality among them. Therefore, religious pluralism and pluralism could not be melting in the same pot since pluralism is affected by philosophy.

When it comes to truth, we should not forget that it is defined differently in religion and philosophy so, the word should be used carefully. For the purpose of this thesis, we would use the definition of Abdolkarim Soroush, which is being defined as the right path in the religious context. In other words, Islam shows the truth to Khomeini since it was the right path for him but for example, Christianity was showing the truth to Joe since it was the right path for him; which would bring an assumption that there is a plurality of truths among religions. In this regard, if a person believes that more than one religion would lead to truth, then

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[33] While making this argument, Soroush did not argue that every individual had the right to make interpretations as s/he wishes but wanted to make it clear that there is not an official interpretation of Qur'an and as a result there is going to be plurality of interpretations.

it would also lead to salvation. In this respect, Soroush advocates that pluralism mean bringing different arguments to an issue rather than bringing two contradictory arguments within an issue.

In addition to these, Soroush also gives his focus on the relation between religion and modernity. In this context, it should be admitted by the Islamic world that the entire world is living in a modern period. So, the ideas and beliefs of the Islamic people are also being constructed by modern elements, whereas modernity is a product of pluralism.

In this manner, according to Soroush, political Islam is a product of modernity. The reason for the rise of political Islam could be linked to the problem that Islamic countries are still facing, which is a fight between Islam and modernity. Actually not the concept of modernity as a whole but the ideas that flourish modernity are being a problem for Islamic countries and Islamic people. Islamic societies were shaped by people's duties in the old times, and modernity argues that there should be rights of people. For this reason, Muslims are contradicting with modernity. Soroush argues that ulama saved Islam from the crisis that it was facing but they had also closed the doors for critical thinking and because of this, they are having trouble to embrace modernity. Soroush finishes his words about this issue by arguing that religious intellectuals, who are modern, are the ones who will help the society to reach the modernity, yet, these religious intellectuals should be totally aware of what Islam and modernity mean.

Soroush deems that the question of modernity and religion was not developed very well in Iran. For this reason, initially, the intellectuals should construct a proper question and then, they could seek for an answer. Soroush defines modernity by using the period of Renaissance. For him, before Renaissance world was in its pre-modern age (and which he argues should be named as traditional times) and after Renaissance, the world started to live its modern times. By making this definition, Soroush concludes that a question could be constructed after defining these concepts and the questions should be constructed by asking the comparison between the old and the new one rather than directly asking the difference between the tradition and the modernity.

Soroush advocates that Islam is an identity and in modern world especially in West, a new identity came into existence, which is the national identity. And with the rise of this new identity, a clash occurred between two identities and this clash is continuing. In Soroush's words:

> I remember being in the United States when the US was sending troops to Iraq. There are Muslim Americans among US troops and the administration wanted to send some of them to Iraq too. The question arose: Can an American Muslim go to war with a Muslim country? This question only arises in the context of a conflict between national identity and religious identity[34].

Soroush continues his argument by saying that the duty of religious intellectuals is to focus on truths rather than identities regarding religion.

As an overall assessment, it could be stated that the religious revivalists of today faced with a bigger challenge when they are compared with their past examples. Human's life and beliefs had changed with time, and as a result, their understanding of religion had changed. There would not be a place for religious life in today's world because of the desire for change. As a result, ending up with a rapprochement between change and religious life is a challenging task for religious revivalists of today. According to Soroush, to be successful, one should be aware of the fact that religion and people's understanding of it, is different from each other. As a result, religion is always going to remain same but religious knowledge will change by time. According to Soroush, religious interpretation is linked to kalam (theology), usul (jurisprudence), and irfan. The reason why it is linked to Kalam is that our understanding of religion is being affected by theology (by the interpretations of previous periods). The reason why it is linked to usul is that our understanding finds out the necessary sciences for religious laws. Thirdly, our understanding is linked to irfan since we are defining shariah, haqiqah and tariqah. In parallel with this purpose, Soroush defines Rumi and Al-Ghazali as the religious revivalists of the past who were dedicated their

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[34]http://drsoroush.com/en/from-islam-as-an-identity-to-secular-politics/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

life to show the true religion to people, whereas he defines Sharʿiati, Khomeini, Iqbal and Mutahhari as the religious revivalists of today.

2.3. Development of Soroush's Political Thought

2.3.1. Religion and Politics

> Soroush defines ideology as a social and political instrument used to determine and direct public behaviour[35].

According to Soroush, ideology could be regarded as a guideline, which provides an obvious interpretation of the world for human beings. He adds that these interpretations should motivate people to come up with particular ideological ends, which could be regarded as a response to counter ideologies. In this respect, we could divide the world into two ideological poles in which on the one side, there is ideology itself and on the other, there are counter ideologies. To illustrate what Soroush was trying to say, we could use the example of Islamic ideology. Islamic ideology had composed from both a religious ideological interpretation and a counter ideology. In this context, Iranian revolution is a good example to show how Islamic ideology had constructed since the Islamic ideology had interpreted by the Iranian thinkers to mobilize people. And on the other hand, Pahlavi state had produced the counter ideology against this newly interpreted ideology.

Fundamentally, Soroush defended that Islam should not be used as an ideology because it is hindering the development of religious knowledge. While studying Soroush's ideas on Islam and its political premises, we should always

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[35]Esposito, John L. and John O. Voll. 2001.*Makers of Contemporary Islam.*Oxford University Press. pp.156.

remind ourselves about his religious ideas, which argued that religion is divine and unchangeable in its nature, but religious knowledge is a product of human beings, which results from their interpretations of the religious texts. In this regard, there is pluralism among the religious knowledge because of the different interpretations and therefore, the development of religious knowledge is important.

From this point of view, Soroush argued that governments would not be able to govern a society by using religious methods and in these circumstances, democracy is the only possible option for Islam[36]. Democracy is constructed initially by the plurality and then by human rights in the words of Soroush. For a long time, Muslim world talked about the duties of a human rather than the rights of him. However, modern world is chasing for freedom and human rights, and that's why it is opposing the ideas of Islam.

The term democracy was flourished in Greece, and by Western philosophers, that's why applying it to Islamic context was a difficult task since Islam had its philosophers and its tradition of religion. However, according to Soroush, today's world requests Islam to turn its face to West and adopt modern notions (like secularization) rather than staying in the traditional realm. And also democracy is a form of government that is compatible with different political cultures, which includes the Islamic culture too.

Abdolkarim Soroush defines democracy as the rule of the majority, which is linked to a collective reasoning[37] rather than religiosity. The link between the divine inspiration and reason has never been an easy task from the beginning and onwards. People did not want to name Prophet as a philosopher and the religious people, who argued that religion could be mixed with reason, were seen as betrayers of their religion. Some others, like Avicenna and Farabi, argued that

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[36]Because democracy is the one that does not use religion as an ideology and an obstacle for the growth of religious knowledge.

[37]Soroush's definition of collective reason constitutes from reason and faith.

reason and the divine inspiration could be in accordance with each other. However, the people did not reject the modern science and philosophy totally in the Islamic manner. The universities and seminaries both opened their doors to embrace and understand these modern terms in Iran. After the Cultural Revolution, only Marxism was left out of the curriculum since it was equal to materialism and non-religiosity in the eyes of the clergy. Today, religious intellectuals in Islamic world try to define the relationship between reason and divine inspiration. They are using the example of Christianity while interpreting Qur'an. According to religious intellectuals, there is not a single interpretation of the divine inspiration.

Modern science argues that God did not create the world, but it also does not deny the presence of God. By arguing that God was not the creator, modern science aims to show that the world would be explained without any reference to God. When it is compared to the past[38], today's political structure is shaped around the needs of human beings. In other words, today's governments do not rely on God or wait for any approval from divine inspiration. Soroush names these governments as modern liberal democratic governments and adds that to combine religion with democracy, society should be comprised of reason and divine inspiration. Soroush argues that two facts are important while explaining a government as democratic or not. Initially, to call a regime as democratic, it should be respected to human rights, and then, it should also be participating in the common argument and belief of the society.

For Soroush, secularism is the one that is concerned with human rights due to the age that we are living in, which is more concerned with rights rather than duties. However, the language of Islam was constructed by duties rather than rights. Through Sharia, Qur'an is giving orders, which are the duties of people. They request to pray and behave in ways God commands, and Qur'an says that when they step out of the commands of God, they will be responsible for the outcomes of it. The rights of the humans could be seen as the freedom of people.

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[38]In the past, people were waiting for the approval of God for their behaviors.

To illustrate the situation, we can give the example of the learning process. People had the right to learn, and nobody is allowed to interrupt this process.

Soroush defines freedom within the context of justice. "Freedom is a part of justice. Justice is the fulfillment of rights and freedom is one of those rights."[39] However, he continues by saying that the fulfillment of freedom is more important than the fulfillment of justice in the context of Iranian society. I should also add that although the Islamic revolution was in favor of freedom and constitutionalism as their main feature; the definition of freedom was limited when compared to Western one. At that period, Iranian intellectuals were fascinated by the Western notion of freedom. They advocated that the reason for the development in West had happened with the notions of freedom and liberalism. Every single intellectual, who was educated in France, was trying to voice his or her experiences of freedom and liberalism to Iranian society. On the other hand, Soroush brings forth justice rather than religion while questioning the legitimacy of a government. He advocates that if a just government exists, then religion would also be in it.

As per above, Soroush's ideas about the understanding of religion and politics within the framework of the modern world would be linked to the rise of Liberal Christianity, which is one of the modern Christian movements. Liberal Christianity responded the desires of freedom, which was a part of modernity and it became one of the most influential movements of the 19th and 20th century. The main argument of this movement was the approval of human reason as the part of the truth; rather than locating it into a traditional and biblical framework. Their assumption was that without thinking, traditions and Bible would not evoke anything. In this respect, Liberal Christianity could be named as the first example of Liberalism. At this point, we should remind ourselves about what Roy Mottahedeh, who is an Islamic-history professor at Harvard University, stated:

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[39]http://drsoroush.com/en/jameah-interview-with-dr-soroush/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

"Nobody studies modern liberal Islam without studying Soroush"[40] and concordantly, we should add that Soroush could be defined as the precursor of the Liberal Islam[41].

Liberalism is defined as 'a political philosophy based on belief in progress, the essential goodness of the human race, and the autonomy of the individual and standing for the protection of political and civil liberties'[42]. Liberalism is a product of Western culture and therefore, it is comprised of two futures of this culture. West was kneaded with the idea of 'individuality'; whereas other cultures were constructed by the importance of 'group, clan or tribe.' In this regard, liberalism supported the idea of 'individuality'[43]. Secondly, liberalism saw human being as a rational actor and argued that they had the capacity to conduct a dialogue between each other. In this regard, liberalism aimed to eliminate war by establishing certain kinds of organizations like United Nations and League of Nations.

As I said in the previous paragraphs, Abdolkarim Soroush was named as a liberal in the Islamic context. To explain how could he be regarded as a liberalist, we could say that he had constructed his political ideas to end the totalitarian

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[40]http://www.drsoroush.com/English/News_Archive/E-NWS-20050418-Time_Magazine.html [Last access: 14/07/2017]

[41]Liberalism is a product of Western world, yet, as we discussed in this chapter, there are several interpretations of Islam and one of them is the interpretation of Islam from a liberal perspective. However, when one looks at the Western literature, s/he would not see an information about this interpretation since generally the Western scholars and media preferred to focus on the extremist interpretations of Islam.

[42]I used the 2.c. definition of liberalism. For the full definition, visit:https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/liberalism [Last access: 14/07/2017]

[43]In other words, liberalism supported the idea of freedom of an individual from a certain authority as a group, clan or tribe.

tendencies of the newly established Islamic state[44]. In this regard, he published a four-part essay, which is called as 'The Theoretical Contraction and Expansion of the Shari'ah,' in *Kayhan-i Farhangi*. In these essays, he voiced his concerns for the emerging totalitarianism. We could also say that through these essays, he aimed to start an intellectual movement, which would help to release Islam from its officially accepted definition. As it is indicated in this chapter, Soroush argued that religion is divine; yet, religious knowledge is a product of human being. So, according to Soroush, regarding this knowledge, the idea of the divineness of religion would end with a totalitarian system.

At this point, I believe that Soroush's ideas on Islamic state had shaped by Karl Popper's ideas. As I had mentioned in this chapter, Karl Popper had an important effect on the development of Soroush's intellectual ideas, and his ideas about totalitarianism could be used as the example of this effect. Popper wrote two important books *The Open Society and Its Enemies* and *The Poverty of Historicism* as a response to the political situation in the 1930s and 1940s[45]. Through these books, he wanted to answer what does totalitarianism mean and the reasons for it. Totalitarianism, as a word, was first used by Mussolini in 1925 and the fascist regimes were linked to totalitarianism until the end of WWII. Since Popper was critical of the fascist regimes, it was not surprising to see that he was also critical about totalitarianism. In this sense, Popper constructed his ideas to defend freedom against authoritarianism and totalitarianism.

Popper defined both open societies and closed societies in his book *The Open Societies and Its Enemies*. According to him, the open societies caused anxiety for fascists since they are offering rapid change. As a result of this fear, fascists aimed to return to tribal societies, which could be named as closed

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[44]As I explained above, liberalism was constructed to free the individual from a certain kind of authority; and totalitarian tendencies of the Islamic state were a kind of authority in the Iranian context.

[45] Popper wrote his two books as a reaction to both fascism and Marxism.

societies[46]. While discussing this issue, Popper went back to ancient Greece and criticized Plato. According to him, Plato was the founder of the idea of closed societies and was the one, who used fascism as a term first among the Western philosophy. In this regard, we could say that Popper's liberalism had been shaped by his criticisms towards the enemies of the open society; who were Plato, Hegel and Marx. Plato, Hegel, and Marx were the enemies of the open society since they adopted 'historicism'[47]. Based on these, Popper's book intended to help to Western democracies to solve the problems with the fascism and therefore, it was an important source for the postwar liberalism. In the context of this thesis, his ideas and his book had an important effect on the development of Soroush's liberal ideas.

While studying Marxism, Popper argued that Marxist ideology adopted a particular kind of large-scale planning and therefore, they could not promote freedom. According to Popper, if a country has a large-scale planning, then it would not be able to promote freedom, free-market economy and human rights. Since these countries are absent from important aspects of freedom, they would be named as closed societies and totalitarian in their nature. At this point, I thought that the Islamic ideology of the Iranian state also had a large-scale planning, which was aiming to reshape the society in accordance with Islam. In this regard, I also think that we could name the Islamic Republic of Iran as a closed society since it was not allowing the society to develop a critical discourse. In the light of this information, we could say that Popper had an important effect on Soroush while he was constructing his liberal ideas. I came up with a kind of argument since Soroush constructed his liberal ideas by criticizing the totalitarian nature of the Islamic state. Soin this regard; as Popper, Soroush had also seen the Islamic state as a closed society since it had a large-

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[46]A closed society was the one, which did not develop a critical discourse.

[47]Popper defined historicism as an approach to the social sciences which assumes that historical prediction is their principal aim and which assumes that this aim is attainable by discovering the 'rhythms' or the 'patterns', the 'laws' or the 'trends' that underlie the evolution of history. Popper, Karl. (1957). *The Poverty of Historicism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.pp.4

scale planning and wanted to develop a new ideology about Islam, freedom, and democracy to bring freedom back to Iran.

All of these show us that Soroush constructed his liberal ideas through the influence of Popper. As we had mentioned before, freedom is one of the most important aspects of liberalism and Soroush had supported the idea of freedom. He argued that the form of government should be in line with freedom and democracy is the best option to reach freedom.

2.3.2. Soroush and Marx

> When I was studying the philosophy of science and the history of science abroad, the first thing that caught my eye was not that the Marxist philosophy of history was wrong but there were a number of other schools of thought on the subject – Abdolkarim Soroush[48]

When Soroush started to study the political thought of Iran, he found out that there was only one philosophy in Iran before the revolution, which was Marxism.So, as it is indicated in the quotation, he did not reject Marxism at all, yet, aimed to show that the philosophy of science and the history of science could be studied through different schools of thought.As we had discussed in the previous sections, Soroush, as an intellectual figure, aimed to show that Iranian political thought would develop in a various way different from the Marxist perspective. In this regard, he criticized both Mutahhari and Shari'ati for failing to introduce a different ideology since they grounded their philosophy to Marxism. For these reasons, Soroush argued that the questioning in Iran should be changed and should be taken out from the realm of Marxism.

Soroush studied criticisms of Tabataba'i and Ayatollah Mutahhari on Marxism when he was in Iran. So, he went to Britain by having a critique of

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[48]http://drsoroush.com/en/jameah-interview-with-dr-soroush/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

Marxism and Tudeh party. When he went to London, he preferred to stay away from the political activities of the Iranian students since they were constructed by the Marxist ideology[49]. His background on Marxist ideology helped him to be influenced by Popper's ideas on Marxism and as a result, he emerged as an important religious critic of Iranian leftist and Marxist discourse. His criticism shaped as a reaction to dogmatic tendencies of Iranian leftist thought and practice. As it had indicated at the beginning of this chapter, Soroush aimed to show that Marxist ideology was not the only ideology in the world and Iranian political thought would be studied through the different school of thoughts. Concordantly, he gave lectures to Iranian youth to reduce the influence of Marxist ideology on them, and he turned these lectures into a book called *Tadadd-i Dialiktiki (Dialectic Antagonism)*. Through all of these efforts, the Iranians brought him to a privileged position and argued that his ideas were against the dogmas of Marxist ideology. In this regard, we could say that Abdolkarim Soroush attracted people for his criticism about Marxism before the Islamic Revolution. However, after two decades of revolution, people had started to be attracted by his personality rather than his anti-Marxist position.

Since Soroush studied the criticisms of two important intellectuals in Iran, he was only affected by the ideas of Popper on Marxism when he was in London. As I had discussed in the previous section, Popper had an undeniable importance on the development of Soroush's political thoughts and his ideas on Marxism was one of the examples of this influence. Both Tabataba'i and Mutahhari saw Marx and his ideology as an enemy and so, Soroush built his criticisms towards Marx by arguing that he was an enemy. As I explained in the previous section, Popper was criticizing Marx and his ideology, and he was offering a solution to defeat this enemy in his book *The Open Society and Its Enemies,* and for this reason, it was not surprising to see that Soroush was affected by his ideas.

Generally speaking, Soroush constructed his criticisms to the Iranian Marxist movement, which was shaped by the effect of the Soviet Marxism. I am

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[49]He was a faithful Muslim and this made him to stand aloof from the political activities of Iranian students, who were living in Europe.

going to evaluate this effect in the upcoming chapter, but at this point, we could say that Iran and Russia were neighboring countries, and therefore, they had a mutual effect on their political and social development. As a result of this effect, Soroush preferred to focus on the Stalinist manifestation of Marxist philosophy rather than developing an overall criticism towards Marxism. So, Soroush's ideas of Marxism were shaped by the Iranian example rather than any proper investigation about the issue. Essentially, he argued that Marxist philosophy is constructed through a totalitarian implication of the history. So, he developed his criticism towards Marxism by arguing that it was a totalitarian ideology. Soroush also believed that Marxist ideology was based dogmatically and as a result, he argued that Marxism was a totalitarian and dogmatic ideology.In this regard, his interpretation of Marxism shows us that he constructed his ideas through using his liberal background. As I explained above, liberalism raised as a criticism of a certain kind of authority and its totalitarian tendencies. As a liberalist, Soroush was criticizing the totalitarian nature of Marxism.

In addition to these criticisms, as the other intellectuals of his time (Ali Shari'ati and Murtaza Mutahhari), Soroush advocated that Marxist ideology was a threat against the Iranian culture and religion since Iranians, who support the Marxist ideology, were getting distant to their cultures and religions. The main reason for seeing Marxism as a threat resulted because of its Western nature. Marxism had flourished in Iranian context in the 1940s as a pattern of Western culture, and as Soroush stated, Iran was a combination of three important cultures. So, degrading it into only one of these cultures would lead the society into the wrong path. Therefore, he aimed to show that there are also the different school of thoughts, which would help to develop Iran's political thought.

To build his criticism towards Marx, Soroush also benefited from Mulla Sadra's 'Substantial Motion' idea. According to Soroush, the young Muslims of the time were losing their reformist and original outlook. In other words, this young generation was losing its ability to think independently and originally.And through substantial motion idea, Soroush offered to establish an Islamic

philosophy with the notion of 'social change,' which could be an alternative to Marxism, to end the power of Marxist ideas in the society.

However, as I said, we should not forget that Soroush's ideas of Marxism were shaped by the Iranian example rather than any proper investigation about the issue. So, I constructed my arguments in this chapter by this reality. In this regard, this chapter could be regarded as a criticism of the Marxist discourse only in the Iranian context and through the ideas of a religious intellectual.

In this chapter, I aimed to show the development of Abdolkarim Soroush's political and religious thought. In this regard, I could state that Soroush's ideas could be assumed as a new and fresh starter for the Iranian intellectual and political atmosphere. As I mentioned in the introduction part, Soroush is different from the previous Islamic revivalists and this chapter, helped me to prove my argument.

I intentionally started this chapter by introducing the early life and educational background of Abdolkarim Soroush to support my argument in which I stated that Soroush was different from the previous Islamic revivalists. The most significant difference between the previous revivalists and Soroush was the educational background. The previous Islamic revivalists were educated by religious science, and therefore, they were concerned with the science of religion. In spite of that, Soroush, starting from his secondary education, was both educated in modern and religious sciences, which made him a unique figure in this literature. His uniqueness was the reason why I chose him as the frame of this thesis.

In addition to preceeding point, I should add that Soroush's Janus-headed educational background helped him to develop his look at the issues from both of the sides. To explain what I am trying to say, I will use some examples from his life. For example, in his school years through involving in *Anjoman-e Hojatiyyeh*, which was a religious group and which was founded to understand the Baha'i faith; Soroush had studied the Baha'i faith. However, in addition to this study, Soroush also had the chance to attend the classes of Mr. Halabi, who was criticizing the Baha'i faith. Secondly, Soroush studied pharmacology in university and in addition to this; he requested to take private religious lessons from Mutahhari while he was studying pharmacology at the university. All of these helped me to argue that Soroush, through his Janus-headed educational background, had the chance to see both of the sides of everything, which was religious vs. science, Bahaism vs. its criticism, studying pharmacology vs. continuing religious education. In this regard, I should add that Soroush is a unique example in this literature.

After the biographical narrative of Abdolkarim Soroush, this chapter could be summarized in two sections as the development of Soroush's religious thoughts and as the development of Soroush's political thoughts. Since religion and politics are interwoven terms in the Iranian context, I could not separate their joint effect on Soroush's intellectual development. According to Soroush, Islam could not be regarded as an ideology. This argument shows us that Soroush melts religion and politics in the same pot. However, before blending religion and politics together, this chapter provided a historical narrative of the Islamic history because according to Soroush, religious texts are divine, yet, people's knowledge of religious texts are interpretations and in order to understand Islam (and its interpretations), we should be aware of the history of Islam (since Islam is constructed by interpretations). In this regard, to understand what Soroush tried to show, this chapter provides general information of both Shi'i Islam and Sufism.

I could state that the most important effect of religion on Soroush could be read through his influence from Jalaluddin Rumi. While I was studying Rumi, I thought that the lives of these figures were corresponding to each other. As I mentioned before, Rumi had an important effect on Soroush (He mentions to either Rumi's name or Rumi's thoughts in almost all of his writings and interviews), and after studying Rumi, I decided that Rumi had an important effect on the construction of Soroush's life too. In other words, in the section of Rumi, I explained three stages of his life; in the first stage Rumi had prepared for the upcoming years, in the second stage he had discovered himself since he had met with Shams, and in the third stage he wrote Mathnawi, which was going to bring him immortality. I believe that we could divide Soroush's life into three stages too. Soroush's early years until the end of his education in England could be regarded as the first phase, which had prepared him for the upcoming years in his life. Soroush's involvement in Cultural revolution could be regarded as the second phase of his life, which helped him to discover his real desires; and Soroush's resign from the Committee of Cultural Revolution could be regarded as the third and the last phase of his life, since this event helped him to argue that

Islam should not be used as an ideology. In this regard, I could say that, like Rumi, Soroush had also 'churned over and under' by first involving in the Cultural Revolution and then, leaving it. As we had explained in this chapter, Rumi has adopted this term from Quran, and it meant to turn oneself upside down and create a new being. In this respect, Soroush turned himself upside down, when he left the Cultural Revolution Institute. By resigning from the institute, he turned himself to a totally new milieu in which he flourished his 'Liberal Islam' idea.

When it came to the construction of Soroush's political thoughts, as I said previously, we should benefit from his ideas on religion. Soroush argues that in today's world, every society is living in modernity, yet, Islamic societies are trying to refute this truth through political Islam. He adds that religious intellectuals are the ones who are modern and also who will help these societies to reach modernity. In this regard, he states that democracy is the only option for Islam because democracy does not use religion as an ideology. I believe that through this argument Soroush aims to fulfill his role as a religious intellectual, which is to help the society to be modernized. As a conclusion, the core reason for constructing such a chapter was to show why Abdolkarim Soroush was a unique intellectual in the Iranian context.

