The study of socio-political position of intellectuals from the Constitution era to the Pahlavi era

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**ABSTRACT**

The rise of Iranian intellectuals followed by the intellectual movement aimed at modernizing society goes back to the Constitution era. The intellectuals of constitution had a significant role until the end of the first Pahlavi era and they were the pioneers of modernization and revival. The social origin and thoughts of these intellectuals and the main issues and concepts they dealt with were the main subjects of Iranian historical sociology. How to play the social and political roles and their relationship with people and government is the main subject of the present study. Accordingly, this research used the documental and historical method and met analysis to study the political and social state of the intellectuals in the era of Constitution to Pahlavi.

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**INTRODUCTION**

The sociological study of the social and political role of the intellectuals at the time interval of Constitution to Pahlavi era, so that the sociological researches about the effect of era was the most dynamic social power of that historical period of Iran. Although more than a hundred years have been passed since the Constitution Revolution but the discussion about the role and importance of political and social forces lead to the fact that revolution and thought bases, desires and discussed issues did not lost their role. One of the reasons for this freshness is that the discussions in which the social and political forces of that period specially the intellectuals include the issues such as modernization, democracy, legal dominance, civilization rights (Zahedi, 2004, p.19).

According to what mentioned before, the present research aims at studying and evaluating the social and political roots of intellectual formation in the Constitution era to Pahlavi era and the socio-political position of the intellectuals.

**Intellectual:**

The word “intellectual” appeared in the middle age and developed in the schools of the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th century the universities. The meaning of intellectualism in this period was referred to those who thought and shared their thoughts with others. By the beginning of modernization, the presence of the intellectuals as a social group relying on the fair desires revealed the harshness of power and spoke as the conscious of the society (Jahanbeglou, 1997, p.61).

The nature of intellectualism was integrated with the principles of illuminating and the desires of an intellectual are the desires of the illumination era. The principles on which the intellectual relies is the belief in law, freedom, equality, self-sufficiency, commitment, removing the myth and ignoring the dictatorship and generally fighting with every kind of dictatorship and fighting with any type of dominance. According to Arvan, the role of intellectual is modifying the values. The intellectual should serve the fact and reality (Aroon, 2004, p. 98). In other words, the task of an intellectual is to defend the human and cosmopolitan values.

According to a general intellectual, only the values and norms are acceptable which guarantee the presence and continuity of a person who is free and self-confidence (Jahanbeglou, 1997, p. 28). Generally, knowing the new knowledge and criticizing the present condition based on the principles and thinking values and cooperating in the social changing process was the factors of being an intellectual.

**Different types of intellectuals and socio-political thoughts:**

a) Intellectuals of the first generation:
The intellectuals of the first generation are the beginners of the new thoughts in Iran and aimed to distinguish Iran from West by comparing the fact that Iran is a developing country and this generation tried to provide the reform condition in Iran. The first generation of intellectuals included many people such as the king of Qajar dynasty.

All the pros and cons for the relationship between Iran and west are the first generation of intellectuals. This group entered the intellectual realm without cognitive foundations of the modern world and so they have theoretically ambiguous and uncertain identity. Most of intellectuals in this group were associated with the government. The main issues are the same issues favored by the government. Government and military modernization favored by Qajar dynasty, were approved by the intellectuals, too. This group of intellectuals compared the situation between Iran and the West in breakthroughs without knowledge of the principles and structures of modern society. Because the majority of these people were critical of the Qajar government, they could see the main problem appeared in court. In other words, Iran's backwardness was called court's backwardness, and influenced the movement of Iranian intellectuals.

The drawback of this group was in shallow political judgments. For example, Naseraldind Shah, tried to copy the western pattern every time he was traveling to the west and passing form tradition to modernity. Or, Mirza Hossein Sepah Salar and other ultramodern in Naseri court tried to take the Shah to the west so that he could learn the advancement there. Then, the political issues were changed and the modernization way was smoothed for democracy. And the great business men such as Haj Kazem Malekoltajar and Reza Mahdavi and others had deeper understanding of socio-political condition due to foreign travels and knowing science and technological advances. They compared the social structure of Iran and the west and determined the reason for backward of Iran. The itineraries such as kont de Gubino and the itinerary by Ebrahim Beig Maraghei. The authors of these books illustrated Iran as a combination of paradoxes in culture, behavior and personality and determined that they were ready to accept the changes. For example Kont de Gubino paid attention to the social issues of Iran in the process of economic and social renewal, such as not paying the tax by the business men, the relational structure of politics and lack of legal system (Azad Armaki, 2009, p. 135-18).

B) The second generation of intellectuals:

The movement of first generation is more toward the general politics. The first generation compared the condition between Iran and the west while the second generation considered the politics and government condition. The superficiality and hate of politics was the main disadvantage of the thinking and social system in this era, since they could not solve a social problem seriously. Seeing a bridge, railway and telephone center necessitated them to hold the objective elements in the modern world of Iran. Abbas Mirza Ghaem Farahani, Amir Kabir, Seyed Jamal, Talbuf and Akhondzade all had the same feature. The businessmen, clergymen and educated ones in west all were the second generation of the intellectuals. The second generation more focused on the issues such as lack of law and legislation. They suggested having councils, discriminating among the main powers, developing education and correcting the court and government. The sources for the second generation included the intellectual movement in France and the economic and industrial revival and the political negotiation of Europe and Russia (Gheysari, 2005, p. 34).