CHAPTER III

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SETTING OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN IRAN

In the previous chapter, I presented and discussed one of the main figures of religious intellectuals in Iran after the Islamic revolution. Following that, this chapter of my thesis will offer a historical and also a political narrative of the pre-revolutionary intellectual life in Iran. In this regard, this chapter is structured by six parts, which starts with a historical background of the intellectual life in Iran and continues by defining the rise of religious intellectuals into the picture. Because as I stated before, I believe that to understand the rise of Abdolkarim Soroush as a religious intellectual, one should be aware of the atmosphere of the intellectual life in Iran starting from the beginning of 20th century.

I want to begin this chapter by presenting the definition of intellectual in the Iranian context. As it had been indicated in the introduction chapter, 'intellectual' as a word was being used in Iran since the 19th century with the effect of Ibn Sina, Farabi, and poets like Naser Khosraw, Bayazid, Abu Sa 'id, 'Attar, Sohravardi, Rumi, and 'Ayn al-Qozat[50]. In Persian, two words were inferring to the word 'intellectual,' which were *Monavvar al-fekr* and *Rawshanfekr*.

Monavvar al-fekr[51]'s meaning was linked to the French enlightenment, and as a result, it was referring both to enlightened person and to a person whose responsibility was to enlighten others. These enlightened people of Iran aimed to change the Iranian society by using the Western model; due to the influence of

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[50]Nabavi, Negin. (2003). *Intellectual Trends in Twentieth- Century Iran: A Critical Survey.* University Press of Florida. pp.25.

[51]*Monavvar al-fekr* started to be used in Persian during the Constitutional Revolution period and continued to be used until World War II.

French philosophers and Russian intelligentsia on them. In this regard; we could name *Monavvar al-fekr'*s as the early critics of the traditional society.

With the establishment of Tudeh Party in 1941; a new word, which was *rawshanfekr*[52], had emerged. *Rawshanfekr*was related to Marxist ideas, which were supporting the revolutionary struggle against the status quo. Through this ideological opposition framework, the word was politicized, and it was used as an intellectual discourse of political change from 1941 to 1979.

However, with the Islamic revolution, another word had emerged, which was *rawshanfekr-e dini,* to refer the religious intellectuals of the society. In this regard, stating that, not only the lifestyles of intellectuals had changed and evolved over time, but even only the word experienced several transformations, would be applicable for the Iranian example.

Since this thesis is using Abdolkarim Soroush as the framework of the intellectual life in Iran, before starting to give a historical and political background of the intellectual life, I will explain how did Abdolkarim Soroush define the term 'intellectual.'

Abdolkarim Soroush defines intellectuals as the ones, who are responsible for the secondary needs of the society (whereas the state was responsible for the primary needs of people) and as the ones, who produce art, opinions, ideas, and criticisms. According to Soroush, the most important future of intellectualism is the ability to think critically. So if a religious person is able to conduct critical thinking, he would be named as a religious intellectual. In addition to these characteristics, an intellectual should not hold any political power in his hands because holding power would end up with a desire to make the society to think like you and through your ideas. In reality, an intellectual should only show his ideas to the society and let it choose the direction on its own. Soroush argues that an intellectual is innovative when he does not hold the instruments of the power in his hands or when they stain him. In other words, the intellectual should not produce ideas only for one group but for the whole society. Also when an

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[52]The meaning of this word was a combination of the enlightened person and a person, who is responsible to enlighten people.

intellectual involved in politics, then he would lose his objective eye; however, for Soroush, an intellectual should be objective.

Soroush argues that holding political power in hands is one way but not the only one. In his words; he says everybody should work in his own context to bring change and adds that if an intellectual becomes a politician, he will split into different areas and he would not focus on actually what he should do. To illustrate what he said, Soroush used the example of Marx and Lenin. Marx was the chef of the ideas; he constructed them by involving in the kitchen and Lenin was the most popular face of that product. So, in this sense, intellectuals are the thinkers and politicians are the executors of an idea[53].

3.1. The Effect of Constitutional Revolution

The importance of intellectuals came to light with the Constitutional Revolution in Iran, as a result of the rise of new ideas in the world. Iran was contiguous countries with both Russia and Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century. Both of these countries were dealing with the transformations of their society with the effect of Western ideas. On the one hand, Ottoman Empire was trying to deal with the effect of French Enlightenment on the society and Russia was engaged in the upcoming revolution, which was resulted to introduce an alternative socialism to Marxism. Not only external factors but also internal factors helped intellectuals to voice their desires for a change and to become successful. In this regard, to understand the effect of Constitutional Revolution on intellectuals during this period, first of all, one should be aware of the political and historical background of the time.

The Qajar's were the ruling dynasty of Iran at that time, and they were ruling the state since the end of the 18th century. When Qajar's had come to

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[53] For more information, visit: http://drsoroush.com/en/intellectuals-the-powerless-wielders-of-power/

power, they failed to build a central administrative system and a powerful army. As a result of these failures, Qajar's chose to either withdraw when they met with opposition or manipulate the communal conflicts within the fragmented society in order to survive. When it came to the 19th century, the most important actor, which had an effect on the relationship between Qajar's and the Iranian society was West. The impact of West on this relationship started when Russians implemented military pressures to Iran in 1800. In the meantime, Iran needed to be dealt with diplomatic concessions because of the military defeats. In this context, diplomatic concessions brought commercial capitulations, and commercial capitulations ended up with economic penetrations.

The economic penetrations resulted as a threat for urban bazaars, who will be named as the traditional middle class in the following years. When the Iranian economy had integrated with the world, the European goods started to be imported to Iran, and as a result, people preferred to buy these goods rather than the goods of bazaars. In this respect, to protect themselves, the local merchants requested state to add taxes to the imported goods. Yet, state did not respond to these requests and eventually, traditional middle class had separated into two;on the one side, there was the wealthy bourgeoisie, who constitute a small group and gained their wealth from the foreign trades and on the other side, there was the local bourgeoisie who lost their significance as a result of the foreign goods. In this respect, it would be said that the traditional middle class was a socioeconomic entity in 1800 and it had turned into a political force in the 1900s as a result of insufficient governance of Qajar's.

Furthermore, the involvement of Western ideas in the education system brought new ideas, new values, and new intellectuals into the scene. However, these intellectuals should be distinguished from their ancestors, because they supported the rights of man rather than embracing the divineness of the king's rights. They also supported the ideas of liberalism, nationalism and sometimes even socialism rather than supporting the despotic rule of the king and they promoted the equality, liberty, and unity instead of the Shadows of God on Earth. For this purpose, they both inserted new words from West and new meanings to

the old words in their language. "For example, *istibad* changed from 'monarchy' to 'despotic monarchy'; *mellat* from 'religious community' to secular 'nationality'; and *mardom* from the 'people' without any political connotations to 'The People' with its democratic and patriotic connotations."[54]

Generally speaking, these intellectuals were affected by the French enlightenment, and as a result, they found out that the history was not constructed by the apocalypse of God or because of the rise and fall of dynasties, but was constructed as a result of the continuing human progress[55]. Western powers helped the Iranian intellectuals believe that this human progress could be implemented in Iran as long as they demolish the despotism, clerical dogmatism and foreign imperialism. For these reasons, the intellectuals in Iran argued that constitutionalism, secularism, and nationalism were the three pillars for constructing a modern Iran. Through constitutionalism, they thought that they would end the power of monarchy; through secularism, they thought that they would end the influence of clergy and through nationalism; they thought that they would end the effect of imperialism. Concordantly, to reach their goal, intellectuals sometimes used ulama against Shah and sometimes used Shah against ulama.

As a result of the emergence of new intellectuals and the traditional middle class, a social discontentedness in society ensued. On the one hand, intellectuals were critical of the slow pace of the modernization, since they want to express their desire for modernization as fast as they can. And on the other hand, the traditional middle class realized that Qajar's were not interested in protecting the society against the imperial powers, but it was more interested in strengthening their power against the society.

The public discontents had reached its climax in consequence of the tobacco crisis (1891-1892), which happened because of a concession that had

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[54]Abrahamian, Ervand. (1982). *Iran Between Two Revolutions.* Princeton University Press. pp.51

[55]Western education constructed by the idea that the human progress was resulting from science and reason rather than the religious teachings.

given to an Englishmen named Major Talbot by Naser al-Din Shah. The bazaar of Shiraz was needed to be closed as a result of this concession permanently. This resulted with protests of the bazaars of Tehran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Mashad, Qazvin, Yazd and Kermanshah. These protests would be named as a rehearsal for the Constitutional Revolution since they were turned into a national boycott, which was even supported by Iranians abroad. This boycott ended up with harsh political repressions on the society, like the travel ban to Europe, by Naser al-Din Shah. After these discontents, Naser al- Din Shah had killed by a bankrupt trader, who was educated by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muzaffar al-Din Shah succeeded his position.

Muzaffar al-Din Shah's period would be remarked as an attempt to end the atmosphere of political opposition through liberalization. In this respect, he permitted the establishment of several organizations by intellectuals. Nevertheless, the attempt of liberation had ended up with the opposition of the organizations.

The most salient examples of these organizations were both *Ganje-i Fonun* (Treasure of Knowledge), which was published by a group of young intellectuals and Democrat Party that was established by the Iranians who were living in Azerbaijan. The reason for mentioning only these two organizations rather than listing all the others was because of the influence of socialism on them, which was adopted by Russian Marxism[56]. Through these examples, one can argue that the idea of Marxism and socialism was adopted by Russia during that period.

Also, at this period, several intellectuals started to write about their concerns and desires on the political situation in the country. The prominent ideas of these writings were; the need to establish a parliamentary system and the need to end the rule of despotism. All of these authors were sharing a common aspect of the rise of a revolutionary movement in Iran. They defended the need for a constitutional government rather than an oppressive dynasty. In this respect,

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[56]During this period, Iran and Russia were contiguous countries. So, the influence of ideas was inevitable.

it would be said that the common aspect of the 19th-century writings in Iran was gathered around the ideas of establishing a constitutional order to nationalize and avoiding the imperial domination of West through social justice and independence.

In the external context, the Russian revolution and the uprisings of some groups within the Ottoman Empire as a result of the effect of French enlightenment could be seen as a bid fair for Iranians to topple down the despotic rule. Additionally, both the insufficient steps of the government towards the economy and the effective power of press in shaping people's ideas in the internal context helped the rise of protests among society, which was carried out for a constitution. As a result of these protests, national assembly opened and prepared a draft of the desired constitution. At the end of all of the struggles, Shah accepted the constitution[57] in 1906 that was prepared by the national assembly.

3.2. Rule of Reza Shah

When World War I erupted, Iran was engaged with internal issues[58] and therefore, declared that she is not going to be involved in war. However, the geographical location of Iran did not allow her to stand behind the war zone[59]. Besides these, WWI lights the fuse of desires of Iranians for an independent

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[57]The first draft of the constitution was signed by Muzaffar al-Din Shah before five days of his death. When Muhammad Ali Shah came to throne, he rejected the constitution that was prepared by government. As a result, riots had been occurred and when Shah faced with an assassination threat, he accepted the laws and constitutionalism was introduced.

[58]The second national assembly, which was opened in 1909, divided into two blocks in 1910 and these two blocs were threatening each other for turning the streets into a bloody rivalry.

[59]Four important powers; Ottomans, Germans, Russians and British's; used Iran as a battlefield zone during WWI.

country, and they declared these desires by promoting revolutionary and democratic perception.

During WWI, the government of Iran lost its power in the face of the forces of the British and Russians. And it could be stated that when it came to late 1917, British and Russian forces were controlling nearly all of Iran, yet, Russian forces needed to leave Iran because of the revolution. Besides these events, Iran was being ruled by two governments at this period. On the one side, there was a government in Qom, which was formed by the members of the majlis who were supporting Germany and were against Russians; and on the other side, Ahmad Shah was governing the country in Tehran[60].

The war had a devastating effect on Iran. Since all of the territories were a battlefield; farmlands were ruined, peasants were taken into the military force, and livestock was reduced. In 1920, Iran was in a messy situation in which some parts had its autonomy, and some parts were under the control of tribes. All of these helped the society to realize that Iran was in need of a nationalist government. In this context, Iranian nationalists, who were led by Reza Khan and Sayyed Zia ad- Din, overthrow the existing government and build a new one in which Sayyed Zia ad-Din was the prime minister, and Reza Khan was the war minister.

During the office of war ministry, Reza Khan aimed both at ending the autonomy among the governance that was resulted by WWI and at building a centralized state. With this centralization idea, the demands of the middle class and nationalists were almost met. In addition to these steps, Reza Khan also used the military to strengthen his own rule. The main reason for these steps was taken to consolidate Reza Khan's power against Sayyed Zia ad- Din, which was resulted in the resignation of Sayyed Zia ad-Din from his office. After toppling down Sayyed Zia ad-Din, Reza Khan built a new government, in which the power was gathered in his hands.

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[60]Later on this dual governing power structure ended by the allied forces, when they forced the Qom government to withdraw from its political activities.

In 1925, with clerical support, Reza Khan took the name of Pahlavi, which was an ancient heroic dynasty's name. After he had come to throne, Reza Shah continued to consolidate his power by using the army (the new army), the government bureaucracy and the court patronage. This was an important time in Iranian political history, because since the Safavid period state was, for the first time, being able to control the society through administrative instruments.

On the other hand, the state was lacking the class structure base at this time. Reza Shah gave importance to upper class and inserted himself into it by marrying with a Qajar noblewoman (this was his third marriage). He changed the taxation system in which landowners were no more responsible for the taxes, but the peasants were responsible. Besides these, he brought aristocrats to the high positions in Majles, cabinet and diplomatic corps.

Concordantly, when it came to 1925, Iran was backward in economy and education, and this was ended up with a need for change and modernization. For this purpose, Reza Khan started a modernization process. However, it would be noted that this modernization had happened from above because the political life was limited during this period. Reza Shah was controlling the country with despotic and suppressive manners.

At this period, the journals were either closed or censored[61]; however, the newspapers continued to be published. The premise of Reza Khan was to develop a nationalist ideology, and there were three important journals, which were showing the desires of reformers. The first one was published in Berlin from 1922 to 1927 and called *Iranshahr* (Country of Iran), the second one was *Farangistan* (Europe) again edited in Germany from 1924 to 1926, and lastly, *Ayandeh* (The Future) was started to be published in Tehran in 1925. *Iranshahr* was founded by Hussein Kazemzadeh, who was a diplomat in London and also he was the brother of one of the Democrats. The journal had been distributed to forty towns in Iran and the articles in the journal were generally about women, public education, pre-Islamic Iran, modern technology and Western philosophy. *Farangistan* was founded by Mushfeq Kazemi, who was a member of the

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[61]Some journals continued to be published in other countries.

diplomatic corps and the journal was publishing articles that were concerning the same issues of *Iranshahr*. *Ayandeh* was founded by Dr. Mahmud Afshar, who was a political scientist educated under the European influence and the journal aimed to spread the idea of nationalism and the centralization of the state.

Despite all of the negative effects of Reza Shah's suppressive rule, the years between 1925-1941 could be linked for a modernization period that was not seen before in Iran. From 1925 to 1930, the foundations had been modernized. Between 1925-1940, the role of the clergy in the judicial system had been reduced and a non-clerical central judiciary system had been introduced. In this regard, the sharia courts had been abolished in 1939-1940, and the role of the clergy in the judiciary had been reduced. Ulama objected to these new regulations, but it was not effective because they were small in size.

This period could also be marked as a period in which a lot of money had been spent for education. Tehran University, which was the first modern university, opened in 1925 and it was not only opened for men but also for women. The university was educating the students in the manner of modernization through modern sciences, but the curriculum was also including the Iranian history and literature because of the nationalist ideology. All the schools, including the foreign ones, were educating in Persian.

The acts of Reza Khan limited the effect of intellectuals on society during this period, and this resulted in a collapse of intellectuals into two. On the one side, the old generation of intellectuals supported the acts of Reza Khan for a while and on the other side, the young generation intellectuals opposed to his acts. The old generation supported him because they were not able to mobilize masses at the disintegration period and as a result, they supported the new order in which tribes were going to be pacified, the society was going to be secularized, and the state was going to be centralized. Their support ended when Shah signed the oil agreement with the United States, when he banned the political parties and when he caused inflation as a result of the military

expenditures. Ahmad Kasravi's[62] writings about this period would be good examples for these old generation intellectuals. Kasravi wrote about the period of Shah in a journal in 1942 in which he showed the good and bad sides of the Shah. The good sides were the centralization of the state, ending the tribal rivalry, taking control of clergy and disciplining them, ending the aristocratic titles, bringing compulsory military service, ending the feudal authorities, establishing modern schools, industries, and cities. And the bad sides were violating the constitution, giving more importance to military rather than civilian administration, gathering a private wealth, stealing other's property, killing intellectuals, and broadening the gap between have and have nots.

On the other hand, the younger generations of intellectuals could not find any feature of the Shah to admire. They see him as a Cossack trained by the Tsarists and brought to power by the British. According to them, he is not a nation builder but a wealth builder of himself under a new dynasty. In this regard, they raised opposition against Shah in 1930s. The 1930s also experienced the rise of oppositions against Shah from intellectuals who were living in Europe and they mainly demanded the release of the prisoned intellectuals.

In this respect, Reza Shah enacts a law, which was not allowing the prisoners (who are the members of the oppositional groups) to come out before ten years. This oppressive manner of Shah had happened to avoid intellectuals from opposing his power.However, these oppressive acts of Reza Shah did not discourage oppositions. In 1934, the College of Medicine made a strike to draw out their Dean from his office, who was brought by the government. In 1936, the students who have a state scholarship at the Teacher's College made a strike to reject working for the government after graduation in public schools with a fixed salary during the days of inflation. Also, the College of Law school students closed their campus to protest the expenditure made by the university for Shah's visit in 1937. As a result of these protests, government involved in lots of arrestments. For example, twenty students were arrested for defending fascism, and their leader had been secretly executed. The most important arrestment had

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[62]Ahmad Kasravi was an Iranian Azeri, who was a historian and reformer.

happened in 1937 when 'fifty-three' men were arrested and accused of composing a secret organization. They were accused of publishing a May Day manifesto, arranging strikes in Technical College, and translating Marx's *Das Kapital* and the *Communist Manifesto*. These 'fifty-three' men became popular, and after a few years, forty-eight of them established the Tudeh Party.

Reza Shah and his development project came to an end with World War II, when he acted against the desires of Russia and Britain. Germany was in favor of using Iran as a base for the invasion of Soviet Union, and Reza Shah was affected by these thoughts during 1939. However, Russia and Britain were against this idea and for this purpose, they sent a note to Shah in 1941 in which they were demanding the dismissal of the Germans. Reza Shah delayed this demand, and consequently, Russian and British troops entered into Iran, which resulted in the withdrawal of Shah from the throne. As a result of these developments, Reza Shah had been deported from the country, and he had died in 1944.

3.3. The Establishment of Tudeh Party

Tudeh party was established thirteen days after the abdication of Reza Shah from the throne. On September 29, twenty-seven members of the famous 'fifty-three' formed a political organization and called it as *Hizb-i Tudeh-i Iran* (The Party of the Iranian Masses), and the party leadership was given to Sulayman Iskandari[63]. The political organization listed its aim immediately after the establishment in which initially, they aimed at releasing the 'fifty-three' from the prison. Then, they aimed at legitimizing the Tudeh Party as a recognized political organization[64].And finally, they aimed at planning a program, which

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[63]Sulayman Iskandari was a fighter in the constitutional revolution, helped to the formation of Democrat Party in the second Majles, involved in the Committee of National Resistance in World War I, and also he was the leader of the Socialist Party from 1921 to 1926.

[64]In this regard, they started to publish a daily newspaper.

would attract the socialists, democrats, and communists in the country rather than the ulama[65].

In addition to these, the official program of the party was established in late February. This program was aiming to end the trackways of the dictatorship of Reza Shah, protect the rights of people through constitutional laws and civil liberties, to participate in the democratization process in a global context by coming against the barbarism and fascism. By fascism, they were meaning both the internal fascism of Reza Shah and external fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. They also kept the ideas of Marxism out of the program, to abstain from the attacks of ulama.

At this point, we should add that the founders of the Tudeh party were Marxist, but they did not link themselves as communists. They were young and university educated elites who were speaking the Persian language; conversely, the communists of the time were middle aged natives of Azerbaijan and were speaking the Azeri as their mother tongue. Also, founders of Tudeh party learned Marxism through the Western Europe, whereas communists adopted the Leninism of Bolsheviks.

The leadership of Tudeh party was very young with an average age of thirty-seven. Fifteen of them were high ranking and middle-level civil servants, doctors, teachers, judges, professors, lawyers, theater directors, and pharmacists. Only four of the members belonged to the upper class of aristocrats, wealthy landowners, and rich merchants. They were educated in Europe, Tehran and the Soviet Union. Eight of them were from the 'fifty-three,' three of them played roles in old Democrat and socialist parties, and three of them were from the communist party that had been banned. Additionally, only the young generations of the communist party were active in Tudeh party.

Also, modern middle class played an important role in the composition of party whereas the party played an important role for the modern middle class too. Also, the party enrolled both intellectuals and white-collar workers as a part of it.

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[65]In this regard, the party program was not focused on the desires of ulama and therefore, it was not concerned with the feelings of them.

The Tudeh party's influence on intellectuals was too strong that the party had the power to change the meaning of what intellectual means as a word in Persian. As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the term intellectual was describing the rapid change in the 1910s and 1920s whereas it was describing the modernly educated professionals in 1930s. In the 1940s, with the effect of Tudeh, it turned its meaning to a radical middle class, which was in a desire of political, social and economic changes. In this sense, party mostly affected the engineers, university professors and university students as intellectuals.

The campus activities of Tudeh Party started in 1943 when the youth organization opened a club next to the College of Medicine, and in 1945, the university recognized this union. The rector of the university stated that approximately four thousand students were influenced by Tudeh party in 1946. The internal struggles of 1947 and 1948 could not end the monopoly of the party in Tehran University since the party was too strong in this environment. Therefore, Tudeh Party continued its activities and its effect on students even after it was banned in 1949. It should be added that Tudeh party affected not only the students but also the writers. Bozorg, 'Alavi, Noshin, Tavalloli, Parvizi, Al-Ahmad, Aram, and Golestan were the effective members of the party as writers, but also there were some other important names who was influenced by the party until 1947. Nima Yushej[66], Bahar and Sadeq Hedayat, Sadeq Chubak, Behazin, Sa 'id Nafisi, Muhammad Afrashteh, Ahmad Shamlou, Muhammad Mu 'in, Nader Naderpour, Naqi Melani, Mehdi E 'temad, Muhammad Javaheri, Muhammad Tafazouli, and Ahar M 'uiri would be examples of these writers.

There were several reasons for why intellectuals supported Tudeh Party at all. Initially, Tudeh Party was the first modern, Democratic Party for years and the party was opposing the foreign intervention, and it had a tendency towards the social justice. Secondly, economic reasons helped Tudeh to gain support from intellectuals. Economically speaking, Iran's most salient problem was inflation since the beginning, yet, Reza Shah had increased the problem into its peak point

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[66]Nima Yushej was the father of modern Persian poetry.

during 1944. In 1948, he declared the inflation, however, in 1953 with oil crisis it again increased. Mostly, people belonging to middle class had been smitten by these inflations, and at this point, Tudeh Party played a vital role by arranging white-collar unions to help them to increase their salaries. Thirdly and lastly, the political outlook of intellectuals was matching up with the ideology of Tudeh Party. The overlap had happened at the ideas of constitutionalism[67], socialism, and nationalism. The meaning of socialism for Iranian society was not equal to the public ownership of the means of production, but it was a plan for the state to industrialize rapidly and make social reforms.

As a conclusion mark, one can argue that generally, the intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s were linked to Tudeh party. There was only one exception; Ahmad Kasravi. He was the only intellectual of the time, who was not involved in any membership with Tudeh.Despite their linkage with Tudeh, the intellectuals of these years could be marked by their leftist but not communist views. The intellectuals of this period were poets, writers, journalists, translators or critics; however, they were not earning their lives through these jobs. They were either teacher at school, or they were working in lower or middle ranking jobs in public office.

3.4. The Coup of 1953

In the aftermath of World War II, Iran faced social and economic problems. On the one hand, modernization and economic reforms were at a low ebb. As it was mentioned above, the inflation started to be a problem again, and also the monopoly of the government for foreign trade became ineffective. On the other hand, the number and effect of intellectuals were growing, yet, they could not find an outlet for themselves in the society, and as a result, they remained unemployed[68]. Therefore, they involved protest movements in which

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[67]For the young generation, since they lived under Shah's autocracy, constitution was attractive.
[68]The intellectuals had the employment opportunity only in bureaucracy.

they were demanding independence for Iran and social reforms. Another unhappy class was ulama. During the Reza Shah period, they found a room for themselves and they were inserted their position in many spheres but with WWII the things were changed.

While Iran was trying to deal with internal problems, on the external context Iranian government started to negotiate with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) for a different concession. During these negotiations, AIOC offered a 'supplemental agreement,' which was not fulfilling the demands of Iranian government at all. Nevertheless, the government decided to accept the agreement in 1949, yet, the agreement could not pass from majlis since the members of the majlis were not favoring this agreement. The 1950 elections of majlis gathered around the issue of oil in which the National Front parties, that was led by Mohammad Mosaddeq, had opposed for the supplemental agreement. At the end of these demonstrations and popular opinion, the government was obliged to adopt the pro-Mosaddeq position. In 1951, the majlis approved the nationalization of oil, and soon after, Mohammad Mosaddeq became the head of the government. Mosaddeq was an Iranian nationalist who aimed to keep Iran out of any foreign influence and rule. After the nationalization of the oil, Mosaddeq and his followers expected the United States to purchase oil from them. However, United States was against the nationalization of oil in Iran, and as a result, American oil companies joined in a boycott of worldwide oil companies for Iranian oil.

After the nationalization project of Mosaddeq, Iran experienced a coup in 1953. In general terms, it was said that the coup was an attempt to dispose Iran from the influence of communism. However, in reality, the coup had happened as a result of the interests of Britain and United States for the oil reserves of Iran. Both Britain and the United States were afraid of any influence of Iranian nationalism in other countries in the Middle East. If the other Middle Eastern countries would nationalize their oil, then the advantages of Britain and United

States[69] would be damaged. In order to avoid any influence, both of these powers planned a coup in Iran to overthrow the nationalist approach from the ruling cadre.

With the coup, Reza Shah came to power and continued from where his father had left in 1941. Primarily, he started by strengthening the military, bureaucracy, and patronage. He accomplished his father's dream. He built a state that did not exist before.He changed the constitution and granted himself with the right to change the presidents. In 1963, he introduced the White Revolution to avoid any effect of communist revolution from above. White Revolution introduced new reforms to the country, and the most important ones among these reforms had happened in the area of education and land. The land reform law had been accepted in 1962, which was forcing the landowners to redistribute their lands into small-scale cultivators. So, with the land reform, the terms like feudal had lost its importance, and the reform helped the Pahlavi family and the landowners to turn into big farmers. With these developments, the role of the feudal was afflicted. Regarding educational reforms, the number of the schools was tripled. Besides these reforms, White Revolution also brought a new class structure to Iran. At the top of the society, there was the Pahlavi family, the high-ranking government officials, military officers, industrialists, and landowners.

Since all of the reforms of White Revolution were in favor of Pahlavi dynasty and their kith and kin, the social tension among the society was unavoidable. The first tension came from the feudal and intellectual groups of the society. The Shah was oppressing the activities of intellectuals by closing their trade unions, newspapers, and parties and the land reform affected the power of the feudal landlords. Second tension rose as a result of the economic policies, which widened the gap between the have and have-nots. Thirdly, both the White Revolution and the increase in the oil revenue ended up with high demands of the society. On the contrary, the government did not meet these demands, and this ended up with anger.

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[69]They were holding the control of the oil reserves of the world.

The coup of 1953 had an important effect on Tudeh party and concordantly, on the intellectual life in Iran. After the coup of 1953, the members of the party were seen as a threat, in addition to be seen as a target. The new administration argued that the party was illegal and the activities of it should be stopped immediately. Within a year, the leaders of the party had been arrested, and in 1954 the affiliation of the Tudeh with the military had been discovered, which resulted in the trial of high-ranking officers of the military. In 1955 the youth organization of Tudeh; *Sazman-e javanan-e hezb-e Tudeh* was released and the leaders had been arrested. The administration of the coup argued that Mosaddeq was a victim of the Tudeh Party, which showed the reason for the coup was not against the Mosaddeq but for the acts of Tudeh Party.

The followers of Tudeh Party expected them to react the measures taken by the authorities; yet, the party members did not take any action. Moreover, the members of the party, who were arrested, wrote a series of letters in which they were mentioning their faults and were asking forgiveness by the Shah. As a result of these letters of the leaders, intellectuals felt desperate since they were turning their back to what they believed so quickly. As a result, two reactions occurred in this period; on the one hand, some intellectuals left the party, Mehdi Akhavan-e Sales and Ahmad Shamlu were the examples for these intellectuals. On the other hand, the military limited and controlled the opportunity to express one's own ideas that's why there were not much intellectual activities at first few years of the coup. In this regard, this period could be viewed as a fight against the regime for the intellectual circles.

The crisis of the intellectuals at this period had happened as a result of two reasons. Initially, they needed to decide their position for the outside world. They were seen as the representatives of the dictatorship of the Shah by the West. Secondly, they should settle on their position within the society. To serve this purpose, two intellectual journals started to be published soon after the coup; *Andisheh va honar* (Thought and Art) and *Nabard-e zendegi*. Both of them kept themselves distant from the legacy of Tudeh and aimed to introduce progressive thought to the young generation. In 1957, when the martial law was lifted, other

journals also started to be published; *Sadaf* and *'Elm va zendegi* (Science and Life) were examples of these new journals. *Sadaf*was constituted of the new Persian poetry, the translations of Western literature and short stories. Besides all of these, the journal also mentioned to the intellectual's mood of the time. The common characteristics of these journals were the editors of them were politically active, and they were disappointed by Tudeh Party. The second common characteristic of the journals was that they gave hope and courage to the intellectuals and the young generations after those dark days. The articles in the journals were evoking the role of intellectuals in the society and they were encouraging the intellectuals to leave their disappointed ideas. However, these efforts did not help the intellectuals to leave their anxieties about the progress of the country. They continued their disappointment and believed that these emotions would not end within few years.

However, we should not forget that the role of an intellectual in the society is to be a guideline rather than feeling victimized and the intellectuals should continue to express their ideas, whatever happens, through by writing. So it is a need for an intellectual to wear a public role on him because the intellectuals have a mission for being the leader of the society. When we look at the period of Reza Shah, we are witnessing that the core element of being an intellectual had been taken from people at this period. So, defining an intellectual at this period turned into a tall order. For this reason, at this period, there was not a certain definition for the intellectuals. The term was being used to indicate the educated people who have dedicated their lives to learning and arts.

To end the crisis that intellectuals were experiencing during this period, some intellectuals started to suggest their opinions on the issue. One of the most important examples was Khalil Maleki[70]. He argued that a new scientific social theory should be established in order to replace the existing ideologies. Maleki

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[70]Khalil Maleki was born in Tabriz, 1903. He was an Iranian intellectual, socialist and political figure. He was one of the 'fifty-three' group who was arrested and imprisoned by Reza Shah. He is also one of the founders of the Tudeh Party.

and other intellectuals argued that, for years, they believed in an ideology, which was ended up with a mistake. They argued that through educating young generations with different ideologies from all around the world, they could save them from the mistakes. At this point, it could be added that the intellectuals were not present in the political scene as they should be; yet, still through several cultural reforms, they played an important role in the social life. Except Maleki, the other intellectuals focused on informing the society about the 'backwardness' of their own culture and how they could improve the situation.

As a conclusion, one can argue that there were two main aims of the intellectuals during period. Firstly, they tried to find a solution for the disappointment of Tudeh party, and in this regard, they needed to find a new ideology to replace what they believed in before. Secondly, they tried to find an answer for the attitude they do have upon the regime.

3.5. Intellectuals in Iran from 1960s to 1970s

After the dark days of intellectuals, the 1960s could be marked as a period in which intellectuals had the right to make comments more openly. When Shah introduced White Revolution in 1963, a polarization had happened between the intellectuals and the state. The issue of land was a problem since 1906[71]and the intellectuals were mentioning on the land issue as 'backwardness' even before the White Revolution. In this regard, it would be said that the problem of land was in the picture of Iranian politics long before the 1960s.

However, when Shah introduced reforms with White Revolution, progressive intellectuals were in favor of them too, but they did not show this since they did not want to be in the same line with Shah. Therefore, they declared that these reforms were made as a result of the pressure of United States and they added that sooner or later these reforms were going to take place.

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[71] In the first parliamentintellectuals were requested to change the law of landholdings.

Additionally, the publication of *Gharbzadegi*[72] is another factor that helped the state and the intellectuals to disunite from each other. The progressive intellectuals of the time both supported and rejected the cultural heritage. On the one side, they criticized the culture for causing backwardness and on the other side, they linked the culture as a guide for social and moral values. The intellectuals saw themselves as social doctors of the society during period, and they aimed at prescribing medicines for the illnesses of the society through their writings. At the beginning of the century, the intellectuals used West to criticize the existing system in Iran. They argued that Iran was lacking freedom, justice, and order, which was existing in the West. The dressing and the language of the intellectuals of that time were illustrating the effects of Westernization. However, West had started to be seen as an illness in 1959 with the introduction of the term *gharbzadegi* by Al-e Ahmad. In reality, Al-e Ahmad was not the founder of the word, he obtained the term from Ahmad Farid. However, he was the one who inserted a political meaning to it and therefore, the word had linked to him. Al-e Ahmad argued that Western values were an illness and local values were cheapened by these values, and the intellectuals were the ones who were responsible for finding a diagnosis for this illness. In this respect, the notion of 'westoxification' used by Al-e Ahmad and the others, to disregard the reforms that had been carried out by the regime. In this manner, the *Gharbzadegi* could be regarded as progressive and authentic desire of the intellectuals of the time.

Gharbzadegi had been criticized by some intellectuals and Abdolkarim Soroush was one of them. In order to criticize the idea of westoxification, Soroush had touched upon the cultural heritage of Iran. According to him, Iran had constructed by three cultures[73], and he argued that ignoring any aspect of this triple cultural heritage would end up with a failure to reach a social and cultural

[72]It is a Persian word that is translated as westoxification into English. It refers to the loss of Iranian cultural identity as a result of the influence of West.

[73]This issue had explained profoundly in the introduction part of this thesis. Iran had constructed by National culture, Western culture and Islamic culture.

action. He stated that confronting with the Western culture resulted because of the weakness of the Iranian society at that time, however, after meeting with the Western culture, nothing had remained in its previous shape in the Iranian society. In this regard, Soroush was different from both Al-e Ahmad and Ali Shari'ati. He did not reject to adopt Western modernization totally, yet, we should not forget that he also did not accept what Western modernization was offering at all. He argued that even this modernization caused problems and illnesses; it was also providing important liberating features to the society.

Soroush started to question the idea of *Gharbzadegi* by seeking to find an answer to what Al-e Ahmad and Shari'atisuggested by saying that Iranians need to return to their own culture. As we had discussed in the previous paragraph, Western culture was one of the aspects of the Iranian culture. And in my opinion, Soroush felt the need to find out what does 'Iranians own culture' mean at all since Western culture was a part of it. So, he wanted to understand how these intellectuals were legitimizing their argument for rejecting West. At the end, Soroush argued that the identity should be seen as a dynamic and evolving matter to find an answer to these questions[74] and he also believed that rather than seeing other cultures as the enemies, one should devote his/her energy to find out his/her own identity. If a person would be able to find out his/her own identity, then other cultures would lose their enemy status. In this regard, Soroush argued that Islam, as a culture, is a part of 'us' but not the whole. As the last word, Soroush argued that the westoxification idea was exaggerating the effect of West on the Iranian society. As in his own words:

> Those who propagated the decadent, deterministic, and historicist version of the idea of West toxification among us were themselves feeding from the same trough that fed the followers of extreme antireligious nationalism. Both maintained that the West has reached the end of its road and that Islam has been depleted. It is noteworthy that they have borrowed both of these ideas

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[74]Sadri, Mahmoud and Ahmad Sadri. (2000). *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush.*Oxford University Press.pp.164

from the Western sources! If we intend to fight the West with this weapon, we have to fight Islam as well because it too has come from the outside[75].

On the other hand, the period of 1963 to 1970 could be marked by the consolidation of the power of the Shah, through taking control of the state affairs. With the change of electoral law, the younger technocrats found a way to enter into the Majles by replacing the older ones. The new technocrats were educated in the United States, and they were not aware of the conditions of their own country. These technocrats had been criticized in the articles for their lack of knowledge of the cultural codes of the country. In this respect, intellectuals of the time believed that technocrats of the Mansur administration were showing of their linkage to the West.

Besides, at this period, the new periodicals and literary reviews started to be published. The most important intellectual magazine of the time was *Negin*. These periodicals were important to understand the intellectuals' ideas because they were showing the moods of intellectuals of that time and their expressions of the concerns about the regime. At this period, the intellectuals needed to redefine their role and function in the society. The reason for a redefinition was happened both because of the lack of the action and the disappointment they had been experiencing. For intellectuals, their role in the society was important for years; and in these years the terms 'responsibility' and 'duty' became important. The notion of commitment was at the center of the definition of intellectual and was discussed in two contexts, the creative writer and intellectual activist. The term 'commitment' started to be discussed in the 1960s in Iran, and it became a prerequisite for the writing.

The Iranian intellectuals were also inspired by Sartre's ideas of the literature that were 'why does one write' and 'who does one write for.'[76] Sartre

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[75]Sadri, Mahmoud and Ahmad Sadri. (2000). *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush.*Oxford University Press.pp.166

[76]Nabavi, Negin. (2003). *Intellectuals and the State in Iran: Politics, Discourse, and the Dilemma of Authenticity.* University Press of Florida. pp.71

tried to give the answer to whether all the writings should be linked to commitment or not. In return, the Iranian intellectuals argued that all of the writings of art and literature should be done in the context of commitment. In 1964, when Sartre won the Nobel Prize and refused it, he found a voice in Iranian intellectual circles and journals. He rejected the prize with the argument that it was only given to Western or Soviet Union people and was a symbol of the Western world. All of these claims made him a hero in the eyes of the East.

The concerns for defining the term intellectual at this period ended up with the translation of the works of Antonio Gramsci about the intellectuals. Gramsci, in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* argued that; "all men are intellectuals; one could therefore say; but all men do not have the function of intellectuals in society."[77]. In Gramsci's words, we could not separate the world into intellectuals and non-intellectuals because of every person, besides their work, develops some intellectual activity. He defined everyone as 'philosophers' because according to him people have a taste of their own, they are artists and share a conception of the world. In addition to this, Gramsci divided intellectuals into two; one the one hand there were traditional intellectuals, and on the other hand, there were organic intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals were the ones, who share a common language through educating themselves with high culture and with the heritage from Plato and beyond. They were constituted of journalists, teachers, religious leaders, philosophers, artists, and writers. However, in time and with the new generations, these intellectuals were absorbed into new social groups with the help of organic intellectuals' activities in these new groups. Organic intellectuals were the ones, who were the members of each social group and who were aiming to create ideas that rationalize and justify the interests of that specific group. In this context, the profession and economic role of these intellectuals did not matter.

In the Western context, both Right and Left ideas criticized intellectuals for their distance from everyday life of people. In reference to Left, this was an

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[77]Gramsci, Antonio. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks.* Lawrence and Wishart, London. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, pp. 9

ivory-towered and unworldly elitism; and for the Right, intellectuals were snobbish and anti- populist. Intellectuals were criticized for both being involved and not being involved in politics. For example, if they did not involve in politics, they were being accused of standing idle by the injustice. On the other side, if they involve in politics, they were being accused of imposing their ideas on others without any permission. In this manner, Antonio Gramsci was an important figure for the Western leftist ideas.

Gramsci preferred to stay away from unrefined positivism and from idealism and Marxism while defining his epistemological position. Marxism made people either to wait for the revolution that is going to come in time or spin the parties semi divine in which they had the knowledge of natural laws. This ended up with a belief in the society that the ruler was going to bring the salvation to the country. On the contrary, Gramsci argued that people should act for their political goals by bringing revolutions. According to him, the theories should be combined with each other to end the problems.The main reason why Gramsci had fallen into this bait could be explained by 'post festum paradox' by Michael Rosen[78]. According to this paradox, the reason for any mistake happens, as a result of using same results, to explain the other results. To end this mistake, the only path was to believe that history is showing the truth in time.

In addition to the definition of intellectual by Gramsci, Iranian intellectuals gave priority to the ability to transfer knowledge to people while defining intellectuals. Ipso facto, at this period the definitions of 'intellectual' and 'scholar' were made distinctively. While Iranian intellectuals were concentrated on the definition of "intellectual," two criticisms had been raised to them. Initially, they were criticized for their lack of vision and secondly, they were criticized for their distant attitude towards people.

In the external context, the 1960s were the times when the Western world was affected by the revolutionary optimism, and as a result, Iranian intellectuals could not stay neutral to these issues. The Western intellectuals gave their focus in the third world countries and with this; Iranian intellectuals were also focused

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[78]Rosen, Michael. (1984). *Hegel's Dialectic and its Criticisms*. Cambridge University Press.

on the issues of third world countries. Successful revolutions of Algeria and Cuba could be the examples for the revolutionary character of the third world countries, and the Iranian intellectuals also wanted to be a part of these movements. Even the articles in the journals had been shaped around these issues of the third world.

The international atmosphere was only one reason for the Iranian intellectuals to focus on the issues of the third world. Another reason was the limited room for their thoughts in their own country. They were not able to write about the political developments in Iran at all and therefore, they used the outside world as a metaphor to voice their concerns about their own country. Through these criticisms of the third world for their influence from the imperialism, the intellectuals ended their distance from the society and had been able to create an authenticity. The main concern for these intellectuals was the freedom from the imperialist domination. They criticized the ruling elites of the third world countries for being the agents of imperialism. The intellectuals believed that through revolution, the third world countries would be freed from the power of imperialism. The intellectuals criticized the West for their lack of moral values, and for making people alienated through technology and material goods.As a conclusion, it could be argued that the radicalization process of intellectuals starting from 1963 ended up with the rise of revolutionary ideas.

3.6. Religious Intellectualism

As it is summarized above, religious intellectuals did not become a part of the picture starting from the beginning of the 20th century, because of the emergence of a new class with Constitutional Revolution, which had a Western style of life and ideas. At that period, to be approved by the society, intellectuals needed to be antipathetic to religion and religiosity. If they support religion and religiosity, they will be condemned as a fanatic or as a reactionary. Thus, religion faced this kind of hostility and failed to respond because it was not prepared for

it. Secondly, the oppressive manner of Reza Shah for his modernization process ended up with the absence of religious intellectuals in the picture of intellectual life in Iran until 1940s. In 1940s-50s, two important religious forces emerged in the scene, which were *Fada'iyan-e Islam*[79] and Ayatollah Kashani. However, even in the 1940s, the Marxist ideas of Tudeh party caused unease among religious intellectuals. In addition to these threats, when religious intellectuals developed a worldview that was constructed both by Shi'i tradition and from the Iranian context in 1950s-60s, they were faced with a reaction from the religious establishment for their goal of reconstructing Islam by excluding the corrupted parts of it. By all of this knowledge, it could be stated that religious intellectuals faced with three threating groups within the society in the pre-revolutionary political setting of Iran; initially the state, secondly the Marxist ideas and finally, the traditional religious establishment.

To understand where Abdolkarim Soroush was standing as an intellectual, this thesis is going to use Jahanbakhsh[80]'s separation of religious intellectuals into two phases; the ideological discourse and the epistemological (democratic) discourse. The religion in the ideological discourse could be defined ideologically, whereas epistemological discourse could be defined as an attempt to depoliticize and end the ideological desires of people. In the ideological discourse the concepts of God, prophethood, and other religious doctrines transformed into new meanings that were referring to revolution. These concepts

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[79]Fada'iyan-e Islam is a political activist group that was established in 1945 and it is a registered political party of Iran since 1989. Sayyed Mojtaba Mirlawhi, who was nicknamed himself as Navvab Safavi, founded the group. The aim of this group was to purify Islam and therefore they involved in assassination plans of the important political figures and intellectuals in Iran. Navvab Safavi was executed in 1950s, after a series of successful assassinations of the group. After Safavi's execution, the group survived until today thorough its support to Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution. For more information; http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fedaian-e-esla

[80]Jahanbakhsh, Forough. (2004). The Emergence and Development of Religious Intellectualism in Iran.*Historical Reflections*, Vol.30 No.3. pp.469-490.

were ending up with ideological meanings in this discourse[81]. The ideology of the ideological discourse was shaped by the understanding of the creation of Prophecy by God, was resulted by the desire of bringing a figure to the world as a revolutionary leader. The role of this revolutionary leader was to end the status quo, which was being implemented to be oppressed.

On the other hand, a new intellectual movement, which was named as epistemological discourse by Jahanbakhsh, developed in religious circles in the 1980s as a result of the establishment of *Kayhan-i Farhangi*, which was a magazine. The magazine had committed itself to be a non-political forum for intellectuals. In its initial years, the editors were careful not to irritate the rulers and not to cross the line of censorship, but this was changed with the publishing of a series of articles that were written by Abdolkarim Soroush between 1988 and 1990[82]. In this regard, the post-revolutionary religious intellectualism emerged as a reaction to pre-revolutionary Islamic ideology. Their main criticism concerned to end the idea of the displacement of religion and also the idea of a fiqh-based society. The post-revolutionary religious intellectuals adopted an epistemological Islamic understanding. This epistemological discourse used faith (iman) as its core element while defining religion and defined God as tenderhearted. They believed that God was not a source of fear but was a source of love. They did not use a single religious expression and believed that there was a variety of the religious understanding. And Abdolkarim Soroush could be named as one of the members of this discourse, whereas Ali Shari'ati could be named as one of the members of the first discourse.

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[81]In this regard, God is being referred to in more political terms like *Qassem-e al-Jabbarin* (The Smasher of Oppresors) rather than common names as *al-Rahman* and *al-Rahim*. In general terms, God is called as *Rabb al- 'alamin* (The Lord of the Universe) but in ideological discourse God is called as *Rabb al- mustaz' afin* (The Lord of the Oppressed).

[82]The name of the articles was *Qabd va Bast-e Te'urik-e Shari'at* (The Contraction and Expansion of Religious Knowledge).

3.6.1. Ali Shari'ati

Ali Shari'ati was born in 1933 into a low income family and his childhood years were shaped by the political situation in the country. For example, when he started his primary school in 1941, Soviet troops entered the country. Shari'ati was a shy and lazy boy for all of his school years that's why he could not reach any success in his educational career. However, he loved to read books, and he preferred to read books rather than to attend the classes. After his secondary education, Shari'ati was enrolled in Teacher's Training College, and he graduated from this school in 1952. After graduation, he was sent to a primary school, to teach in Ketabpur by the Ministry of Education. He was teaching all day long at this school, and in time this started to bore him.

After working at schools for three years, Shari'ati enrolled to the newly opened Faculty of Literature in Masshad in 1955. During these years, the state was granted a scholarship to Shari'ati in which he was going to be able to study in France that made him leave the country in 1959 to study in Paris. Paris was totally a new environment for Shari'ati since he had been living in a village during his lifetime. When he went to Paris, the political environment of Iran had a sudden change with the declaration of the resurrection of Nation Front after a long period of suppression. Shari'ati also desired to involve in political issues rather than staying away.

Paris was a city in which people were able to exchange knowledge intellectually. And also there were lots of films, intellectual journals and newspapers too. All of these helped Shari'ati to develop his knowledge and intellectual life. He also worked as a research assistant of Louis Massignon[83] in 1960-62, and this also helped him to develop his intellectual knowledge. Massignon was writing the life of Fatima and Ali, during Shari'ati was his assistance. And as a result, Shari'ati had the chance to read and translate documents about the life of Fatima and Ali that are written in Persian. Besides

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[83]Louis Massignon (1883- 1962) was a scholar of Islam.

Massignon, Shari'ati was also affected from George Gurvitch (who was his professor), Jacques Berque, Frantz Fanon, and Sartre. Existentialism and socialism were the structure of the ideas of Western intellectuals of that time. And these two school of thoughts were effective in Iran too. So, Shari'ati understood that if he does not use these two thoughts, then he would not explain his message for Iran. He found out that the definition of Islam in the works of Western intellectuals was same with the traditional definition of Shi'ism. They were only using a different language to make the same definition. For this reason, he devoted his time to show the Iranian people the situation. Before returning to Iran, Shari'ati understood that Islam was the solution for the problems that people were facing.

After taking his doctoral degree, Shari'ati returned to Iran and started to work at Husseinieh-i Ershad in 1967[84]. After he had started to give lectures at Husseinieh-i Ershad, he became popular, and his lectures had started to be taped. These tapes gained popularity among high school and university students.

Ali Shari'ati's importance for this thesis could be explained by two reasons; because both he was seen as the father of Islamic Revolution and Abdolkarim Soroush was affected by his ideas while he was constructing his intellectual ideas. However, we should always remember that Soroush and Shari'ati never met each other.

The 1960s would be marked as the peak years for the effect of Marxist ideologies, and since Shari'ati was studying in France, it was unavoidable for him to stay away from constructing ideas about Marxism. According to Shari'ati, the most important threat to the Iranian society was the Marxist ideology that had been adopted from Russia and Stalin; and a traditional Islamic ideology that is being imposed by the clergy and being supported by the rule of Pahlavi to control the society. However, we should remind ourselves that the relation of Shari'ati with Marxist ideology was not clear at all because there was not evidence for his real position. It could be stated that the reason why the confusion of how to

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[84]Huseeinieh-i Ershad is a meeting hall in which religious subjects is being studied.Also, Soroush was met with Shari'ati and Mutahhari at there.

explain the idea of Marxism and its relation to Shari'ati's ideas happened, as a result of Shari'ati's definition of Marx and Marxism in three different ways. Initially, there was a young philosopher Marx who was denying the existence of God and advocating materialism. Secondly, there was a social scientist Marx, who was trying to answer how the socioeconomic structures of the countries were affecting their political and ideological environment. And lastly, there was a politician Marx, who was supporting the idea of revolution. Shari'ati supported only the second Marx, and he argued that to define the characters of the society there should be a superstructure linked to socioeconomic infrastructure and ideology. In this regard, the history of human beings is shaped by classes in the views of Shari'ati.

When it came to the definition of religion by Shari'ati, on the one side, he was interested in Islam as a religion and on the other side, he was interested the position of ulama. He advocated that both of them were wrongly understood and interpreted for years and as a result, a misinterpretation of Islam had occurred. Also, Shari'ati argued that Qur'an was not read properly and again this ended up with misinterpretation of it. He blamed ulama for this was misinterpretation, and consequently, traditional ulama of Iran assaulted his ideas. Shari'ati argued that some members of the clergy were not aware of the real spirit of Islam and he explained the reason for this by using the example of the learning styles. For him, there were two styles of learning. The first one was to study and end up with expertise in the specific field, and the second one was to feel the knowledge and spirit of the field through instructions. In this respect, Shari'ati believed that Islamic ideology could not be learned as technical information, but it should be learned as a belief system and as a historical and a humanitarian movement.

Shari'ati saw religion as an 'ideology' to end the struggle that the society was facing for years. Besides ideology, he defines a term *maktab* in one of his early work called *Eslam-Shenasi* (Islamology). In his words:

A Maktab is the collection of a symmetrical and harmonious philosophical outlook, religious beliefs, moral values, and practical methods which have a cause and effect relationship and which make up a meaningful dynamic body

with a sense of direction. That dynamic body is alive and all its organs nourish from one blood stream and possess one single soul[85].

Shari'ati used both ideology and *maktab* while he was constructing his revolutionary ideas. In addition to these, Shari'ati also used the term *Ummat* to describe the ideal Islamic society. In his words:

Ummat is a society composed of individuals with mutual thoughts, paths, paces and goals who all share a sense of responsibility and are moving toward a single, shared, direct, known, and consistent destination[86].

Shari'ati explained the reason why he chose Ummat as the word to define the ideal Islamic society in one of his lectures. The word Umm was meaning path and Ummat meant a group of people who were gathered to travel to pilgrimage. Ummat is a different word from for example, ethnic or nation since the group was gathering by their own wish. Shari'ati argued that since Ummat is a gathering by their own consent, they would need a guideline and leader and he believed that Imamate is suitable for this leadership. He used the word to show the society that they were guilty of not reacting to the bad ruling style of the state. The society is responsible for changing its destiny, but not any other institution. In this regard, they should have an ideology (*maktab*) and a goal.

In this context, we could argue that Shari'ati (when he is compared to Soroush) attributed a revolutionary character to religion whereas Soroush tried to lower the expectations of people about religion[87].Also, the statements of Shari'ati were earthly, whereas Soroush was emphasizing on the afterlife a lot.

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[85]Yousefi, Naghi. (1995).*Religion and Revolution in the Modern World: Ali Shari'ati's Islam and Persian Revolution.* University Press of America. pp. 107

[86]Yousefi, Naghi. (1995).*Religion and Revolution in the Modern World: Ali Shari'ati's Islam and Persian Revolution.* University Press of America. pp. 110

[87]In this regard, the statements of Shari'ati were earthly whereas Soroush was emphasizing on the afterlife a lot.

"'I consider democracy to be the most progressive and even the most Islamic form of government' Shari'ati states."[88] According to Shari'ati, Islam was able to compete with democracy since the Qur'an mentions the words that had same meanings with democracy, like Shura, ijma, and bay'a. Shari'ati shared the same thoughts with the Third World revolutionary intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s. Shari'ati did not use the term democracy alone but preferred to use 'directed democracy' in which the rule is in the hands of a group of elite, and they have an ideology and an agenda. For Shari'ati, people should choose who is going to be the head of the state during the period of the absence of the Twelfth Imam, in which the society should live in the democracy.

In a democratic system, the elected leader of the society is only accountable for his elector. However, in Shari'ati's ideas, the elected leader should be seen as a deputy of the Twelfth Imam, and he was accountable both for him and for the people. Shari'ati believed that during the period of the absence of the twelfth Imam, ulama was the best class to select a ruler. He argued that the Twelfth Imam would support a leader from the ulama class during his absence since the ulama was educated in the religious manner. This idea of the Shari'ati could be named as the 'Alavid Shi'ism' and it had been an important source of the rise of the idea of velayet-e faqih. In Shari'ati's ideas, freedom and equality were the two main sources for the revolutions in the world. There was also another important source that was the 'abstract love.' He advocated that a school of thought, which wants to guide the man in a true manner, should be constituted by these sources and 'Alavid Shi'ism' is the one, which has all of the three sources within itself. Soroush criticized the attitude of Shari'ati towards democracy since he believed that there should be a commitment to democracy rather than rejecting its place in ideology.

Generally speaking, Soroush's criticisms toward Shari'ati started after his death. Soroush linked this to evaluating and changing ideas in time. When Soroush was in Britain, he attended to the reading sessions of Shari'ati's works

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[88] Ali Shari'ati "Iqbal Msulih-i Qarn-i Akhir" in his *Majmu ah-i Athar*. pp.48

by students[89]. Soroush was well educated in the Islamic philosophy when he was in Iran; and he was educated in the Western philosophy, especially philosophy of science, during his study in Britain. So, when Soroush was in Britain, his mind was blended with both Islamic and Western philosophy. In this context, the primary reason why Soroush criticized some ideas of Shari'ati had happened as a result of his knowledge about both the Islamic philosophy and the philosophy of science. And secondly, he criticized Shari'ati because of the lack of the reference to Qur'an and Islamic thinkers in Shari'ati's ideology.

Soroush criticized Shari'ati, yet, we should not forget that he did not deny the reality that Shari'ati was a religious intellectual. According to him, the only difference between religious intellectuals at that time and today are how they construct their ideas. At that time, Islam was being defined with revolution, whereas nowadays Islam is being defined with democracy. In this regard, while studying Shari'ati, we should remind ourselves what Soroush said all the time; "We should pursue Shari'ati's path, but we shouldn't be mere followers. We have to understand the logic of what he was doing; both its weakness and its strength. Pursuing distinguished people's path doesn't mean following their weaknesses."[90]

As a starting point, we could say that the main difference between these two intellectuals could be read from their styles of constructing their ideas on Islam. In this regard, Shari'ati used Islam as an ideology to conduct a social change, whereas Soroush rejected to turn Islam into an ideology. So, he preferred to make distinctive explication of religion and the knowledge of it. As I had mentioned before, both of these intellectuals were educated in religious and

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[89]The students, who were attending to these reading sessions, were both Muslims and non-Muslims.

[90]http://drsoroush.com/en/we-should-pursue-shariatis-path-but-we-shouldnt-be-mere-followers/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

modern sciences[91]. In this context, we could name Shari'ati as a religious sociologist (since he aimed to enhance Islam), whereas we could name Soroush as a religious philosopher (since he aimed to liberalize Islam through the idea of an open society). All of these points showed us that both Shari'ati and Soroush had an important place for the development of political thought in Iran but of course, their effect and importance are different from each other.

Soroush drew his criticisms towards Shari'ati in two ways; on the one hand, he criticized him from a philosophical perspective and on the other hand, he criticized him from an exegetic perspective[92]. Soroush argued that Shari'ati's weaknesses were drawn by his perspective in Islamic and analytical philosophy because sometimes his ideas could not be explained and justified through philosophy. And also he added that Shari'ati's works were lacking the reference to Islamic sources, as Quran and Nahj al-Balaghah[93], and of the ideas of the Islamic philosophers. All of these made Soroush argue that, philosophically, Shari'ati's works were not powerful. He was selecting certain elements from the Islamic philosophy and the history of Islam in accordance with his purpose. So, he was not focusing on the overall argument of the Islam, and he was only using certain parts to make religion a revolutionary ideology. As I had explained in the previous chapter, different from Shari'ati, Soroush was criticizing the usage of Islam as an ideology. So, it is not surprising to see that he drew criticisms towards the usage of Islam as an ideology.

As the last word, while studying both of these intellectuals, we should not forget that they had lived in different periods. Shari'ati built his intellectual ideas

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[91]However, we should not forget that on the one hand, the clergy, especially Mutahhari, criticized Shari'ati for his lack in the religious knowledge.And on the other hand, they criticized Soroush's positivist, liberal and historical background.

[92]Soroush explains how did he draw his criticisms in an interview called "We should pursue Shari'ati's path but we shouldn't be mere followers". For the full text of the interview; http://drsoroush.com/en/we-should-pursue-shariatis-path-but-we-shouldnt-be-mere-followers/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

[93] This book is a collection of the sermons of Imam Ali.

during Afghani and Bazargan had an important effect on the intellectuals in Iran. On the contrary, Soroush had the chance to develop ideas in a totally new social and political atmosphere.

3.6.2. Mehdi Bazargan

Mehdi Bazargan was born in 1907, during the period of constitutional revolution and died in 1995. He had the chance to experience the 20th-century political scene of Iran, and he had seen as one of the most important actors and ideologue of the Islamic revolution. His ideas about the rule of law, limited government, democratic governance and individual rights distinguished him from other reformists. He was one of the most important founders of the idea of 'Islamic liberalism' both in Iran and in the Islamic world. Bazargan could also be distinguished from other Islamic reformists since he was both a statesman and an engineer. He was a professor at the university, who was teaching thermodynamics, and also he involved in politics by accepting important positions in the government.

After completing his secondary school[94], Bazargan won a scholarship from the state to continue his education in France. Before his departure to France, Bazargan's ideas were shaped by both religion and natural sciences. Bazargan studied at *Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures* in France; which helped him to develop his ideas of religion and science. He was impressed by the progress of France, and he did not aim to bring only science and technology of France to Iran but also he aimed to bring the core reason of the development, which was the modern appearance. Studying in France also helped him to add a new dimension and element to his ideas, which was socio-political. Bazargan did not only admire France, but he also tried to show the missing elements of the society too.

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[94]Bazargan completed *Dar al-Mo'allemin High School,* whichwas a newly established modern school.

In one of his speeches, he argued that France was not constructed by comfort, novels, cinema, and love; but it was also constructed by misery, poverty, war and injustice[95]. So one can argue that the French experience did not only cut off Bazargan's previous ideas from his mind but also added a new dimension to them.

Shari'ati was influenced from Bazargan during his life time. He was an admirer of Bazargan and Bazargan was the only one he spoke when he first moved to Paris. In 1961, Mehdi Bazargan and two others established the Iran Freedom Movement, and this ended up with the awakening of Shari'ati in political terms. Not only Shari'ati but also Soroush was influenced by the ideas of Bazargan[96].

The French experience helped Bazargan to develop his religious revivalist ideas since France was experiencing two new trends at that time; which were Republicanism and Catholicism. The period from 1926 to 1936 witnessed the revival of religion as Catholicism in France. This revival of religion helped Bazargan to recognize that his religious convictions had an example in French context and as a result, he found a base to defend religion against the secular and anti-religious Iranian intellectuals. After this experience, Bazargan advocated that the reason for the progress in Europe was a result of the existence of religious faith and worship of God. With his effect from France, he argued that there were two important things that the intellectuals[97] should be aware of to bring progress and modernity to Iran. First of all, in his view, Islam was able to compete with progress and modernization process, and to become one of the civilized countries, Iran should revive its religious character with its social

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[95]Barzin, Saeed. Phd. (1992).*Islam in Defence of Constitutionalism and Democracy: A Political Biography of Iranian Ideologue Mehdi Bazargan.* University of Exeter.pp.25

[96]Soroush was mostly affected from Bazargan's book, which is named as *The Infinity of the Infinitely Small.*

[97]When Bazargan returned from France, intellectuals of Iran were dispatched themselves from religion and were argued that Marxism was an alternative for the modernization of the society.

values. Secondly, he rejected the idea of modernization that happened as a result of the authority and force of the state. He adopted an anti-tyrannical position.

When Bazargan experienced the social freedoms of Europe, he developed an interest in political issues too. He was influenced by 'Republicanism' more than 'Catholicism.' The 1930s experienced the Republicans' involvement in politics in France and Bazargan attended all of the meetings of Republicans during his university years. With their influence, he started to read their literature and dressed like them. Since Bazargan was mingled with French experience, when he was appointed as the prime minister of the country in 1979, he committed himself to ideas of the rule of law, reform, and the democratic values. This commitment resulted in the resignation of Bazargan from his position since he understood that the political situation in Iran was far worse than he expected.

3.6.3. Ayatollah Mutahhari

Abdolkarim Soroush states, "The prerequisite to become a religious intellectual is to be insightful, critical, resistant strugglers, bold, familiar with a multitude of sources, acquainted with modern ideas, and innovative and creative thinkers."[98] Therefore, every educated people and every people who hold a pen for a while and write, could not be named as an intellectual. In this regard, every academician could not be named as an intellectual, whereas every clergy could not be named as non-intellectual. So one could not make a generalization that intellectuals are not coming out of clergy or only coming out of academicians. But also we should add that religious intellectuals commonly belong to academia. In a speech, which is called as "*The Expectations Seminaries Have of*

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[98]http://drsoroush.com/en/intellectuals-the-powerless-wielders-of-power/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

Universities"[99]; Soroush declared that academic knowledge is critical because of its nature, whereas clerical knowledge is non-critical[100]. The religious intellectuals try to find a bridge between the religious knowledge and modern knowledge, but clergy is not trying to find a bridge like this. Therefore, Soroush argued that there was only few clergy who would be named as a religious intellectual. In this regard, he gives the example of Mutahhari. However, Soroush adds that both Mutahhari and Shari'ati failed to introduce a different ideology since they grounded their philosophy to Marxism. They only differed from the previous period in the sense that they asked questions rather than finding answers.

In this context, Mutahhari was one of the most important mullah figures in the 1970s. Mutahhari was born in 1920 into a clerical family. After completing his elementary school, Mutahhari was sent to Masshad Seminary in 1932, where he started his religious education. However, the political atmosphere of the country did not allow Mutahhari to continue his education in Masshad[101], and that's why he decided to move to Qom in 1937. When Mutahhari started to his education in Qom, he did not fulfill the required religious curriculum and had a difficult time for a while. In order to end his lack, he started to attend Ayatollah Khomeini's lectures. Khomeini was a philosophy teacher at that time, who was giving lessons about the Islamic ethics[102].

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[99]This is a speech, which delivered as a lecture in 1994 and afterwards printed in *Farbihtar az Idi'uluzhi*, pp. 21-45.

[100]http://www.drsoroush.com/English/Interviews/E-INT-19990000-1.htm [Last access: 14/07/2017]

[101]When Reza Khan came to throne in 1925, he was aware of the effect of ulama's power on his reign. If ulama would not support him, then he would not be at the throne. Yet, in 1927, Reza Khan introduced the modernization and secularization plan that was aiming to destroy the power of the ulama, which was resulted with a clash started between the ulama and Reza Khan. Protests had happened as a result of this clash and Masshad was the central place for these protests. These events were declined the reputation of Masshad and that's why Mutahhari did not continue his education at there.

[102]At that period, he was not started to give lectures about jurisprudence and fundamentals.

In 1952, Mutahhari moved to Tehran and started to give philosophy lessons in *Madrasih-yi Marvi*, which continued for twenty-five years. However, he was unhappy with the money issues and also he was unhappy because he left Qom and that's why he applied for a position in the Islamic theology and philosophy department at the University of Tehran in 1955. His application was accepted by the university, and he had started to give lectures at the university. This job experience helped Mutahhari to connect himself to intellectual circles of the country, and he also had the chance to reach lots of books. When it came to 1960s, university graduate people started to be aware of the religious issues and for them, traditional centers of religion, like mosques, were not fulfilling the knowledge that these people were desiring. To end this lack, Mutahhari decided to open an institute to teach the Islamic principles in a modern way and therefore, the *Husainiyih-i Irshad Institute for Research and Education* had been established.

However, the affiliation of Mutahhari with the institute did not last long since Mutahhari was in favor of a change of the clerical establishment through a group from inside rather than an inference by the intellectuals from outside. His thoughts about the institute would be illustrated by the following sentences:

> Fortunately, at present, a new class of religious intellectuals has developed-being educated in the modern Western culture and simultaneously having interests in Islam and Islamic studies. They represent Islam with a modern style which is normally welcomed by the young generation who are naturally Muslims but who have become attracted to this Western culture. People have repeatedly asked my views concerning this latest religious group which is expanding every day. Therefore, it is necessary for me to express my opinion in respect of their connection with the Husainiya, for they are becoming a social issue. Although there exist two extremist viewpoints, nevertheless I agree to employ them as speakers but only under certain conditions. In the past, the Irshad Institute benefited from them under my proposals and agreement. This new group can be a mediator between Western and Islamic cultures, but with the condition that their lectures and programmes are supervised by persons who were trained in the Islamic culture and who have had expertise in Islamic sciences including *tafsir, fiqh, usul-al fiqh, kalam,*

philosophy, and literature. If there is no serious and precise supervision, the harm of their programmes outweighs the benefits[103].

While studying Mutahhari, we should be aware that he did not develop a systematic political ideology by himself. So the sources that we use are a combination of his writings, lectures, and interviews. In his writings, Mutahhari supported the role of clergy as the leader. To show the danger of the political situation in the country, he emphasized the role of intellectuals. He argued that ulama was facing a threat to the rule of the society from the intellectuals. According to Mutahhari, if the leadership passes to intellectuals, then Islam would change the shape and at the end, it would be altered. Mutahhari advocated that the desires to convert to foreign ideas are the main threats of the Islamic revolution. He argued that adopting foreign ideas[104], the acceptance of modernity without any questioning, the fluency of the plan about the future would give harm to the Islamic revolution.

Mutahhari aimed to reach the young generation of the religious middle class by constructing an alternative and compatible Islamic ideology to Marxist and socialist Islamic ideas. Mutahhari also played an important role with his ideas at the formation of the ideology of the Islamic revolution too. However, different from Shari'ati and Bazargan, he did not have a direct effect on the politics with his ideas. His relation with Shah was differing from the other thinkers since he was not arrested and his lectures and books were not banned. Mutahhari argued that politics was an inseparable part of Islam and he made arguments about the political leadership and the necessity of government. As Shari'ati advocated, leading the society towards perfection, Mutahhari also supported the ideas of the need for a ruler not just to rule but also to guide the society. He developed his philosophy of Islam with regard to his refusal of the leftist ideology. In his

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[103]Davari, Mahmood T. (2005). *The Political Thought of Ayatullah Murtaza Mutahhari: An Iranian theoretician of the Islamic State*. Routledge Curzon.pp.45

[104]According to Mutahhari, the initial threatening foreign idea was Marxism.

philosophy, Islam is the one that guides people in today's world. Islam grants people with knowledge, but this that Mutahhari mentioned was not the knowledge of jurisprudence and religious teachings. Islam provides a wider knowledge in his view.

As it had been indicated above, Mutahhari's Islamic ideology was an alternative for both Marxism and the Islamic philosophy of Shari'ati. Mutahhari advocated that the ideas of imperialism, capitalism, and Marxism were enemies of the Islamic ideology whereas Shari'ati saw Marxism as a competitor. Mutahhari argued that the class struggle did not happen as a result of the wealthy class but because of imperialism, secularism and Reza Shah's suppressive manner. Mutahhari rejected the idea of the religion as the symbol of the ruling class. Mutahhari's explanation of Marxism is important for my research since, as I explained in the second chapter, Soroush studied Marxism under the influence of Mutahhari and adopted his views on Marxism by him, which helped Soroush to be affected by Popper's ideas[105] when he was studying in Britain. As I explained in the second chapter, Soroush studied Marxism under the influence of Mutahhari and therefore, Mutahhari's explanation of Marxism is important to understand Soroush's criticism towards Marxism.

3.7. The Father of the Islamic Revolution: Ayatollah Khomeini

In Soroush's words, Khomeini could be named as a cleric rather than a religious intellectual. In other words, Khomeini was well educated in religion, but he was not concerned with modernity that's why naming him as a religious intellectual would be inappropriate. Khomeini was born into a merchant family on 24 September 1902 in Khomein, which was a traditional village and donkeys and camels were being used for transportation. Khomeini started his school life when he was seven years old in a local *maktab*. The maktab was responsible for

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[105]Popper was criticizing Marxism in his book *The Open Society*. Mutahhari saw Marx as an enemy and Popper was offering a tool to defeat this enemy. In this context, it was unavoidable for Soroush to be effected from Popper

teaching the alphabet and the stories from Qur'an. In this respect, Khomeini's mother and his elder brothers helped him to learn last chapters of the Qur'an and the words of Prophet and Imam's. Another source to learn the Shi'i culture of the time was the festivals. Not only the televisions and the cinemas but also Khomein was a source to experience these festivals, and as a result, Khomeini had the chance to experience them, and they had an important effect on him. The festivals were taking place during the Moharram month, to celebrate the birthdays of the Imam's and at their Death Anniversaries. Ruhollah Khomeini left his study in maktab to attend another school that had been built with the efforts of the state in Khomein to educate the children in a modern manner. In addition to his studies of Persian literature, Khomeini started to learn arithmetic, geography, and history in this school. Besides his school life, Khomeini also had a private tutor from Sheikh Jafar, Sheikh Hamza Mahallati, and Mirza Mahmud Eftekhar al-Ulama.

After finishing the early years of his study, Khomeini moved to Arak, and he attended to *madrasah* of Ayatollah Abd al Karim Haeri. The education in the *madrasah* was structured by three cycles. The first cycle was giving the basis of the Arabic grammar, theology, and logic; and after finishing this part of the study, students of the seminary had the right to leave the study and become mollahs. They were able to start their professional life from the bottom of the religious hierarchy at this phase. In the second cycle of the seminar, students were studying advanced texts to understand the sharia with respect to legal philosophy and logic. Students, who complete this level, would have knowledge of the religious principles and the basis of feqh. However, this stage did not grant students with the ability to make their own interpretations and judgments about the religion. The students, who leave the seminar at this stage, were becoming mollahs of the mosques. Khomeini had finished the second cycle in mid-1920s and then started to attend the classes of Haeri for the third cycle, which was teaching beyond the texts. The third cycle was the last one and students were responsible for making their own interpretations about the legal issues. Students were granted with the right to make interpretations when they prove that they

were able to make proper interpretations to their teachers. Khomeini proved his ability for making proper interpretations in 1936. The students, who completed all of the three cycles, were reaching the top of the religious hierarchy. As a consequence of these cycles, Khomeini received the degree of *ijtihad*[106] in 1936.

Haeri was migrated from Arak to Qom in 1920, and as a result, Khomeini decided to leave Arak for Qom in 1922. When he arrived in Qom, Khomeini wanted to learn two mystical and philosophical concepts; *irfan*[107] and *hekmat.* He was aware of the lack of a kind of view in *madrasah* in this respect, and therefore, he started to look for a master, who would be able to teach him these concepts. In this regard, he found three teachers to study these mystical concepts; Mirza Ali Akbar Yazdi, Mirza Javad Aqa Maleki Tabrizi, and Mirza Mohammad Ali Shahabadi. However, Shahabadi was the one who had the biggest influence on Khomeini because of his teaching style. Shahabadi was offering his student's to teach the religious knowledge to people according to their level of understanding and Khomeini applied this offer in his future teachings. All of this narrative of Khomeini's life tells us that Khomeini, through his teachers, was well educated in mysticism.

Anyhow, we should state that Khomeini's focus on mysticism did not prevent him from the issues in Qom and Iran in general. In this respect, to end the selfish behavior of people, he began lectures on ethics in the 1930s[108], which became popular not only in Qom but among the Iranian society as a whole. In other words, not only people in Qom but also many people around Iran visited

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[106]Ijtihad, as a word, was meaning to have the ability to make independent interpretations about the legal issues.

[107]"Irfan is a kind of mystical philosophy which encompasses the possibility of unity with the divine one and universal self" (Martin 2003, 31). Khomeini started to teach ethics in 1930s and included erfan into his teaching in 1940s. Teaching erfan was forbidden in Qom, that's why the teachers of erfan were in need to select their students very carefully.

[108]He gave these lectures at Feyziyeh School and the lectures were taking place on Thursday's and Friday's.

Qom to hear his lectures. These lectures and the reputation of Khomeini caused a reaction from the state, yet, he argued that he would not give up lecturing.

In addition to these important remarks of the life of Khomeini, he was also named as *marja-e taqlid*[109] when he was thirty-three years old. He also started to teach at Feyziyeh Seminary in the 1940s. While teaching in Feyziyeh seminary, he combined philosophy (*falsafeh*), mysticism (*irfan*), Islamic law (*sharia*) and ethics (*ahlak*), which was differing from his peers.

3.7.1. Constructing the Political Ideology of Khomeini

The tradition of the clerical establishment in Iran stayed out of politics because they believed that they were responsible for guiding the society in religious terms. In this regard, Khomeini followed the tradition of the clerical establishment until the death of Ayatollah Borujerdi. While Khomeini was following the path of remaining distant to ongoing political issues, Reza Shah and the clerical establishment supported each other in the first years of his power. This support lasted until the introduction of the modernization plan and implementation of it by Reza Shah. With this modernization plan, a new group of people had emerged, which included many women who were not favored to put their veils on anymore.

As a result of these developments, clerical establishment lost its importance and significance, and three groups had emerged among religious side of the society. On the one hand, with the death of Ayatollah Haeri in 1936, Ayatollah Borujerdi declared himself as the representer of Shi'i Islam among the clerical elites. Borujerdi aimed at strengthening the religious institutions' position, and he aimed at developing a friendly relation with the state. On the other hand, there were two religious intellectual groups. As it is explained in this chapter of this

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[109]*Marja-e taqlid* refers to the highest-ranking authority of the Shi'a community, who is responsible to carry out the rule of sharia. This term is being given to min. 4, max.8 ayatollahs locally or nationally - http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1437 [Last access: 14/07/2017]

thesis, the first one was formed by Bazargan, Shari'ati, and Taleqani; and was in favor of reformist and liberal outcomes. The other one was founded by mollahs and they were aiming to reach back to the golden ages of Islam. Khomeini could be marked as the mediator of these ideas since he preferred to stay in between them while he was constructing his political ideas.

However, Khomeini's attitude towards politics had changed with the threat of secularism for the religious establishment. Khomeini, in his book *Kashf al-Asrar* (The Discovery of Secrets)[110], argued that the legitimacy of a government is linked to its acceptance of God and the acceptance of God is linked to the practice of sharia. According to him, the type of government did not matter since it implies the rule of sharia. However, only in a monarchy, the mojtaheds should select the governor in order to protect people from any violating act of him (The governor should be aware of the rule of God and should not violate it for his own desires). However, he did not come against the rule of the monarchy in this book. For Khomeini as long as sharia was applied, the style of government did not matter:

> If we say that the government (hokumat) and guardianship (velayat) is today the task of the fuqaha (religious jurists), we do not mean that the faqih (jurist) should be the Shah, the minister, the soldier or even the dustman[111].

Khomeini, while he was distant to political issues in the 1950s, was waiting for an opportunity to declare political opposition to Shah because he saw Shah as a threat. Just then, after the resignation of Amani, an opportunity raised with the introduction of a new election process in which women had the right to vote and also non-Muslims, as long as they believe in religion, were allowed to vote by the government. Reza Shah already declared that he was not favoring and supporting the clerical establishment and ended the power opportunity of this

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[110]Khomeini, Ruhollah. (2009). *Kashf Al-Asar.* Ketab Corp.

[111]Esposito, John L. and Emad El-Din Shanin. (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics.* Oxford University Press. pp.182

class. So, women's right to vote was the last straw for the clergy, which led them to take action. When these developments started to take place, the government needed to take a step back by taking back the right of non-Muslims to elect. However, this did not end the opposition since it was not taking back the right of women to vote. And so, the government decided to renounce the election bill as a whole. Nevertheless, Khomeini was not satisfied with this decision, and he declared that the believers should be on full alert. As it had been indicated in Moin's book:

> After the repeal of the local election law, a group of bazaar merchants visited Khomeini in Qom where he told them that the repeal was merely a test by the regime '… to see how prepared we are in responding to their plan, which is to destroy Islam'. 'Don't think,' he said, 'that they will give up. They are readying themselves for a new assault on Islam. Be prepared, strengthen your ties and expect a new move'[112].

Moreover, the tension between Shah and Khomeini increased when Shah declared the White Revolution, which was resulted with a protest of clergy for both the oppressive acts of Shah and for the referendum. The opposition between Shah and Khomeini ended when Khomeini had arrested on 5 June 1963. In despite of the request of hardliners in the government[113], which was favoring the execution of Khomeini, Shah was not sure about what he should do because Khomeini was a popular figure among the society[114]. So if Khomeini would be executed, then Shah would surely lose his power on the society and Iran would end up with chaos. As a consequence of these reasons, Shah decided to release Khomeini in 1964. However, the conflict among these two important figures did not end with Khomeini's release and Khomeini's critical attitude towards Shah

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[112]Moin, Baqer. 1999.*Khomeini: Life of Ayatollah.* I.B. Tauris Publishers. pp.80

[113]Alam, who was the prime minister of the time and Nassiri could be remarked as hardliners in the government.

[114]Since Khomeini was an important figure among the society, lots of protests and demonstrations took place after his arrest.

had continued. This opposition ended when Khomeini was sent to an exile in 1964 initially to Turkey, then to Najaf, which was Iraq's most important place for the Shi'i Islam. However, it should be marked that the exile of Khomeini did not end his influence on the religious circles in Iran.

Furthermore, Khomeini had the chance to develop his revolutionary ideas as a result of both the internal and external developments of that time when he was in exile. Initially, he had been affected by the social and political environment of Iran while he was in exile. For example, he read *Gharbzadegi* by Al-e Ahmad. Then, he criticized Shah's close relation with Israel in which he requested an opposition from the Iranian society against the acts of Zionists in 1973. These developments led him to leave Iraq for France in order to put the revolution in practice.

As a result of these developments, Shah was declared to leave the country in 16th January, and two weeks later on February 1, Khomeini had arrived in Iran. After Khomeini's arrival, the old rule had been abolished, and Khomeini built the Islamic Republic of Iran.

3.7.2. The Idea of Velayet-e Faqih

As it is explained in the previous section, Khomeini criticized Shah personally and did not react to the rule of the monarchy until the 1970s. But, things had been changed in 1970 when Khomeini introduced an alternative to monarchy, which is *velayet-e faqih.* Khomeini, in his lectures in Najaf, declared that a *faqih* was responsible to fulfill the needs of the society through religious and political power during the absence of Twelfth Imam. In addition to this responsibility, a ruler should be aware of the sharia according to Khomeini, and as a result, the only faqih is suitable for this job. In other words, to be guided in a just and knowledgeable environment, the rule of faqih was a necessity in the

ideas of Khomeini. In this context, as it was explained in the second chapter, the idea of velayet-e faqih was opposing with the traditional idea of Shi'ism[115].

In this regard, Khomeini grounded his idea of velayet-e faqih in two ways. Initially, he advocated that Prophet had built an Islamic state for the implementation of the sharia. So, the government was a necessary tool for the Islamic state and for sharia the Islamic state was a necessity too. He argued that the rule of sharia should be continued for the continuation of the Islamic state. After the prophet and twelve Imams, only the faqih was the qualified person to fulfill the role of the prophet and twelve Imams.

People's role was limited to the definition of the government in Khomeini's ideas. He gave the right to be selected and to select from clerical elites. A political leader should have the knowledge of sharia and justice according to Khomeini. "According to the theory of velayet-e faqih, sovereignty belongs to God. He is the only lawmaker. Parliaments or other consultative bodies are only there to plan the implementation of divine law or at most to enact secondary rules and regulations which should of course be in accordance with and within the framework of the sharia"[116]. Khomeini also redefined the role of clergy and the concept of republicanism in the definition of velayet-e faqih. He argued that faqih should not only collect the traditional implementations of sharia but also he should have the right to implement sharia, according to his interpretation.

In this context, Abdolkarim Soroush defines velayet-e faqih as a theory, which is constructed by its supporters and criticisms. According to him, if the theory of the velayet-e faqih is compatible with accountability, openness to criticism and respect for human rights, then it is a defensible theory. However, if

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[115]The idea of Imamate: the rule of the Islamic community belongs to Prophet and Twelve Imams.

[116]Jahanbakhsh, Forough. (1997). *Islam, Democracy and Religious Modernism in Iran (1953-1997): From Bazargan to Soroush.*Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, Montreal. pp.225.

it is defined in such a way as to make it incompatible with these things, then it is indefensible[117]. But, I believe that velayet-e faqih did not link to power and banany criticisms; and therefore, it could not be remarked as a defensible theory in this sense. Because of all of these reasons, the religious intellectuals are responsible for opening their minds to novelties and construct new ideas.

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[117]http://drsoroush.com/en/jameah-interview-with-dr-soroush/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

The historical and political development had an important effect on the evolution of intellectual life in Iran starting from the beginning of the 20th century. First of all, the desires of intellectuals starting from the Constitutional revolution were in no ways reducible to simple desires since they provided an entirely new outlook for intellectuals.

In this regard, I should state that the beginning of the 20th century had a global importance. Therefore, I tried to explain the development of intellectual life in Iran by linking it to the global atmosphere of the world. New ideas, as the rise of nationalism, had flourished in the world at this period and Iranian intellectuals were also affected by these ideas through the external factors. Externally, French revolution helped Iranian intellectuals to favor constitutionalism, liberalism, and secularism. Besides this, Iranian intellectuals were also affected by the Russian Marxism at this period. As a result of these interactions, a new style of intellectualism had emerged. This new intellectual outlook had resulted by both the global environment and also by the changing educational system (because Western ideas integrated into the educational system).

In this chapter, I tried to show the ups and downs of the intellectual life in Iran. In other words, I tried to clarify how the intellectual ideas develop in the pre-revolutionary setting of Iran. In this regard, Constitutional Revolution helped Iranian intellectuals to develop new ideas. However, I believe that Iranian intellectuals, until the Islamic revolution, were either at the top or at the bottom in terms of the development of their ideas. The Constitutional Revolution was the time when Iranian intellectuals find the chance to develop new ideas and insert them to society and also make their voices to be heard by both the society and the state. However, the rise of Reza Khan to power after the Constitutional Revolution had a negative effect on the development of intellectuals' ideas. So, during the Constitutional Revolution, intellectuals leave their heydays, whereas during the Reza Shah period they faced problems. After this period, the establishment of Tudeh Party could be regarded, as a new phase of the development of intellectual's ideas. Tudeh Party helped the intellectuals to adopt

a new ideology and embrace it for a while. I should add that Tudeh Party was really powerful on the intellectual life in Iran and therefore, it had the chance to change the meaning of intellectual from modernly educated professionals to radical middle class. However, the heydays of intellectuals did not last very long, and through the coup of 1953 and the rule of Reza Shah, they again pushed to the bottom. As I mentioned in this chapter, intellectuals could not function properly during this period and this retained us from defining intellectuals meaningfully.

After touching upon the development of intellectual life in Iran, I continued by reserving a whole section to the religious intellectualism. As I mentioned in this chapter, Abdolkarim Soroush belongs to religious intellectuals, and therefore, religious intellectualism is really important for this thesis. I selected to introduce three important religious intellectuals in Iran since all of them had an important effect on the development of Abdolkarim Soroush's intellectual thoughts. As a conclusion, I finished this chapter by Khomeini's life and his political thoughts. I believe that defining Khomeini at this point is important to understand the following chapter since his ideas had constructed the political and social atmosphere of post-revolutionary Iran.

CHAPTER IV

THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION AND ITS AFFECT ON INTELLECTUAL LIFE

The previous chapter was written to show the political and social environment of Iran before the Islamic revolution. Following such a historical background, this chapter will continue with the effect of the revolution on politics. After introducing the political atmosphere of the country, I will focus on the effect of revolution on the everyday life of people. In this regard, I will try to visualize the changes and continuities both in the educational system and in the status of women.

4.1. Political Atmosphere after the Revolution

4.1.1. Politics and Economics under the Control of Khomeini

When protests began in 1978, Iran was experiencing its lowest political culture ever because Shah had banned all of the political parties from activity and only one party was left to survive. This lowest political culture was being experienced for the first time since the end of the 19th century. Not only parties but also student unions, and the free press were banned. As it is the case in almost all revolutions, Iran's Islamic Revolution was gathered different groups together for a common enemy. However, this unification did not last long. The Islamic revolution created a revolutionary ideology with the help of ideologues of the revolution. This ideology was both claiming social justice, freedom, and a representative government and granting power to clergy after the revolution. Before Iranian example, some of the revolutions in the world had religious ideologies, but for the first time, the clerical establishment became the successor of the revolution as the leading figure in the Iranian example.

Khomeini, after the revolution, declared that he and the clerical class was not going to rule the state directly. Mehdi Bazargan's appointment as Prime Minister by Khomeini and Khomeini's support for Bani Sadr to won the elections were the examples for his statement. However, in reality, Iranians could not reach to the expected political environment that they were desiring. During the first years of the Islamic Republic, Khomeini gained the support of people, and this made him more powerful, yet, Khomeini used this power against the oppositional groups more than ever. The Iranians were desiring freedom and equality since they could not reach both before, but this desire was not met after the revolution too. When Abolhasan Bani-Sadr[118] was discharged from his office, Khomeini and his followers weakened the power of the opposition groups, yet, only Freedom Movement, which was pro-Bazargan was not affected by this pressure[119]. Meantime, from 1979 to 1982, clerical establishment continued to gain power and imposed their program with the support of Khomeini. For instance, Khomeini was the one who was appointing the leaders of Friday prayer[120].

After the revolution, a referendum took place on the request of Khomeini to vote for the approval of Islamic Republic. The results showed that 98% of people were favoring for the Islamic Republic and as a result, a draft of the constitution for the Islamic Republic had been prepared. The first draft of the constitution was a reflection of the 1906-07 constitution. Khomeini did not write his governing style until that time, and therefore, the first draft of the constitution did not include the law of velayet-e faqih in it.

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[118]Abolhasan Bani Sadr was the president of the time.

[119]In the elections of second majles in 1983, the supporters of Khomeini eliminated this group from the majles too.

[120]For further infromation, see: 'Politics and Economics Under Khomeini (1979-1989)' chapter in Keddie, Nikki R. Updated Edition. (2006).*Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution.* Yale University Press.

The draft was compromising a presidential rule, and it was not giving any privileges to the clergy. However, the new constitution was created by the Council of Guardians[121] to control all of the legislative acts for their harmony with Islam. The left rejected the draft of the constitution, whereas the nationalists supported. Ayatollah Khomeini suggested to put the draft of the constitution to a referendum but both the leftists and nationalists desired a review and also requested the formation of a constituent assembly, but rather than a constituent assembly 'Assembly of Experts'[122] was established.

After the revision of the first draft, the final draft of the constitution had been approved by the Parliament. It could be said that the new constitution was an outcome of different ideas, which were constructed by different groups in the society, and these groups had left out of the political arena for a long time during the Reza Shah period. Therefore, they were not familiar with the political culture of Iran at all.

However, the new constitution did not remain in practice for a long time. After a while, the Assembly of Experts changed the approved constitution by the government and added velayet-e faqih law in it, which was granting much more power to Khomeini. Through this change, Khomeini was declared as the faqih of the state as long as he was alive. After his death, Assembly of Experts had the right to elect a faqih or it had the right to construct a Leadership Council, which was compromised by three to five members.

Meanwhile, three oppositional groups had raised their concerns for this new constitution within the society. Initially, the leftists and moderates criticized and opposed to the constitution. "The Fada'iyan condemned it as a camouflaged

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[121]Guardian Council was responsible to control the acts of the government and had the right to stop the legislation when they see any contrast with constitution and Islam. This council was consisted of six ulama, which were elected by the faqih, and six jurists, who were elected by the government (the jurists were listed by supreme judicial council, which was compromised of the members elected by faqih). The members of the council were belonging to the conservative side of the factionalized politics.

[122]The majority of the members of Assembly of Experts were belonging to clerical establishment.

effort to replace the monarchy with 'Khomeini styled caliphate system'."[123] Secondly, ethnic and religious minorities opposed the constitution for its overemphasis on Persian culture and Shi'ism. And lastly, the ulama was critical about the Shi'i jurisprudence of the constitution. As a result of these critics, the constitution had been revised when Khomeini established the Council of Reconsideration in 1989. Khomeini admitted that he was also aware of the gaps in the constitution since the beginning but to give priority to Iraq war he was postponed rectification.

Generally speaking; initially, this revision questioned post-Khomeini era and what should be done for the law of velayet-e faqih. Secondly, first the constitution of the Islamic Republic was modeled on the Fifth Republic of France, and therefore, the offices of prime minister and president were offered in the new republic. Since the introduction of these offices, a tension occurred between President and Prime Minister. In this regard, the amendment of 1989 could be seen as an effort to end this tension. After the revision, the new constitution had been accepted by a referendum in 1989.

As a conclusion, it could be stated that there were two important points of the post-revolutionary era, which shaped the politics of today. Initially, the post-revolutionary period was affected from the low political profile, and secondly, the groups that shaped the new constitution were heterogeneous. The major political groups that emerged and ruled the country after the revolution was the radical clergy (Khomeinists). They seemed as a harmonious group from outside but inside they were fractioned. One of the core reasons for this unified portray had happened with the authority of Ayatollah Khomeini, and in addition to this, also, the established political institutions helped to handle the Islamic system. These political institutions also helped the country to be avoided from any collapse after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, who was the single authority of the country, by selecting a new leader and a new constitution[124].

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[123]Farsoun, Samih K. and Mehrdad Mashayekhi. (1992). *Iran: Political Culture in the Islamic Republic.* Routledge.pp.148
[124]These political institutions selected a new leader and a new constitution within two months after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini.

4.1.2. Factional Politics

As it is discussed above, Khomeini's definition of the Islamic state was a basic one, so it was not providing information about the nature of its socioeconomic dynamics. With time the groups, who were the supporters of Khomeini, started to raise different ideas about the nature of the Islamic state, which was resulted in the emergence of a factionalized politics. At that period, Khamenei was the president and Rafsanjani was the speaker of the Majlis. Both of them argued that there were two groups within the majlis; conservative right and radical left. The conservative right was in favor of a smooth transition of the socioeconomic nature of the state. They requested the implementation of sharia rule in the public sphere and the right to own the private property. On the other side, the radical leftists were in favor of the continuation of the revolutionary atmosphere and the redistribution of the rights in an equal way. In addition to these two groups, a third group had emerged within the majlis, which was supporting the ideas of Rafsanjani for nationalization and mixed economy. Among these factions, Khomeini was closer to the conservative side.

When Khomeini died in 1989, the factional groups were aware of a new era was upcoming in which Khomeini was not going to be the one who will tell the last word but some other means will make the last judgments. It was obvious that the successor of Khomeini was going to be Khamenei and the President was going to be Rafsanjani. In these circumstances, the leftist group among the factions was aware that the rulers would not act towards their benefits. Not only the leftist groups but also the clergy was apprehensive for the selection of Khamenei because he lacked the knowledge of religious manners at all. The clergy believed that there were others, who were over qualified for his position and therefore, they could not understand why Khamenei was selected[125].

When Khomeini died, the Islamic Republic was left without a leader who would tell what should be done for the sake of the country. This absence was

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[125]For further information, see: 'Factions in Post-Khomeini Iran' chapter in Moslem, Mehdi. (2002).*Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran.* Syracuse University Press.

fulfilled by Rafsanjani till the election of Khatami as the President. By taking the role of Khomeini, Rafsanjani argued that a new path should be drawn. In this regard, he took steps toward new reforms and rationalized the acts of the regime by pragmatic features. He gave priority to political issues rather than religious ones. Furthermore, the new constitution was granting power to the President as a key figure in politics, and that's why the clergy selected Rafsanjani as the new President of the republic since they were aware of the insufficient features of Khamenei to fulfill the quality of Khomeini.So one can argue that the tone of the politics after Khomeini was directed by Rafsanjani rather than Khamenei. Also, the relation of Rafsanjani with Khomeini played an important role in his rise. Rafsanjani involved in politics at the first years of the revolution and Khomeini was trusting him more than anyone else. As it could be seen, all of these circumstances pushed the clergy to select Rafsanjani as the President after the death of Khomeini.

Khamenei and Rafsanjani had different ideas and opinions that ended up with the opposition but their statements were complementing each other when it came to their mutual enemies. Khamenei preferred to make more clear statements instead of conservative ones about the social issues of society. For example, Khamenei supported the involvement of women in the decision-making process. Rafsanjani was representing the pragmatic faction in the society, whereas Khamenei was representing the conservative faction during the 1990s. Besides, these men were supporting each other. Khamenei was complimenting to Rafsanjani's character in his speeches and Rafsanjani was calling out that he was in need of Khamenei's support during his rule. However, this did not mean that they did not have any competition. The competition between these two started when Khamenei was selected as the President and when Rafsanjani selected as the speaker of the Majlis in 1980. Despite all of these conflicts, Khamenei and Rafsanjani were aware of their duty to rule the country. However, their role was not clear. Rafsanjani was responsible for foreign issues, and economic politics and Khamenei was responsible for cultural and Islamic issues. However, they were sometimes interfering to each other's sphere.

4.1.3. Rise of Khatami

Iranian intellectuals advocated that, to establish a democratic society defining rationality and truth, is a need. In this regard, they gave priority to define the terms rather than democracy as a whole for almost hundred years. Especially the constitutional movement of early 20th century was heavily affected by this idea. Khatami came to power by promising to fulfill the desired base of democracy, to build an Islamic civil society, and to bring political reform to the country.

In this atmosphere, Hojjat ul-Islam Mohammad Khatami was elected as the new President in 1997, and this showed the desire of the society for a reform movement within the state. In other words; people did not vote only for the reformist outlook of Khatami in 1997, but also they wanted to show their unhappiness with the Islamic ideology of the state. The reason for this unhappiness had happened as a result of the ideas of religious intellectualism, which started to flourish newly, who challenged the ideological premises of the Islam and the religious state.

Abdolkarim Soroush was aware of the unhappiness of the society that's why the election results in 1997 did not shock him. He believed that the society had faced with economic problems, whereas educated people were unhappy with the theoretical issues in the country. So all of the cadres of the society was having problems with the state. Also, the electors were young, and they were educated, that's why they were aware of the world, and they were desiring to live in a new atmosphere. According to Soroush, this election was a big step for the country since it had happened in a smoothly and peacefully. In other words, this election could be seen as the rehearsal of the future, and it shows that the future will be peaceful.

"By Iranian standards, Khatami is a liberal. He signaled relative openness, advocating greater political and social freedom, political flexibility, a broader education for young people, women's rights, greater emphasis on social welfare,

the relaxation of cultural Islamization and economic rehabilitation."[126] Khatami was both educated in the Islamic manner at Qom and Isfahan; and in a modern manner at Isfahan and Tehran universities, which made him be eluded from the classic mullah to a more Westernized one. According to Khatami, democracy and Islam were not distant to each other, but only people were not aware of their linkage. In his electoral campaign, Khatami argued that he will bring liberalization, more right's to women, political tolerance, and the rule of law to the country. He also voiced the needs of the youth in his election campaign. He advocated that he was going to change the education system and find a solution to unemployment. However, until 2000, any policy changes or any improvements for the living conditions did not take place, and the opposition between the pragmatics and conservatives continued.

Some scholars argue that labeling Khatami with only politics would undermine his ability; that's why he should be seen as one of the important intellectual figures of the country. However, according to Soroush, Khatami is a product rather than a producer of religious intellectualism since as it is indicated in the first chapter; Soroush believed that political power gives harm to intellectuals' ideas.

The most important difficulty that the newly established Islamic state had faced was the economy. The expectations for the living conditions after the revolution were in its climax, yet, it could not be fulfilled. The primary reason for social discontent came as a result of the economic problems in the 1990s. These problems helped Khatami to gain support with his reformist discourses. But Khatami and his government came under fire for their failure in economic policies in 1999 too. Khamenei, who met with Khatami and his cabinet on 24 August 1999 made it clear: 'The most important problem of the country today is

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[126]Menashri, David. (2011). *Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran: Religion, Society and Power.* Frank Cass Publisher. pp.81

the economic problem.' Yet, eventually, this was also the most difficult problem to resolve"[127].

Soroush's words could be used as concluding remarks for the reformist movement of Khatami. According to Soroush, reform movement did not fail, but it could not reach what it aimed totally. He also added that Khatami accomplished some things very well, like changing the style of education[128]. Khatami wanted to build a free education system in which the students would ask questions. In one of his speeches, he addressed the parents that they are not the owners but loadstars of their children. He also requested the teachers to end their suppressive manners since he believed that people would not be educated by using force. In this regard, the High Council of Education declared the objectives of the education system of the country in 2000. The objectives were constructed on the basis of Islamic teachings. The salient future of education that was peculiar to Iran was the political nature of it. Starting from the primary school, the education was aiming to teach the political independence, unity, self-reliance and so on to students.

4.2. The Effect of Islamic Revolution on the Everyday Life of Ordinary People

This section is designed to give an overall picture of the continuities and transformations of the everyday life of Iranians after the Islamic revolution. The previous sections of this chapter had designed to show how the political atmosphere was shaped after the Islamic revolution. In this regard, we could argue that the Islamization process of society was a top-down mission, which

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[127]Menashri, David. (2011).*Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran: Religion, Society and Power.*Frank Cass Publisher. pp.106

[128]Soroush declared his claims about Khatami period in 'A Congregation of Bees, not a Congregation of Parrots' interview. For the full text of the interview, visit: http://drsoroush.com/en/a-congregation-of-bees-not-a-congregation-of-parrots/

was driven by state. The Islamization process of the state is really important for this thesis, since, it helped to transform the public space, nation, state and also even the behaviors of people. It could be stated that both education system and women are the ones, which were mostly affected by the Islamization process. As Asef Bayat stated; the winners and losers of the Islamic revolution are still debatable, yet, it could be argued that women are certainly the losers of this transformation[129].

In addition to changing lifestyles of people, also the street culture and urban life had transformed with the revolution. For example, the Islamist people took luxurious places like hotels (which were being used by foreigners and wealthy Iranians before the revolution) after the revolution and turned them into shelters for homeless people. Besides this, the Western styled logos and names had been banned, and this has resulted at the disinterest of people to both cinemas and theaters. Also, with the breakdown of the Iraq-Iran war, the street names in cities changed into the names of martyrs. The war also had another important effect on Tehran because it could not be managed as it should be during that time[130].

However, as I mentioned at the beginning of this section, I am going to give my focus on the changes and continuities of the educational system and the lives of women after the Islamic revolution in the upcoming pages. It could be argued that the most salient example of Islamization of public space had happened with the Cultural Revolution. In this regard, I reserved a whole section to Cultural Revolution and its effect on the education system. Secondly, it could be stated that this new regime aimed to 'moralize the public space' and women were the most important tools of this aim. For example, the hijab became obligatory and men started to grow bread. These examples show us that the new

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[129]Bayat, Asef. (2016). *Siyaset Olarak Hayat: Sıradan İnsanlar Ortadoğu'yu Nasıl Değiştiriyor?*. Metiş Yayınları.

[130]The main problems that Tehran needed to deal during this period were pollution, high population and so on. Yet, when Rafsanjani came to power, he appointed a new mayor to the city and this mayor turned Tehran into one of the World cities.

regime was controlling both the bodies and the tastes of people. Finally, I added another section to show the overall cultural transformations in the public space.

4.2.1. Cultural Revolution

Abdolkarim Soroush defined revolution in two ways; on the one hand, the revolution was a form of rebellion and destruction; and on the other, the revolution was a theoretical renewal. He added that the Islamic revolution of Iran was lacking a significant theoretical innovation compared to French and Russian examples.

As it was indicated in the previous chapter, the student movements were present in Iran before the Islamic revolution and the university students played an important role in the upcoming revolution during 1977-79. However, after the revolution, the movements could not make any independent political activity until 1997. The initial reason for not being able to involve in any political activity had happened as a result of the interference by the state to the educational system of the universities; because these universities were representing one of the goals of the newly established state.

When they came to power, state elites argued that the educational system was giving harm to Islamic principles and voicing the interests of imperialism. The initial reason for this thought was raised because education was shaped by Reza Shah's modernization project in which the lectures were given in modern terms. Secondly, the universities, that were established with the modernization project of Reza Shah, also helped students to develop new ideas about the world not only about education, which ended up with the rise of new ideas and political debates. Finally, the new regime took some lessons from the previous one and the most salient lesson was taken by the failure of the previous regime to control the political activities of the student.

"The campaign against the universities started immediately after the revolution and the elite tried to institutionalize its policies by dividing society in

two, describing some as *maktabi* (followers of the school of Islam) and others as *ghayr-e maktabi* (not in line with the Islamic values represented by the leadership- feqh-e eslami)"[131]. Khomeini supported a campaign to purify the universities from any oppositional ideas since universities were the places for ideological forums. Khomeini argued that the core problem of Iran was the Westernized universities and the real science was belonging to Qom. Khomeini's attack on universities encouraged other politicians, and they also started to attack the Westernized style of education in universities. At this time, Bani Sadr declared that he started a Cultural Revolution for objecting the moderates and leftists. In order to end the Westernized universities hegemony among the students, Cultural Revolution aimed to close and purify the universities from their Western aspects. After the clash between the university students and revolutionaries in 1980, Bani Sadr decided to close the universities in May 1980. Soon after the closure, Khomeini established Council of Cultural Revolution with its seven members.

However, in one of his interviews, Abdolkarim Soroush preferred to name the situation that the society was experiencing an educational reform rather than cultural revolution[132]. Because he believed that in order to carry out a revolution, all of the society should be involved in it, and a seven-member council would not be able to perform an act like that. The culture has many carriers like schools, families, newspapers, journals, magazines, television, radio, and universities. The general public and the council of the Cultural Revolution was dealing with the universities which were the only one of these carriers.

The immediate goal of the Council of Cultural Revolution was to clean up the universities from un-Islamic students, and for this purpose, the universities

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[131]Razavi, Reza. 2009.The Cultural Revolution in Iran, with Close Regard to the Universities, and its Impact on the Student Movement.*Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 45, No.1: 1-17.pp.3

[132]Abdolkarim Soroush stated this argument in an interview in 1999, which was called as 'The Story of the Cultural Revolution'. For the full text of the interview, see:http://drsoroush.com/en/the-story-of-the-cultural-revolution/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

were closed for three years[133]. Also, the council was established to make the universities curriculum in line with the ideology of Islamic state, which was resulted with a barrier for lots of professors and students for not to be able to return their studies when the universities were reopened. Therefore, it could be stated that the Cultural Revolution had an important effect on the intellectual life of Iran.In furtherance of this argument, Soroush declared that Cultural Revolution Institute did not close down the universities and it was not responsible for the firing process of professors; but the university administration was the one that organized the dismissal of people. In other words, not all of the professors were expelled but they understood that the post-revolutionary universities were not suitable for their ideas and as a result, they decided to leave.

Council of Cultural Revolution was formed by seven members, who were Abdolkarim Soroush, Dr. Shariatmadari, Dr. Hassan Habibi, Dr. Bahonar, Messrs Jalaleddin Frasi, Shams Al-e Ahmad, Rabbani- Amlashi. Only Rabbani- Amlashi had studied at seminary, whereas all of the other members were educated at modern universities; even Soroush, Habibi and Shariatmadari were educated abroad. Soroush was the only one who studied experimental sciences in addition to human sciences among these seven members.

To understand the structure of this council, we can use Soroush's words in which he declares[134] that since Rabbani was not familiar with the university system, he did not involve in the debates so much. Bahonar was very tired that's why he was generally sleeping at the meetings, and Farsi was more interested in politics rather than the task of the council. Besides these, Shams Al-e Ahmad was very old and ill, that he was not able to leave his house and therefore, he mostly

[133]In Soroush's words, 700 academicians (out of 12,000) and 200,000 students were dismissed from the universities. Soroush gave these numbers in one of his interviews, which was called as 'The Story of the Cultural Revolution'. For the full text of the interview, visit: http://drsoroush.com/en/the-story-of-the-cultural revolution/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

[134]Soroush made this declaration in the 'The Story of the Cultural Revolution' interview. For the full text of the interview, see: http://drsoroush.com/en/the-story-of-the-cultural-revolution/ [Last access: 14/07/2017]

did not attend the meetings. Habibi was interested in writing the rules rather than debating them, so he wrote the majority of the rules for the universities. During the first years of the council, both Habibi and Al-e Ahmad resigned from council and Bahonar was assassinated in 1981. After these developments, Khomeini appointed new members to the council. In the beginning, this council was an Institute, but by time and with the request of Khamenei and Rafsanjani, Khomeini approved it to be turned into a council, and the number of the members rose up to sixteen-seventeen.

Soroush was criticized for his involvement in Cultural Revolution since this act was contradicting with what he was defending as an intellectual. In this regard, Soroush defended himself by arguing that the reason why he became a member of the Council of Cultural Revolution was because of transforming the universities but he did not involve in any cultural revolution in society. His aim was to recover universities from ill-minded people and to introduce lectures on philosophy of science and religion at human sciences. And as soon as he discovered the ideas of the members of the council was not corresponding with his ideas, he requested his resignation. However, Khomeini did not permit him to leave the council until 1983. It should be added that Soroush did not earn any money for working at the council.

"The Iranian 'Cultural Revolution Staff' has divided the course of studies into five distinct groups; humanities that includes social sciences, agriculture, engineering and technology, medicine, and basic sciences"[135]. All of the areas were changed through a specialized community. The most important change took place in the area of humanity since clergy was expertise at humanities rather than basic sciences and medicine. In this regard, students also supported the Islamization of human sciences. However, Soroush was against this idea, and he argued that science would not have a territory, which means that it does not matter whether it belongs to United States, Soviet Union or Iran because it is for everyone and everywhere. In this context, Soroush, when he was at the council,

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[135]Sobhe, Khosrow. (1982). Education in Revolution: Is Iran Duplicating the Chinese Cultural Revolution?.*Comparative Education*, Vol.18, No.3: 271-280. pp.277

suggested that the human sciences should have their own theory and own course. However, when universities were reopened, they faced many problems and failed to organize any human science course that was constructed by its own theory. For example, the religious courses of the universities did not have a proper syllabus, and that's why students were bored, and they were losing their attention towards it. So, the Islamization of the universities failed as a result of the lack of the religious lecturers and a proper structure for the course.

We could talk about several reasons that led to the failure of universities to be successful after the revolution, but the most important one among them was the transformation of universities into an ideological platform as insiders and outsiders. And the politicians helped this distinction to become visible not only among students but also among the academicians.

The political environment of the time made Cultural Revolution to be collapsed with the Iraq war, for which the country was not prepared and ready. The breakdown of the war ended up with the strict policies of the state towards internal issues, like increasing suppression of the universities. These sanctions were already took place whether the war broke out or not, but the war only fastened its speed. The Iran- Iraq war increased the factional conflicts and the policies of Cultural Revolution were shaped in accordance with the needs of the war. For example, to control the backgrounds and ideologies of the students; government officials visited student's home personally to see whether their family and themselves attended to prayers in the mosque before the revolution or not. The non-Islamic students and academicians were discarded from the universities, whereas the Islamic students who supported the rule in Iraq war were benefited from special quotas. On the other hand, the students, who were not supporting the government, were banned from organizing any kind of political union in universities. These developments also led to an interruption for the academic freedom. The student's, for the first time after 1941, were apolitical because of their oppression.

Nevertheless, when government faced with economic problems and the growing of social unrest, it needed to relax its policies towards universities; for

example, they opened lots of departments for women too- they separated the male and female population in classrooms by a curtain, they called back the faculty members to continue their lectures (the government also called back faculty members without looking their attitudes toward government). However, the administrations of the universities were required to be loyal to the government, and the idea of 'the ideal university is an Islamic one' continued even in that period.

After the Iran-Iraq war in 1988, the Islamic students started to question and protest the policies and acts of the government. These students believed that the state was corrupted, suppressive, and it was unable to fulfill the economic requirements of the society. In this regard, it would be said that factional politics also affected the universities. In 1991, the Council of Cultural Revolution introduced a new policy for universities, which was working as a guideline for the selection of the university presidents and councils. Also, another policy was introduced in order to increase the position of the regime in universities, which was granting a bigger role to Supreme Leader for the decisions made for universities.

The general policy towards the society from 1981 to 1997 was to expand the politicization. But the regime was cautious about the extent of this politicization; it did not want to expand it more than its capacity. So, the students were politicized only for their own problems rather than for bigger problems in the society. After 1997, the style of the students' demonstrations changed in addition to its size. The demonstrations were requesting more freedom compared to the early 1990s and they were directly targeting the elites. The request for freedom and the dissatisfactory political conditions, like the slow velocity of the reforms, reached its climax in 1999 when an important student demonstration took place. The demonstration started as a result of the closure of Salam[136]. The second biggest uprising took place in 2003. Students accused Khatami of not

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[136]*Salam* was a reformist newspaper of the time.

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fulfilling his promises during the election process. Students voiced themselves more radically in 2003 and requested the separation of state from religion.

4.2.2. Educational System in Iran before and after the Revolution

As a starting point, it could be stated that the educational system in Iran was shaped by religion, tradition and also by foreign influence. The most salient foreign influence was France in Iran, starting from the 19th century.Since French missionaries were the ones, who were highly effective in Iranian society, most of the population knew French rather than English as their second language. However, with the arrival of the American missionaries to the country, especially after WWII, English as a language started to be taught in schools.

During the Shah era, the educational activities were under the control of the state[137]. The public education was divided into four; Village schools, Town Schools, Secondary Schools and Higher Institutions[138]. Village schools were offering a four-year elementary education; Town schools were offering a six-year elementary education; Secondary schools were free, and they were offering a six-year study; and lastly, after completing their secondary school education, students had the right to attend to universities in Higher Institutes of the state.

As we have discussed in the previous chapter, since the emphasis on Westernization gained importance starting from the early 1950s, the educational system also started to be shaped by the notion of the Westernization. This change could also be read from the following statement: "The earlier education

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[137]State was controlling the education system through the Ministry of Education. In this regard, all of the schools were needing to get the permission of the ministry to be opened. It should be added that at that time, the minister of education was being recommended by Prime Minister, assembly and Senate to Shah. And Shah was the one, who was approving this candidate as the minister.

[138]The preschool education was not being provided by state, yet, state was supporting the establishment of private kindergartens.

philosophy held that the aim of education was solely to teach fundamental subjects centered on religious instruction. The objective of the present Ministry of Education is that education should train students to become productive members of society"[139].

Before the Islamic revolution, the most salient future of the schools were their names and the emblems of the country, which was a lion with a sword and a crown with a rising star behind it. The students were singing songs for the family of the Shah every morning before they start their lectures. And it should be added that the classroom's walls were covered with the portraits of Shah and his family. Besides these, there were the photographs of Shah and his family at the first four pages of the textbooks during Pahlavi period. Shah's efforts for the modernization was one of the highly emphasized subjects of the textbooks, and the most influential theme of the books was the Persian mythology, whereas the Islamic period of Persian history did not find that much voice. As Mohsenpour states in his report: "The textbooks before the Islamic revolution were weakening the religious beliefs of students, spreading atheism and polytheistic teachings, presenting the monarchy as a plausible political system, and presenting capitalism as the best and most suitable economic system"[140]. Shah regime was totally against Islamic culture and therefore, did not permit Islam in the textbooks. However, it should be added that all other religions were able to print their aims and goals in these textbooks. In other words, other religions were permitted to teach their aims and goals to the Iranian students[141]. For Mohsenpour, spreading atheism was the idea of Leftists, and they achieved their aims through spreading the ideas of Karl Marx. For example, Karl Marx's theory

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[139]Sassani, Abul H. K. (1963). *Education in Iran.* U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. pp. 9

[140] Mohsenpour, Bahram. (1988). Philosophy of Education in Post-revolutionary Iran. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 32, No.1: 76-86. pp.77

[141]In this regard, foreign schools were established in Iran before the Islamic revolution and they were serving to teach the culture of foreigners to the Iranian youth.

of evolution was one of the chapters in the social science textbooks for grades 6 to 8[142]. So, it could be stated that all of the cultural customs, like marriage and art, were explained by the Marxist ideology. In addition to all of these, Shah had used textbooks to legitimize his power by showing off how good he was through the narratives in the books. In addition to all of these, during school hours, girls were forced not to wear hijabs. This is one of the best example, which shows us that even before the revolution, the society in Iran was being controlled by force rather than freedom.

After the revolution, both the emblem of the state and the names of the schools had changed. The emblem of the state turned into the word "Allah" and the school names started to be both religious leader's names and the names of the people who died during the revolution. Also, the morning routine for the students had changed from singing for Shah to rehearse Quranic verses. In addition to these, all of the curriculums of the schools were Islamized with the Islamic revolution[143]. In Mohsenpour's words: "Within the past few years, several hundred books in different fields such as science and history as well as storybooks and other kinds of books, had been published for children and adolescents. Moreover; poems, chants and songs that are now performed in schools have Islamic themes. The Ministry of Education publishes monthly educational journals for students at all levels. It is hoped that these journals, which are called *Roshd* (Growth), will help to facilitate the intellectual development of Iranian children and adolescents with regard to Islamic criteria"[144].

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[142]Mohsenpour, Bahram. (1988). Philosophy of Education in Post-revolutionary Iran. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 32, No.1: 76-86. pp.78

[143]The Qur'an and Arabic as the language of Qur'an started to be taught in the school.

[144]Mohsenpour, Bahram. (1988). Philosophy of Education in Post-revolutionary Iran. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 32, No.1: 76-86. pp.81

Almost all of the private and foreign schools had been closed down with the revolution, which shows us that schools became free after the revolution. The history textbooks started to include the 'real' history of Iran, rather than covering Shah and his family's successes. Also, after the revolution, the political system of Iran (Islamic government) and some other political systems started to be illustrated in the social science textbook, which was written for grades 6 to 8.And the textbooks at the universities were also changed. Especially the social science textbooks had been revised. In this regard, "human beings, who were formerly studied and judged according to materialistic, Western social science criteria, are now studied and judged according to Islamic principles."[145] Besides these developments, as it was stated in the previous paragraph, post-revolutionary education gave priority to teach Islam as a religion to the students. In this regard, the experts in Qom had designed new religious textbooks and also, wearing a hijab became obligatory for girls and religious practices started to be introduced in the school. Different from the Pahlavi period, the textbooks in the Islamic Republic did not include pictures of Khomeini and his family. Also, they did not refer to Khomeini. The appearance of the girls and boys in the textbooks of this new period were more religious than before, and it could be stated that there was obvious gender discrimination. For example, these new textbooks argued that men and women were not equal and also these textbooks assigned certain roles to women both in their social and private lives[146].

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[145]Mohsenpour, Bahram. (1988). Philosophy of Education in Post-revolutionary Iran. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 32, No.1: 76-86. pp.81

[146]Generally, the pictures in the textbooks were covering men rather than women especially in the public space; and women were only being shown in-group photos and especially at homes.

4.2.3. Women's Status Before and After the Revolution

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this section, women were the losers of the Islamic revolution since they lost their privileges in both their private and public sphere. At March 8, Ayatollah Khomeini had declared that women, who were working in government, were required to wear hijab. In the aftermath of this declaration, protests took place for three days. However, it should not be forgotten that the issue of hijab did not last in the governmental sector but spread to work places and all of the public spaces with time. However, we should not limit the problem of women in Iran only with the period after the Islamic revolution. So, the problem of women in Iran was a historical one. For example, at the end of the 19th century, women were absent from public life, which meant that they were staying at home and looking after their children. Also at this period, men had the right to marry more than one woman.

The first organization of women groups was formed with the Constitutional Revolution in 1906. However, it should not be forgotten that the new constitution was granting equality to all of the Iranians but in reality, women did not have the right to elect and to be elected. So, in reality, the constitution was not granting equal rights to the woman as it was to man. Therefore, women preferred to write their concerns to the newspapers at this period. Generally, in these writings, they were demanding education and also they were demanding to be elected as their European examples. For example, in some of the journals, the translations of the situation of European women were being published.

By contrast to the previous period, Reza Shah era was beneficiary for women since his main aim was to transform Iran into a modern state like Turkey. In this regard, the number of schools for girls had risen in this period. Also with the establishment of Tehran University in 1936, girls had the chance to attend the university. These girls had the right to attend the classes without veiling, and their classes were mixed. However, still girls and boys were not sitting next to each other. Also, Reza Shah abolished the usage of veil officially in 1936. This step was really important because the state was officially rejected the usage of veil. In my opinion, this would be a good example for my argument, which I

mentioned at the introduction chapter. As I said, Iranian politics was constructed by pressure far before the Islamic revolution and Reza Shah's step towards veil was an important pressure on the society because he did not give the choice of freedom to the society.

On the contrary, when Reza Shah's son Mohammad Reza Shah came to power, he did not force women to be unveiled[147]. Also, with White Revolution in 1963, Mohammad Reza Shah had granted women to have the right to vote and also to be elected. This issue had been discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, in which Khomeini had the chance to criticize Shah for this act. Another important step took place in 1967 when state responded to the desire of women for changing the laws, which were not equally treating them with men. The government responded this by accepting a new Family Protection Law in 1967. As a result of this law, new courts had been established, and men are obliged to take the permission of these courts to divorce their wives. In addition to this, women had the right to sue a divorce and also women had the right to refuse the polygamy. So before marrying with another woman, the man needs to ask his wife. Also, the age for marriage had raised from thirteen to fifteen for girls. Besides these, the child custody was not automatically given to the father anymore. However, there were still some other valid laws, which were interfering with the lives of women. For example, there was a passport law, which was requiring the permission of the husband for a woman to travel abroad. Also, the law of Article 179 was giving the right for a man even to kill his wife, if he caught her improperly with another man.

After the revolution, the new constitution of the Islamic Republic was the written example of the Islamization of the state. Legally, the marriage age of a girl has declined to thirteen again, but a judge had the right to give permission to a girl to marry before that age if she is mature enough[148]. In addition to these, if a girl

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[147]This was resulted with the appearance of chador women in the public.

[148] The proof of becoming mature was linked to girl's ability for sexual intercourse.

was marrying for the first time, she needed to provide a 'virgin' document. Besides these, the Family Protection Law was abolished after the revolution. Through the abolishment of Family Protection Law, women lost their rights. The custody of children started to be given to their father automatically; men were granted to have the right to divorce their wives and also they had the right to marry more than one woman (they had the right to marry up to four women). However, the new constitution did not end the right to vote and to be elected to parliament for women; yet, it was restricting the opportunity for women to become a judge or to be elected as a supreme leader.

The most salient change for women's status took place in the public space because hijab became mandatory and with the new regulations; like quotas; women were forced to leave their jobs and stay at home. Hijab became obligatory in two stages; first hijab became obligatory in public sector, then in the second stage, it became obligatory in the public space as a whole. As it is stated below, it became almost impossible for women by time to walk in the public space without a hijab:

> Women not wearing Islamic clothing were refused entry to public premises; they were also banned from travelling with the national airline without hijab. The private sector was the nest target and private offices and factories were instructed by the state to observe the Islamic hijab code for their female employees. The harassing of women without hijab by Islamic zealots continued in the streets and the government was forced every now and then to denounce 'those who take the law into their hands'. But despite official discouragement of harassment, the IRP's organized mobs did the state's job for it and by the spring of 1981 it had become almost impossible for women to appear in public without a headscarf and not risk verbal abuse or physical attack[149].

In addition to hijab, the public space had been segregated into two stages. In the first stage, the public space had been segregated sexually and secondly; it is segregated socially. The first segregation took place in public beaches and

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[149]Paidar, Parvin. (1995). *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran.*Cambridge University Press. pp. 338

secondly, it took place in the hairdressers. At this point, it should be added that even the government tried for a long time, it could not segregate public transportations[150]. The conference halls, weddings, parties and all other ceremonies were controlled by the state, and, women and men were segregated from each other in these occasions too. So, it could be stated that women and men were totally segregated from each other in the public space.

The main reason for the new regulations in employment had resulted because of the ideology of Islamic revolution. The existing employment rules were constructed by Pahlavi state, so they had Western patterns. As a result of its Western nature, after the revolution, the revolutionaries needed to find a unique and Islamist way for women's employment. In this unique style, women needed to earn less money than men, for the sake of the family notion. In its Islamic context, men should be the breadwinner of the family. However, it should be added that important and supportive steps took place towards the employment of women because the workforce of women was integrated to the economy and to their family far earlier than the revolution and any barrier towards their workforce would end up with economic problems in the family. And also, this would result in criticism against the revolutionary force, which would not be wanted by the government because the lower classes of the society were the main supporters of them.

When it comes to education, it could be argued that women and education are Janus-faced since the Islamic revolution. On the one hand, it discriminates and excludes women from the education, and on the other hand, it empowers and equates women in education. As it is stated by Parvin; "The education system was restructured in such a way as to train men and women in accordance with their 'different natures and capabilities' and the distinct roles which they were supposed to play in society"[151].Compared to previous periods, the Islamic Republic period

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[150]Because if the transportation would be segregated, then a couple would need to transport in different vehicles or mother and son would also need to transport in different vehicles.
[151]Paidar, Parvin. (1995).*Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran.*Cambridge University Press. pp. 316

helped women to be educated more than ever and took action in social and cultural spheres. With the rise of the education level, women started to get free from the pressure that is being imposed by their fathers and brothers. Through studying at high schools and universities, women were delaying their arranged marriage years too, which helped them to build a new social identity different from their mother's and which would give the chance to involve in economic and global issues of the country. At the beginning of the revolution, women were excluded from studying at some departments but Zahra Rahnavard, who was the wife of one of the previous Prime Ministers, Mir-Hosain Musavi, through establishing a university (Al-Zahra University) for women, aimed at ending the restrictions imposed on women.

Khomeini and his rule was double-dealer toward women. On one side, they supported the education of women and they supported women's political mobilization; whereas on the other side, they implemented harsh and unfavorable laws towards women, like discharging women from government offices. As a result of this discharge, many women gravitated to private sphere. Farideh Fahri's words would be the illustration of the sanctions that were taken towards women:

> On 26 February 1979, only two weeks after the victory of the Revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini's office announced that the Family Protection Law was to be abrogated. On 3 March, it was announced that women would be barred from becoming judges. On 6 March, Khomeini said in a speech that women should wear the veil at work. Later that month, beaches and sports events were segregated and, a few weeks later, coeducation was banned[152].

As an important intellectual figure of his time, I was hoping from Abdolkarim Soroush to make comments on the changing status of women; yet, during my research, I could only find one interview about this issue. Soroush had

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[152]Farhi, Farideh. (2004). Cultural Policies in the Islamic Republic of Iran. *Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars. Conference "Iran After 25 Years of Revolution: A Retrospective and a Look Ahead".* pp.3

conducted an interview with Zanan[153], which was the sister of Kiyan. In this interview, he argued that the rights of women were being discussed through the effect of historical context. He believes that the image of women in religion is embrangled with myths. So, the social laws of religion for women are arising from these myths and to understand them we should always be aware of this link. As to Soroush, women were respected as a taboo since the ancient times. So, he believes that women's veiling has mythical elements in addition to social and moral elements. Through taking women from the public sphere, men tried to build a mystical relationship with them.

According to Soroush, the rights of women and men in the past were being ruled through the definition of femininity and masculinity. Also, Soroush believes that women did not have equal rights with men in the past because of the low level of education in the society[154]. On the other hand, according to Soroush, by the time the rights of women had changed and evolved. For example, in ancient times, marrying one's daughter at the age of nine was normal and was expected but today, even the religious community will question this act. However, I should add that Soroush's contribution to the problem of women's status could not go beyond these arguments.

4.2.4. Changing Cultural Features after the Revolution

The Islamic regime also aimed at eliminating the cultural futures of society that were against the idea of Islam. The state tried to impose the Islamic image into the cultural and social behavior of people. At the first years of revolution; many cinemas were set on fire or were closed, the pop music of both Iran and West were banned, women and men were separated from each other in the public life, and the Islamic dress code was issued both to females and males. During the

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[153]For the full text of this interview, visit: http://drsoroush.com/en/contraction-and-expansion-of-womens-rights/

[154]For him men were uneducated but women were more uneducated than men in the past.

Cultural Revolution, the TV broadcasted only religious and state oriented programs. The regime advocated that the art should serve for the Islamic ideology of the state. Many people, especially teachers and professors at the university, left the country as a result of the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution also ended up with the declaration of the development of science and technology. In this regard, the Islamic Free University, which was a private university, had been opened with the support of Rafsanjani in 1982. This university aimed to combine religious and scientific education. The requirements to be self-sufficient in technological issues made the government support research and development.

The quality of education was low since the teachers needed to work more than one job to linger on and as a result, the state encouraged students to complete their education abroad to reach the scientific knowledge. However, the students who completed their education abroad were unwilling to come back because there were unemployment and unqualified jobs for university graduates.

When Khomeini was alive, he supported the national Persian music, and this helped it to improve. After the death of Khomeini, strict rules were lifted and nowadays even performances of Western classical music can be seen. State also supported painting and photography. However, the Iranian film industry was the one, which took the most important proportion of the support of the state. Instead of being a cheap comedy like Indian cinema, this support increased the quality of the Iranian films. At the beginning of the revolution, filmmakers were limited in the sphere of Islam but after the 1990s they had the chance to connect with the world. The Fajr International Film Festival is the most important source for Iranian filmmakers to connect themselves with the world. This festival takes place in Tehran, once a year.

After the death of Khomeini and rise of Khatami, also the power of the father in the family decreased. Nowadays, girls and boys do not see their fathers as a source of power and force. They do not listen to their father's words anymore. The reason for this change happened as a result of the accessibility of the universities for girls. Girls started to be educated in a modern manner, and so

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they do not obey the words of their fathers. The marriage patterns also changed with the Islamic Revolution. Before the revolution, arranged marriages were popular among the society (only the modern class was an exception)[155].

4.3. Post- Revolutionary Intellectual Life

> At the height of religious control of the state and society, a group of intellectuals initiated a discursive campaign against orthodox interpretations, opening the way for a significant rethinking of sacred texts.[156]

After the Islamic revolution, some intellectual developments had happened with the support of the government. For example, the study of history, and especially the history of Qajar's, gained importance during these years. As a result, government supported the works regarding Iran; like the history of Iran, the architectural history of Iran, and so on, and even granted prizes to foreign scholars if they study Iran. This happened for both propaganda and for the variety of the study of Iran (to see Iran from the viewpoint of a Westerner).

When Khatami came to power, the press opened, and lots of periodicals and newspapers started to be published. These periodicals and newspapers had the chance to criticize freely the intellectual, social and cultural subjects of the day. In this context, it could be argued that intellectuals of the 1990s were much more aware of the Western and Islamic texts compared to previous intellectuals of Iran. So, reformists of that period followed the Islamic modernization path. They believed that, if one could read it properly, all of the aspects of West, like science,

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[155]For more information, see: 'Society, Gender, Culture and Intellectual Life' chapter in Keddie, Nikki R. Updated Edition. (2006). *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution.* Yale University Press.

[156]Bayat, Asef. 2007. *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn.* Stanford University Press.pp.84

women's position and the style of government, is hidden in the Islam too. These reformist intellectuals believed that the Western ideas are not always solutions for the problems.

Although the Islamic revolution was voicing freedom and constitutionalism as their main feature; yet, the definition of freedom was limited when compared to Western one. At that period, Iranian intellectuals were fascinated by the Western notion of freedom. They advocated that the reason for the development in West has happened with the notions of freedom and liberalism. Every single intellectual, who was educated in France, was trying to voice his or her experiences of freedom and liberalism to Iranian society.

The steps that were taken by the Islamic republic did not satisfy the intellectuals because Khomeini argued that the press should be in accordance with the ideas of the Islamic state and security forces suppressed the opposition groups within the society. A supporting evidence, we can give one of his speeches in which he declared that 'An Islamic state should have an Islamic press.' In this regard, the state banned the papers, which were written against the ideology of the state and which were not able to explain the features of the state. So, it could be stated that in the Islamic republic the freedom of expression was limited to the boundaries of Islam.

As we evaluated his intellectual life in the second chapter, Abdolkarim Soroush was the most effective and influential intellectual in Iran after the Islamic revolution and his writings in the journals like *Kiyan* and *Kayhan-i Farhangi* helped to change and shape the ideas of the young Iranians. Yet, also the harshest attitude of the state has happened against Soroush. The reason for calling this as 'the harshest' was because Soroush supported the revolution and he was deserving respect.

The most important event against Soroush took place in one of the universities in 1995 when he visited Isfahan University for a lecture and students attacked him (physically). Again, in 1995, students protested Soroush for his anti

velayet-e faqih position in Tehran University. *Ansar-e Hezbollah*[157] (Champions of the Hezbollah) was the one, which threatened Soroush more than other groups. On the other side, there were some other groups within the universities, like Islamic Society at Tehran University, which were in favor of the plurality of thoughts and respect to different ideas in the university environment. In Menashri's words:

> In July 1995, pro-Soroush students at Tehran University held a demonstration to protest at the brutal behavior of the *Ansar-e Hezbollah*- the first implicitly anti-government demonstration of such scale on a university campus since 1981. Unrest spread to other universities, including Shahid Beheshti (or National) University and the Technological University of Isfahan. In response to the growing climate of political repression, over a hundred academics urged President Rafsanjani to ensure the citizens' constitutional rights and guarantee the freedom of expression[158].

Important figures of the Islamic Revolution, like Khamenei and Velayeti (Foreign Minister), argued that the ideas of Soroush were representing a threat to the Islamic community of Iran. As a result, Soroush became popular among university students and academicians abroad; but he was forced to leave his job at Tehran University.

Compared to 1980s, 1990s were the times in which suppression was decreased; yet journals continued to be suppressed and closed; and even some of them were set on fire by Hezbollahis at that time. Not only press but also the film industry was affected by the suppressive acts of the state too. The state banned many films to be imported to the world since they were showing the negative sides of Iran. States attitude towards different ideas was negative after the Islamic

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[157]Ansar-e Hezbollah (the helpers of the party of God) is a semi-official organization that aimed to protect the conservative Islam as a status quo. This organization originated to the group 'Hezbollah' (Party of God), which was founded during the Islamic revolution in 1979. The duty of Ansar-e Hezbollah was to protect the ideas of Khomeini and the revolution. In this regard, they fought against individuals and groups, who were trying to challenge the ideas of Khomeini and the ideals of the revolution. For more information, see: http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/world/iran/ansar.htm

[158]Menashri, David. (2011).*Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran: Religion, Society and Power.*Frank Cass Publisher. pp.137

revolution, and it took steps toward on its benefits. But the opposition did not end with these acts; *Salam* was one of the main oppositional publication at the end of the 1990s. With some other publications, *Salam* was closed in 1999. Even the Majlis approved a law in 1999, which was favoring conservatism at the press. So, the reformist Khatami era was disintegrated into a conservative one very soon. The words of Rafsanjani are the best to describe the reason for the suppressive acts of the state: "When the Shah gave us freedom, we drove him out of the country. We shall not repeat this mistake"[159].

As it was indicated before, an important protest took place in 1999 by students, who desired the freedom of expression. The riots started with the closure of *Salam* but in a short span of time turned into a nationwide one. The protestors argued their family's fought against the suppression, but the suppression did not end with the Islamic revolution. Islamic revolution could not fulfill the desires of people in Iran. The desires and capacities of the students were not clear; yet, the state saw this protest as an important, challenging act against it. Lots of academician and intellectuals supported this protest, whereas the Minister of higher education, the deans and the chancellor of Tehran University resigned from their positions. Important state institutions wrote to Khatami and requested to finish these demonstrations immediately. Since the Revolutionary Guard was one of these institutions, Khatami could not support the students directly. He, on July 27, supported the students indirectly by mentioning to Islamic revolutions ideology, which was constructed by freedom. Khatami declared that the acts toward students during the riots were unacceptable and the criminals of these acts were going to be punished.

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[159]Menashri, David. (2011).*Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran: Religion, Society and Power*.Frank Cass Publisher. pp.142

As a conclusion, in this chapter, I tried to show that the Islamic revolution and the Cultural Revolution had a significant importance on the development of intellectual life in Iran. While I was explaining the post-revolutionary period, I linked the problems that the country was experiencing, to the low political cultural heritage of Reza Shah's period since it had an undeniable effect on the following political, and social developments in the country.

Overall, the immediate results of the Islamic revolution should be utilized through Cultural Revolution, Iran-Iraq war and the rise of factional politics. The ruling cadre after the revolution draws a homogeneous image, yet, in reality, they were fractionalized. The only reason for the homogeneous image was resulting because of the authority of Ayatollah Khomeini. In other words, Khomeini was the unifying factor of this factionalized group. At this point, I also tried to show that Khomeini was the only authority in the state immediately after the revolution. He was the one, who defined the nature of the Islamic state and his definition was not providing any information about the socioeconomic dynamics. This lack of a proper definition resulted in the rise of different definitions of the nature of Islamic state by people, who were the supporters of Khomeini. I believe that Khomeini's Islamic state had deprived of a proper definition and this helped the post-revolutionary politics to become fractionalized.

In addition to these important points, this chapter of my thesis provides a section on Cultural Revolution and its effect on the educational system. I believe that Cultural Revolution is important to show the changes and continuities. The main aim of the Cultural Revolution was to purify the universities from its un-Islamic nature and all of the steps starting from the 1980s had taken to achieve this goal. However, the time showed that the Islamization process of universities had failed as a result of the lack of the sufficient religious lectures in the curriculum. In spite of that, the educational system in elementary, secondary, and high school had been successfully Islamized.

Overall; the suppressive and also problematic nature of the 1980s affected the development of intellectual ideas in Iran. The suppressive nature of the 1980s resulted because of the Cultural Revolution and factional politics, and the

problematic nature resulted because of the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war. The war ended up with the scarcity of foods and also with the economic problems. Compared to 1980s, 1990s were the times in which suppression had decreased, and intellectual life had started to become normalized. I link these developments to the rise of Khatami, since, he aimed to modernize because he was educated both in modern and religious science as Abdolkarim Soroush. After Khatami had come to power, the press became freer, and also journals started to be published again. All of these had an important effect on the development of intellectual ideas at this period. And as I said in the previous section, Abdolkarim Soroush was the most important intellectual figure of this time.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This last chapter of the thesis is designed to give an overall view of the thoughts and arguments that were discussed in the whole of the thesis; this chapter also aims to give some suggestions to the following researches. In this regard, the tendencies of change in the intellectual life of Iran after the Islamic revolution have been presented and discussed in the framework of Abdolkarim Soroush's thoughts in this thesis. For this purpose, this thesis is benefited by Soroush's political and religious ideas.

As it has been noted, the crucial aim of this thesis is to show that Iran had a potential to be changed and to be freed from its Islamic nature, when she is compared with other Islamic countries. In other words, the political thought of Iran had a tendency to be changed. In this regard, I used Abdolkarim Soroush as my example to show this tendency. When it comes to the question of, why did I specifically prefer to use Abdolkarim Soroush, as I explained in the introduction part, he had a special place as an intellectual in the history of the development of political thought. When I started to search the intellectuals, who had a significant effect on the Iranian political thought, I came across with important figures; yet, Soroush was the most precious and the unique one among of them. The reason for his uniqueness was a result of his ability to construct his ideas different from other intellectuals in the Iranian context. The previous intellectuals of Iran were either developed their ideas within the Islamic nature of the state or through the Marxist ideology. On the contrary, Soroush had the ability to define Islam from a totally new perspective, which is liberalism, by having the courage of getting out of the ideological and intellectual milieu of the time. In addition to this, different from all the others in Iran, he had the courage to criticize the ideas of the previous intellectuals in Iran. All of these characteristics of Soroush made me select him as the framework of my thesis.

As I mentioned previously, we do not see any such like an example from a religious revivalist in Iran and other Islamic countries. This helped me to argue that apart from other Islamic countries, Iranian political life has the tendency to be freed from the effect of Islam with time. Soroush is an important example in this context since he had the ability to construct his ideas different from his milieu and also different from the other examples of religious intellectuals. However, at this point, I would like to add another reason for this ability and tendency to be freed from the effect of Islam. As I had explained in the third chapter, Reza Shah exercised power over the Iranian left. The most important blow of this pressure had happened against Fedain and Mujahedin. These groups had lost many of their followers either through the tortures or the conflict with the police. The oppressive manner of Reza Shah brought forth the support of the Iranian leftists to the upcoming revolution, which was not corresponding with their ideology. So, even Islamists and leftists did not share the same ideas with each other; they came together to fight against the same enemy. In this regard, I believe that the nature of the Islamic revolution was not Islamic at all since it took the support of the Iranian left too. So, it made to question would the revolution be successful even if it did not take the support of the leftists'. As a result of this questioning, I started to think that Iran would have the ability and tendency to leave its Islamic nature. While thinking about the answer to this question, I could say that Abdolkarim Soroush had been a helpful example for me to think that the Islamic revolution had happened with the combination of different ideas and everything would have the possibility to be changed after the revolution. In this respect, as Soroush argued, Khatami's election could be regarded as a hope for the future since it helps to argue that Iran has the tendency to change its existing Islamic nature in time.

In addition to the core aim of this thesis, I also aimed several other important things to show in this thesis. In this regard, first of all, I aimed to show the evaluation of the political thought in Iran in different periods. When I started to search this subject, I thought that Iran's political history had been interrupted by the Islamic revolution and everything had been changed in a day. However,

my research showed me that this was not the case. Iran had a problematic political and social history far before then the revolution. In this regard, I would not be able to study all of the periods starting from the beginning of the history, and that's why I decided to limit myself to a period, which was the beginning of the 20th century. Selecting the beginning of the 20th century was a conscious one because at that period Iran had experienced a revolution and also the importance of intellectuals had come into light with this revolution.

Still, the scope of my research area was wider than it should be. So, I needed to find another variable, and I decided to use one of the intellectual figure's political thoughts in Iran as my limitation. As I said before, I was curious about the political life in Iran since the beginning of the 20th century, and also I wanted to include the development of political thought after the revolution. For this purpose and through my research, I decided that the most suitable intellectual figure was Abdolkarim Soroush.

Within this context, the intellectual life in Iran before and after Islamic revolution examined in this thesis through using Abdolkarim Soroush's intellectual thoughts as the framework. I believe that this is a unique study because there was not any such like study in the literature and in this regard, this thesis offers a new study to the literature.

In the first place, this thesis is showing the development of intellectual life before and after the revolution. In this regard, it is a comparative study of different periods. This is really important because, during my research, I only found books and articles about the intellectual life in Iran before the revolution or after the revolution. So, the literature was lacking a comparative study like this. Secondly, Abdolkarim Soroush was one of the most famous intellectual figures of Iran; yet, a small size of research had conducted on him. When I was searching the literature, I only came across with chapters in books, which were reserved for Soroush but there was not any book about him. However, I did not want to leave most of the important intellectual figures of Iran outside the thesis and therefore, I harmonized their thoughts and contributions to the political thought of Iran in the third chapter of this thesis. I believe that without

mentioning Ali Shari'ati, Mehdi Bazargan, and Ayatollah Mutahhari, a thesis like this would be hollow.

The findings, as they were discussed in the previous chapters, of this thesis showed me that the intellectual life in Iran was problematic before the Islamic revolution. However, it was not crystallized before as it did after the revolution. Since the beginning of the 20th century, state and intellectuals had a volatile relationship. In other words, the state was always disposed to apply pressure to different ideas. As I had discussed at the beginning of this section, as a result of the pressure of Reza Shah, lots of leftists lost their lives, and many of them supported the Islamic revolution, even they did not share the same ideology with the fathers of this revolution.

Secondly, my research results showed me that when an opposition rise from the same line, the pressure is becoming meaningless. I would like to use the example of Abdolkarim Soroush to defend my argument. As it had been indicated before, Abdolkarim Soroush was a religious intellectual, and he had played an important role at the beginning of the revolution by being a part of the Cultural Revolution. In one of his interviews, he admitted that he was honored by the offer of Khomeini to be a member of the Cultural Revolution Institute. However, in time, he realized that his ideas were not corresponding to new regimes ideas and desires. As a result, he turned his face to this regime and started to criticize their acts. As I said before, the state had applied invisible sanctions on Abdolkarim Soroush after they had broken down; yet, they did not kill him or applied a ban towards him on leaving the country.

As the last word, I believe that this thesis would help a lot for the following researches because it covers the political history of Iran from a religious intellectual perspective. In the upcoming researches, researchers would focus on the changing nature of the religious intellectuals after the death of Khomeini. I did not give my priority to study only the intellectual life in Iran after the revolution that's why I did not mention the changing style of the politics in Iran after the revolution until today. Yet, the upcoming researches, would give

priority to this period to see the evaluation of the religious intellectualism in today's Iran compared to the period of the Islamic revolution.

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Truth, Reason, Salvation

Faith and Hope

Religion, Thought and Reformation

An Interview with Abdolkarim Soroush by Iranian Truth

The Responsibility of the Muslim Intellectuals in the 21th Century

Ethics and Ethical Critiques

Democracy, Justice, Fundamentalism, and Religious Intellectualism

From Islam as an Identity to Secular Politics

One Cultural Revolution was Enough

The Word of Mohammed

Khatami's Election Victory was Detrimental to Kiyan

We Should Pursue Shari'ati's Path but We Shouldn't be Mere Followers

Alas, I have missed the chance to have Coffee with Popper

A Congregation of Bees, not a Congregation of Parrots

The Islamic Revolution Lacked a Theory

The Social Sciences have been Iran's Most Bloodied Martyr Over the Past 30 Years

We Must Have a Referandum in Iran

It's Best Just to Speak of an Unqualified Republic

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Letter to President Khatami

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Islamic Democracy and Islamic Governance

Reason and Freedom in Islamic Thought

Islam and Democracy

Whither Religion in the Modern Age?

On Reason

The Relationship between the Mathnawi and the Qur'an

Sense and Nonsense

Militant Secularism

Insurgency of Love

Boundlessness and Enclosures

A Word of Advice to the Advocates of Islamic Human Sciences

You Have Turned Iran into a Grim Land

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY

Entelektüel kelimesi on dokuzuncu yüzyılın başında etkin bir şekilde kullanılmaya başlanmıştır ancak sözcüğün kökeni on dördüncü yüzyıla kadar dayanmaktadır[160]. Entelektüel kelimesi on dokuzuncu yüzyılın başından itibaren çalışma ve mantıklı bir şekilde düşünebilme becerisine sahip kişileri tanımlamak için kullanılmıştır. Bu kelime İran'a ise on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonu, yirminci yüzyılın başında Anayasa Devrimi ile birlikte gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda, İran entelektüellerini tanımlamanın her zaman zor olduğunu dile getirebiliriz. Zor olmasının temel sebepleri arasında İran entelektüellerinin, dünyadaki diğer entelektüel örneklerinden farklı olmasını gösterebiliriz. Bu farklılığın sebebini de, İran'ın gelenek ve modernliği iç içe yaşattığı bir kültüre sahip olmasına bağlayabiliriz. Gelgelelim, İran da entelektüellerin yaşadığı problemlerin kaynağı İslam Devrimi olarak gösterilmiştir; oysa, yaşanılan problemler çok daha önceye dayanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, problemleri sadece İslam devrimine bağlamak ve indirgemek, bizi konu hakkında yanlış çıkarımlarda bulunmaya itebilir. Bunun yanı sıra, devrimle birlikte bir çok şeyin değiştiği de yadsınamaz bir gerçektir. Sonuç olarak, İran entelektüel hayatının yirminci yüzyılın başından beri problemli olduğunu ancak konunun İslam devrimi ile birlikte göze çarpmaya başladığını söyleyebiliriz. İslam devrimiyle problemlerin belirginleşmesindeki en önemli neden de, dini entelektüellerin ortaya çıkmasıdır.

Bir önceki paragrafta belirttiğimiz üzere, İran entelektüelleri dünyadaki diğer örneklerinden farklıdır ve bunun sebebi de sahip oldukları kültürel miraslarıdır. İran'ın kültürü üç farklı kültürün birleşimi sonucunda oluşmuştur; Milli kültür, Batı kültürü ve İslam kültürü; ve İran hakkında sosyal ve kültürel bir düşünce oluşturabilmek için bu üç kültürün onun üstündeki etkisini iyi anlamak gerekmektedir. Milli kültür bağlamında, İranlılar diğer kültürlerle tanışmadan önce de sahip oldukları topraklarda İranlı olarak yaşamaktaydılar. Yani, İranlılar

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[160]Entelektüel kelimesi on dördüncü yüzyılda zeka anlamına gelen 'intelligence' kelimesinin sıfatı olarak kullanılmaktaydı.

diğer kültürlerle tanışmadan önce de Fars kültürüne sahiptiler ve bu nedenle milli bir kültüre sahiptiler. Diğer kültürlerle tanıştıklarında da sahip oldukları milli kültürü inkar etmediler ve bu kültürün izlerini üzerlerinde taşımaya devam ettiler. Bu çerçeve de, milli kültürlerine sahip çıktıklarını gösteren en güzel özellikleri halen Farsçayı ana dilleri olarak konuşmalarıdır. İkinci olarak İranlılar Batı kültürü ile, İslam altın çağını yaşarken tanışmışlardır, ve bu nedenle bu kültüre o dönemde yeterli ilgiyi göstermemişlerdir. Ne var ki, yirminci yüzyılın başında anayasa devrimi ile birlikte Batı kültürünün bilimsel ve teknolojik gelişmelerini sahiplenmişlerdir ve bunun sonucunda Batı kültürünün etkisi uzun yıllar boyunca İran üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Bu açıdan 1940'lı yıllarda İran entelektüellerini etkileyen Marksizm, Batı kültürünün etkisine örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Bununla birlikte, İslam kültürü, İran üzerinde en önemli etkiye sahip olan kültürdür. Tezin içeriğinde de görüldüğü üzere bir çok entelektüel, örneğin Ali Şeriati ve Al-e Ahmad, İslam kültürünü İran'ın otantik kültürü olarak tanımlamışlardır.

Bütün bunlar göz önünde bulundurularak, bu tez de, İran da entelektüel hayatın zaman zaman çoğulculaşarak siyasi düşünce tarihini değiştirebilme eğiliminde olduğu, dini bir entelektüel olan Abdülkerim Suruş'un düşünceleri üzerinde gösterilmektedir. Bu çerçeveden ele alındığında tezin odak noktası, İran'ın İslami özünden zamanla özgürleşebilecek potansiyele sahip olduğunu gösterebilmektedir. Abdülkerim Suruş, İran bağlamında, entelektüel olarak 'özel' bir yere sahiptir ve bunun sebebi kendisinden önceki entelektüellerden farklı bir düşünce geliştirme yetisine sahip olmasıdır.

Tezin amacına uygun olarak, giriş ve "Abdülkerim Suruş" isimli birinci bölümünde Abdülkerim Suruş'un entelektüel olarak tanımlamasına yer verilmiştir. Abdülkerim Suruş'un entelektüel düşüncelerinin nasıl oluştuğunu anlayabilmek için, öncelikli olarak onun hayatı hakkında bilgi sahibi olmamız germektedir. Bu amaçla bu bölümün ilk kısmında Abdülkerim Suruş'un çocukluğu, gençliği ve eğitim hayatı ile ilgili bir anlatım yer almaktadır. Bir önceki paragraf da belirtildiği üzere, Abdülkarim Suruş diğer entelektüellerden farklıdır ve bu farklılığı görebilmek için onu ve eğitim hayatını iyi anlamak gerekmektedir. Genel olarak, önceki entelektüeller ve Abdülkarim Suruş

arasındaki en belirgin fark aldıkları eğitim yönünden olmuştur. Önceki entelektüeller genel olarak dini eğitim almışlardır ve**ya** modern eğitimle hiç tanışmamış ya da ancak üniversite çağına eriştikleri dönemde tanışmışlardır. Oysa ki Abdülkerim Suruş henüz ortaokula giderken, okuldaki öğretmenlerinin yardımıyla, dini eğitimine ek olarak modern eğitimle tanışmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Suruş'dan önceki entelektüeller, din bilimi üzerine yoğunlaşırken, Suruş düşüncelerini hem din bilimi hem de modern bilimi kullanarak inşa etmiştir. İki başlı bir eğitim almış olması, Suruş'un olaylara bakış açısını da etkilemiştir. Örneğin, okul yıllarında Suruş *Anjoman-e Hojatiyyeh* adında bir dini gruba üye olma fırsatı yakalamış ve Bahai inancı ile tanışmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, Bahai inancının eleştiren Halabi beyinde derslerine katılma fırsatı yakalamıştır. Bu örnek bize Suruş'un aldığı eğitim sayesinde tüm olaylara her yönünden bakabildiğini göstermektedir.

Bu tezin birinci bölümü, Abdülkerim Suruş'un hayatını anlattıktan sonra, onun dini ve siyasi düşüncelerini nasıl oluşturduğu üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Din ve siyasetin birbirinden ayrılmamasının temel nedeni, İran'da bu iki terimin iç içe geçmiş olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Örneğin; Suruş'a göre İslam bir ideoloji olarak kullanılamaz (bu argümanı bizlere din ve siyaseti aynı pota altında nasılerittiğini göstermektedir). Bu nedenle de, bu tez, ayrı ayrı değinmek yerine, din ve siyasetin Suruş'un entelektüel yaşamının gelişimindeki ortak etkisi üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bununla birlikte bu bölüm, din ve siyaseti harmanlamadan önce, İslam'ın tarihçesine değinmektedir çünkü Suruş'un da dediği üzere dini metinler kutsaldır fakat insanların dini metinler hakkındaki bilgileri yorumlamadır. İslam'ı (ve yorumlamalarını) anlayabilmek için onun tarihçesi hakkında bilgi sahibi olmamız gerekmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bu tez, Şii İslam ve tasavvufu anlatmaktadır. Şii İslam'ı tanımlamanın temel nedeni Abdülkerim Suruş'un dini düşüncelerini Şiilik üzerinde inşa etmiş olmasıdır, fakat buna ek olarak bu tezde değinilmiş olan tüm entelektüellerin dini düşüncelerinin gelişiminde Şiiliğin önemli bir yeri vardır. Bu nedenle Şiilik, bu tezde, Abdülkerim Suruş'un dini düşüncelerini anlatmaktan çok daha önemli bir amaca hizmet etmektedir ve bu

bağlamda, Şiiliği tezin ilk sayfalarında açıklamak oldukça önemli bir yere sahiptir.

İkinci olarak, tasavvufu bu tezde tanımlamış olmamın sebebi Suruş'un düşüncelerinin gelişiminde yadsınamaz bir yere sahip oluşudur. Suruş, tasavvufla, İran'da üniversitede okurken tanışmıştır ve İngiltere'deki eğitimini tamamladıktan sonrada tasavvuftan yararlanmaya devam etmiştir. Tasavvuf 'un etkisinde kalmış bir çok düşünür olmasına rağmen, Suruş, en çok Mevlana, Gazali ve Molla Sadra'dan etkilenmiştir. Suruş, Gazali'nin etkisinde belli bir süre kalmıştır ve bu etkilenmeyi korku temelli tasavvufu deneyimleme olarak ifade etmektedir. Tezin bir çok yerinde değinileceği üzere, Mevlana'nın Suruş üstündeki etkisi göz ardı edilemez derecede önemlidir. Eğer Suruş'un tüm röportajları ve yazdıkları gözden geçirilirse, Mevlana'nın onun için ne kadar büyük bir öneme sahip olduğu daha iyi anlaşılabilir çünkü neredeyse hepsinde ya Mevlana'nın ismine ya da onun düşüncelerine değinmiştir. Son olarak da az önce bahsedildiği üzere, Suruş, Molla Sadra'nın düşüncelerinden etkilenmiştir ve özellikle Marks'ın düşüncelerine karşı eleştirilerini oluştururken Sadra'nın 'harakat-i jawhari'düşüncesinden yararlanmıştır.Bu sebeple, bu tez tasavvufu tanımladıktan sonra bu üç önemli figürün hayatlarını ve düşüncelerini anlatmaktadır.

Bu bölüm, Suruş'un dini düşüncelerinin nasıl şekillendiğini anlattıktan sonra siyasi düşüncelerini nasıl şekillendiğini, din ve Marks'la olan bağı üzerinden anlatmaktadır. Bu tez için Suruş'un siyasi düşüncelerinin din ile anlatımı önemli idi çünkü Suruş İslam devriminde siyasetin içinde kendine bir rol üstelenerek ülkenin geleceği üzerinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Suruş'un da dediği üzere İslami toplumlar siyasi İslam düşüncesi ile günümüz modernliğine karşı çıkmaktaydı. Oysaki dünya bu modernlik içinde yaşamaktaydı. Bu bağlamda, Suruş dini entelektüelleri modern olarak tanımlamış ve kendisinde bir dini entelektüel olarak adlandırmıştır. Ayrıca, Suruş ancak dini entelektüellerin İslami toplumları modernliğe ulaştırabileceği savını da ortaya atmıştır. Bütün bunlar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Suruş'un siyasi düşüncelerinin şekillenmesinde dinin yeri üzerine ayrılmış bir bölümün olması yadsınamaz. Son

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söz olarak, bu bölümü bu şekilde tasarlanmasının temel amacı, Abdülkerim Suruş'un neden özel bir entelektüel olarak görüldüğünü anlatabilmektir.

Tezin " İran da Devrim Öncesi Entelektüel Hayat" adlı ikinci bölümünde Abdülkerim Suruş'un entelektüel olarak nasıl bir ortam içinde büyüdüğünü ve hangi entelektüellerin fikirlerinden yararlandığını anlayabilmek için yirminci yüzyılın başından İslam devrimine kadar olan süreç, siyasi ve sosyal açıdan incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu bölüm hem siyasi ve tarihsel bir öyküleme niteliği taşımaktadır, hem de zamanın önemli entelektüellerinin ve düşünürlerinin hayatlarının ve düşüncelerinin özetini içermektedir. Bu bölüme entelektüelin İran'da ne anlam ifade ettiği tanımlanarak başlanmıştır. Giriş bölümünde de belirtildiği üzere entelektüel kelimesi İran da on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonundan (özellikle İbni Sina, Farabi, Mevlana gibi düşünürlerin etkisiyle) itibaren kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Genel olarak Farsçada iki kelime entelektüel anlamına gelmektedir; *Monavvar al-fekr* ve *Rawshanfekr*.

Monavvar al-fekr kelimesi yirminci yüzyılın başında anayasa devrimi ile kullanılmaya başlanmıştır ve ikinci dünya savaşının sonuna kadar İran entelektüellerini tanımlamak için kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. *Monavvar al-fekr*'in anlamı Fransız aydınlanma çağıyla bir bağa sahiptir ve bu nedenle de, hem aydınlanmış kişi anlamını hem de insanları aydınlatma görevini üstlenmiş kişi anlamını taşımaktadır. Bu aydınlanmış kişiler, İran'daki insanları aydınlatma görevini Batı'dan öğrendikleri model doğrultusunda gerçekleştirmeyi kendilerine amaç edinmişlerdir. Batı'dan öğrendikleri modeli kullanmalarının sebepleri arasında Fransız ve Rus entelektüellerinin, İran entelektüelleri üzerindeki etkisi gösterilebilir. Bu bağlamda, *Monavvar al-fekr*'leri geleneksel toplumun ilk eleştirmenleri olarak görebiliriz.

1941 yılında Tudeh partisinin kurulması ile birlikte entelektüelleri tanımlamak için yeni bir kelime ortaya çıkmıştır ve bu Rawshanfekr'dir. Rawshanfekr kelimesi, aydınlanmış kişi ve insanları aydınlatan kişinin bir birleşimidir. Bu çerçevede, ayrıca Rawshanfekr'in anlamı Marksist

düşüncelerle[161] de bağlantılıdır. Marksist düşüncelerle bir bağ içinde olması nedeniyle entelektüel kelimesi 1941'den 1979'a kadar siyasi bir anlam da taşımaktaydı. Ama İslam devrimi ile birlikte entelektüelleri tanımlamak için bir başka yeni kelime kullanılmaya başlanmıştır ve bu *rawshanfekr-i dini*'dir. *Rawshanfekr-i dini* toplumda yaşayan dini entelektüelleri tanımlamak için kullanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, ikinci bölümde entelektüel kelimesinin İran bağlamında tanımlanmış olmasının nedeni, okurlara sadece entelektüel hayatının değil aynı zamanda entelektüel kelimesinin de zamanla anlam değiştirdiğini gösterebilmektedir. Yani özünde anlatılmak istenen, ilk bölümde de belirtildiği üzere, sadece entelektüel hayatının değil aynı zamanda entelektüel kelimesinin de yirminci yüzyılın başından beri problemli olduğunu gösterebilmektir.

Daha öncede belirttiğimiz üzere bu bölüm, hem siyasi ve tarihsel bir öyküleme niteliği taşımaktadır, hem de zamanın önemli entelektüellerinin ve düşünürlerinin hayatlarının ve düşüncelerinin özetini içermektedir. Bu nedenle de bu bölümün ilk beş kısmı yirminci yüzyılın başından itibaren önemli kabul edilen her bir siyasi dönemin özetini içermektedir. Yirminci yüzyılın başında, anayasa devrimi ile birlikte, entelektüellerin devletten ve toplumdan beklentileri oldukça yükselmiştir. Bu nedenle bu bölüme, anayasa devriminin oluşumu ve entelektüeller üzerinde bıraktığı etkisi anlatılarak başlanmıştır. Fakat bu noktada İran'ın siyasi tarihi anlatılırken, sadece İran'ın içinde gerçekleşen olaylara odaklanmanın doğru olmayacağı, ve bu nedenle bu dönemde dünyada olup biten önemli olayların da konuların içinde harmanlanması gerekmiştir. Örneğin, yirminci yüzyılın başında toplumun bir çok katmanın birleşerek mevcut düzene karşı ayaklanması ve anayasa devrimini gerçekleştirmesi sadece İran üzerinden anlatılabilecek bir konu değildir. Bu dönemde dünyada yeni fikirler ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır ve İran entelektüelleri de bu fikirlerin, İran'a komşu olan ülkelerde etkili olmaya başlamasıyla, etkilenmişlerdir. Bu dönemde İran, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Sovyet Rusya ile komşudur. Osmanlı imparatorluğu, Fransız devrimi sonucunda ortaya çıkmış olan ulusalcılık fikriyle; Sovyet Rusya

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[161]O dönemdeki Marksist düşünceler statükocu anlayışa karşı devrimci bir mücadeleyi savunuyordu.

ise Marksist düşüncelerle baş etmeye çalışmaktadır. Bütün bunların etkisiyle de, İran entelektüelleri hem ulusalcı hem de Marksist düşünceler geliştirmeye ve bunlar sonucunda yeni bir anayasal düzen isteğini devlete karşı dile getirmeye başlamışlardır.

Yukarıda belirtildiği üzere İran entelektüel hayatında önemli yol ayrımlarına sebep olan siyasi olaylar, bu bölümün başındaki ilk beş kısımda etraflıca incelenmiştir. Daha önce de belirttiğimiz üzere dini entelektüeller, devrim sonrası toplumsal hayatı dönüştürmekte ve etkilemekte önemli bir yere sahiptirler. Bu nedenle devrime kadar olan siyasi tarihin özetinin ardından bu bölüm dini entelektüellerin anlatımıyla devam etmektedir. Dini entelektüellerin bir diğer önemi ise Abdülkerim Suruş'unda dini bir entelektüel olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu bölümde Abdülkerim Suruş'un düşüncelerinin oluşmasında önemli yere sahip olan üç önemli dini entelektüelin (Ali Şeriati, Mehdi Bazergan ve Murtaza Mutahhari) fikirlerine yer verilmiştir. Dini entelektüellerin ardından, bu bölüm, İslam devriminin babası olarak adlandırılabilecek Ruhullah Humeyni'nin hayatı ve siyasi düşüncelerinin anlatıldığı bölümle sonlandırılmıştır. Bu noktada Humeyni'nin Abdülkerim Suruş'un siyasi bir entelektüel olmasında büyük bir etkisi vardır, ancak bu tezde Humeyni'ye sadece bu nedenle değinilmemiştir. İslam devrimini ve İslam devrimi sonrası entelektüel hayatını genel olarak anlayabilmemiz için, Humeyni'nin düşüncelerinin ne ifade ettiğini etraflıca anlamamız gerektiği düşüncesinden yola çıkarak ikinci bölüm Humeyni'nin hayatı ve siyasi düşüncelerini anlatarak bitirilmiştir.

Genel olarak bu tezin ikinci bölümünde, İran entelektüellerinin yaşadığı inişler ve çıkışlar, okura etraflıca anlatılmayı amaçlamıştır. Önceki paragraflarda da belirtildiği üzere bu tezin amaçlarından bir diğeri de, İran entelektüel hayatının sadece İran devriminden sonra değil yirminci yüzyılın başından beri problemli olduğunu gösterebilmektir. Bu amaç göz önünde bulundurularak, bu bölüm yirminci yüzyılın başından itibaren İran entelektüellerinin yaşadığı güzel dönemleri ve aynı zamanda yaşadıkları problemleri anlatmaktadır.

Tezin "İslam Devrimi ve Entelektüeller Üzerindeki Etkisi" başlıklı üçüncü bölümü ise İslam devriminden sonra siyasi hayatın nasıl olduğunu ve insanların günlük yaşamlarına olan etkisini anlatmaktadır. Bu bağlamda öncelikli olarak bu bölüm ülkenin devrim sonrası nasıl bir siyasi atmosfer içine girdiğini anlatmaktadır. Bunun için de bu kısım, Humeyni ve Humeyni sonrası olarak ikiye ayrılmaktadır. Humeyni ve Humeyni sonrası olarak ikiye ayrılmasının en büyük nedeni, Humeyni'nin belirli ve kesin hatlara sahip bir İslam devleti tanımlaması yapmamış olmasının sonucunda ortaya çıkan hizipçi siyaseti anlatabilmektir. Ayrıca devrimin ardından Irak ile yaşanan savaş da, devlette amaçlanmış olan bir çok değişimin önüne engel olarak çıkmıştır. Örneğin, devrim anayasasının taslağı hararetli bir şekilde tartışılmıştır. Toplum içinde yer alan bir takım gruplar, taslağın bir çok bakımdan eksik olduğunu dile getirmişlerdir. Taslaktaki değişimlerden sonra da Humeyni, aslında anayasa taslağının eksiklerinin ilk gününden beri farkında olduğunu; fakat Irak ile içinde bulundukları savaşın daha önemli olması nedeniyle taslağa yeterli önemi ve zamanı harcayamadıklarını itiraf etmiştir. Humeyni, İslam devletini, tanımlanabilecek en basit şekliyle tanımlamıştır ve bu nedenle bu tanım, devletin sosyo-ekonomik dinamiklerini yeterince anlatamamıştır. Bunun sonucunda, Humeyni'yi destekleyen grup içerisinde İslam devletinin özüyle ilgili farklı tanımlamalar yapılmaya başlanmıştır ve bu değişik tanımlamalar, hizipçi bir siyasetin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Ayrıca Humeyni'nin ölümü ile birlikte ülkenin iyiliği için ne yapılması gerektiğini söyleyecek bir lider figürü de yok olmuştur.

Yukarıda belirtmiş olduğumuz bütün olaylar etraflıca anlatıldıktan sonra, bu bölüm devrim sonrası kültürel değişimler üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Yani, bu bölüm devrim sonrası kişilerin gündelik yaşamındaki değişimleri ve devamlılıkları incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, devletin toplumu İslamlaştırma çabası tepeden inme bir çaba olarak adlandırılabilir çünkü toplum değil, devlet toplumu değiştirmek istemiştir. Bunun da en güzel örneği kültürel devrimdir. Kültürel devrim okulların kapatılması ve Marksist düşünceden arındırılabilmesi için atılmış bir adımdır. Yani İslam devriminden sonra yapılan

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kültürel devrimle eğitim sisteminin değiştirilmesi hedeflenmiştir. Yani, İslam devletinin amaçları doğrultusunda dinle paralel çizgide giden bir eğitim sistemi kurulması hedeflenmiştir. Kültürel devrim bu yönüyle toplum üstünde büyük bir etkiye sahiptir fakat aynı zamanda Abdülkerim Suruş'u anlamak için de önemli bir yere sahiptir çünkü kültürel devrim için atılmış adımlar, sadece kişilerin gündelik yaşamını değil, aynı zamanda devrim sonrası entelektüel düşüncelerini de etkilemiştir.

Bu noktada devletin izlemiş olduğu İslamlaştırma politikası çok önemlidir çünkü kamusal alanın, milletin, devletin, hatta ve hatta insanların davranışlarının değişmesine ve dönüşmesine neden olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, devlet hem eğitim sistemine hem de kadınların yaşamlarına müdahil olmuştur. Bir önceki paragrafta dile getirildiği gibi, devlet eğitim sistemini değiştirebilmek için kültürel bir devrim yapmıştır ve üniversiteleri üç yıllığına kapatmıştır. Bu süreç kapsamında, devlet kültür devrimi konseyi kurmuştur ve Abdülkerim Suruş da bu konseyin üyelerinden biridir. Bu konseyin sorumluluğu eğitim sistemini yeniden düzenlemektir; ancak, eğitim sistemi yeniden düzenlenirken Marksist görüşe sahip olan bir çok akademisyen ve öğrencinin üniversitelerden uzaklaştırılmış olduğu göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır . Eğitim sistemindeki değişimleri daha net bir şekilde görebilmek için bu bölüm İran'daki eğitim sisteminin devrim öncesi ve sonrası durumunun anlatıldığı bir kısmı da içermektedir. Bu paragrafın başında belirtildiği üzere eğitim sistemine ek olarak, kadınların yaşamlarında da devrim ile birlikte büyük değişimler gerçekleşmiştir. Ancak yine burada, tezin genel argümanı doğrultusunda, kadınlar üstündeki baskının sadece İslamlaştırma sürecine bağlı olmadığı gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Yani, yirminci yüzyılın başından beri kadınlar siyasette birer figür olarak kullanılmış ve belli bir şekilde tanımlanmıştır (örneğin, Reza Khan modern bir İran düşüncesini hayata geçirebilmek için kadınların başlarını bağlamasına izin vermemiştir. Bu da bize kadınların hayatlarını istedikleri gibi yaşama özgürlüğüne sahip olmadığını göstermektedir. Tezin başından sonuna kadar söylenildiği üzere, kadınlar üzerinde uygulanan yaptırımlar da İslam devrimi sonrası insanların gözüne daha çok batmaya başlamıştır.

Konuyu özetlemek gerekirse, İslam devrimi ve sonrası dönemin problemli yapısı, entelektüel hayatın şekillenmesinde de etkili olmuş ve bu nedenle bu dönemin anlatılması bu tezin amacı doğrultusunda bir gereklilik arz etmiştir. Daha önceki paragraflarda belirtildiği üzere, 1980'lerin problemli yapısının başlıca nedenleri arasında, kültürel devrim ve hizipçi siyaset gösterilebilir.

Tezin sonuç bölümü, tez boyunca anlatılan düşüncelerin ve argümanların bir bütün olarak okura aktarılabilmesi için hazırlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, özetin en başından beri dile getirilen amaç olan İran entelektüel hayatında İslam devrimi sonrası değişime olan eğilimleri, Abdülkerim Suruş'un düşünceleri çerçevesinde gösterilmiştir. Bu amaçla tez, Abdülkerim Suruş'un siyasi ve dini görüşlerinden yararlanmıştır.

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, bu tezin temel amacı İran'ın, diğer İslam ülkeleriyle karşılaştırıldığı zaman, İslami yapısından arınmaya ve özgürleşmeye karşı bir potansiyele sahip olduğunu gösterebilmektir. Diğer bir deyişle, İran'ın siyasi düşünce tarihinin değişime eğilimli olduğunu gösterebilmektir. Bu bağlamda, değişime olan eğilimi gösterebilmek için Abdülkerim Suruş örnek olarak kullanılmıştır. Abdülkerim Suruş'un neden sepesifik olarak örnek seçildiği sorulacak olursa, tezin içeriğinde de bir çok kez belirtildiği üzere, Suruş'un diğer entelektüellerle kıyaslandığı zaman düşüncelerini oluşturma şeklinin farklı olması gösterilebilir. Tezin araştırma döneminde, İran siyasi düşünce tarihi üzerinde etkili olmuş entelektüellerin hepsi üzerinde çalışılmış ve Suruş'un özel bir yere sahip olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Suruş'un özel olmasının altında yatan temel sebep ise, kendisinin diğer entelektüellerden farklı bir şekilde düşüncelerini inşa etme potansiyeline ve yetisine sahip olmasıdır. Çünkü Suruş'dan önceki İran entelektüelleri; düşüncelerini ya Marksist ideolojinin çerçevesinde ya da İslam ideolojisi ile paralel olarak tasarlamışlardır. Buna karşılık, Suruş İslam'ı yepyeni bir bakış açısıyla (Liberal Islam) tanımlama cesaretini göstermiştir[162]. Suruş'un İslam'ı yepyeni bir bakış açısıyla tanımlamış olması oldukça önemlidir çünkü bu bizlere, Suruş'un bulunduğu siyasi ve sosyal çevrenin etkisinden sıyrılarak, inandığı gerçeği dile getirme cesareti olduğunu göstermektedir. Buna ek olarak,

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[162]Tezin ikinci bölümünde Suruş'un liberalizm ile olan bağı etraflıca incelenmiştir.

ayrıca Suruş, kendisinden önceki entelektüellerin yapmadığı şekilde, fikirlerinin yanlış olduğuna inandığı kısımlarını dile getirmiştir. Suruş'un tüm bu özellikleri, kendisinin bu tezin çerçevesi olarak kullanılmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

Sonuç olarak yukarıda belirtilenler doğrultusunda bu tezin argümanı, İran siyasi hayatının İslami yapısından özgürleşebilmeye karşı bir potansiyeli ve eğilimi olduğudur. Önceki paragrafta belirtildiği üzere, Suruş'un bu argümanın ortaya atılmasında önemli bir rolü vardır çünkü kendisi de diğer entelektüeller ile kıyaslandığı zaman değişime eğilimli bir düşünce yapısına sahiptir. Suruş'a ek olarak, İslam devriminin bir başka özelliği de, İran'ın siyasi hayatının İslami yapısından özgürleşme potansiyeline sahip olduğunu destekler nitelikte olmasıdır. Tezin ikinci bölümünde anlatıldığı üzere, Reza Şah, İran solu üzerinde büyük bir baskı oluşturmuştur. Bu baskılar sonucunda İran solunda yer almış bir çok kişi; ya eziyetlerle ya da polislerle çatışma sonucunda hayatını kaybetmiştir. Geriye kalanlar da Reza Şah'ın baskıcı rejiminden kurtulabilmek adına İslam devrimine destek vermişlerdir. Yani, özünde İslamcılar ve Solcular aynı düşüncelere sahip olmasalar da, ortak düşmandan kurtulabilmek için bir araya gelmişlerdir. Bu nedenle bu tez, İslam devriminin özünün tamamen İslami olmadığını savunmaktadır. Tamamen İslami değildir çünkü devrime destek vermiş olan bir İran solu vardır. İran solunun devrime destek vermiş olması akıllara devrimin, sol yardımı olmadan başarılı olup olamayacağı düşüncesini getirmiştir. Tezin araştırma döneminde ortaya çıkmış olan bu soru, İran'ın siyasi hayatının İslami yapısından kurtulabilme potansiyeli olup olmadığını da akıllara getirmiştir ve sonuç olarak tezin argümanı bunun üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Bu açıdan, Abdülkerim Suruş da bu potansiyelin örneği olarak kullanılmıştır.

APPENDIX B

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	☒
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	☐
Enformatik Enstitüsü	☐
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı :IŞIK

Adı   : ECE ADVİYE

Bölümü :Orta Doğu Araştırmaları

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :Tendencies of Change in the Intellectual Life of

Iran After 1979 Within the Framework of Abdolkarim Soroush's Ideas

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

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