Intellectuals of the third generation (Pahlavi the 2nd):

Since the last years of the 1st Pahlavi, the left intellectualism was established in Iran and may be Taghi Arani and Eskandar Mirza can be called the founder of this movement. Founding universities and schools and sending more students to the Europe in Pahlavi the 1st period made the Iranian acquainted with the western thoughts. So, the third generation was created which was appeared in the second period of Pahlavi. After the decline of Reza Shah and assassinating Ahmad Kasravi, the clergymen had a deeper look at the secularism and by nationalizing the oil in Iran and then oppressing the freedoms in the political space, Iranian seculars were limited seriously. Hamid Enayat, Parviz Natel Khanlari and Fakhrealdin Shademan were among them. The intellectuals of this period considered the west as evil and there was generally two different views in this generation, the Islamic and Socialists (Sheykh Farshi, 2003, p. 76).

Features of the 1st generation intellectuals:

Intellectuals since the Constitutional threshold until the end of the first Pahlavi dynasty are considered as the first generation of Iranian intellectuals and had characteristics that distinguished them from intellectual of subsequent historical periods.

These features are important in terms of social class, and philosophical principles, attitude, tradition and modernity, and the relationship with the government are as follows: The intellectuals in terms of ruling class were from the main class and aristocratic landowner's, close belonging to the court, or the sons of high-ranking officials of the state apparatus or the children of high-ranking military officials (Abrahamian, 2007, pp. 56-57). The worldview and philosophical principles were mainly liberal, modernist, reformist, and attached to the opposite religious traditions and intellectual heritage of ancient Persia.
Constitutional Pahlavi era intellectuals generally were pro-West and favored Russia, France and Britain. These intellectuals were divided further into various tendencies and disposition but altogether the idea of Iranian intellectual origins of modern ideas of home is on the West European (Goudarzi, 2008: 79-80). The intellectuals of the period, primarily focused on transforming old beliefs, traditions and designing the new plan, public attitudes and social practices (public relations) and were predominantly secular (Bashiriye, 2003, 123-130).

The first generation of intellectuals paid more attention to the aspects of positivism over other aspects of modernity, such as democracy and human rights. And therefore often have to move on industrial, scientific, technological, and ideological development (Vahdat, 1383: 123-130). The end result of this pro-authoritarian development strategy has been the emergence of the first Pahlavi dictatorship and pseudo-modernism. Many of these intellectuals considered modernity as closed border immutable phenomenon and this new concept of contemporary society made left neglected and sometimes overlooked due to the democratic vision of modernity.

And intellectuals interested in the idea of secularism were full of stereotypes and dogmatic issues (Mirsipasi, 2003, p. 10-11).

The intellectuals of the period up to the ideal of modernity had optimistic approach to the concept of instrumental rationality and progress and also due to lack of critical dialogue with tradition and exchange dialogue with Western modernity and liberal weakness were against both leftist and Islamic movements in Iran (Jahanbeglo, 2008: 122), they declined the social and political role they figured in the community.

The intellectuals were in close relationship with the government, so some of them can be called state intellectuals including intellectuals like Malcolm Khan, Foroghi and Ali Asghar Hekmat. One of the activist and dissident intellectual groups in Pahlavi era were the left group known as the 53 persons whose important figure was Taqi Arani. He played a major role in the formation and organization of the group against the totalitarian regime (Pahlavi).

The features of the second generation Intellectuals (1285 - 1305 AD. S):

It can be said that this generation was formed of three groups of intellectuals as follows:

The first group had national and liberal tendencies and people such as Mirzade Eshghi, Mlekoshoar Bahar, Lahooti, Ahmad Kasravi were among the. The main concern of this group was freedom of cruelty and dominance.

The second group were religious nationalists and include people like Hashem Ashtiani, Zialvaezin, Ali Tehrani and Kazerooni. This group opposed against questioning the religious principles and most of them were left intellectuals affected by Russian revolution.

The first and third group criticized the government but the first group supported the gradual reforms by help of the authorities and religious people. In fact, the first group wanted to limit the abilities of the governors and religious powers.

The features of the third generation:

1. Isolation of the intellectuals

The limitation and bans of the first Pahlavi period made the intellectuals to be silent but in this period they thought about the biology of Iran’s tradition and suggested the negotiation of identity.

2. Trying to raise the social literature

In this period, it was tries to revive the literary and nonpolitical issues. The newspapers did not publish political article and they published existing from the western tendencies. However, the growth of foreign business caused the contact between Iran and European countries and other reformist thoughts made the emergence of social intellectuals to provide the condition for social and political reforms. However, the social issues were reflected in literary writings (Behnood, 2003, p. 91-97).

3. Isolation of intellectuals from the traditional living

The intellectuals of the last generation wanted rapid changes in the life style of Iraian and they did not believe in complete isolation but among the first generation, Malkom khan while he was born in a Christian family but never opposed the Islamic tendencies clearly. In fact, Akhondzade who opposed Islam was against the principles of Islam and Constitution. In fact, the opposition with religion and Islam was in talking form and it was different from the revival speech of the Pahlavi period.

4. Focusing on creating civilization symbols

In this period, the people such as Teymourtash had significant role on social and political events. Teymourtash, Davarfar and people like them were the intellectuals who are same s Amirkabir and Sepahsalar. They were different in position and had different abilities but they used the state facilities to change the life style of Iranian. On the other side, Reza shah wanted to confront them to survive the dominance of the government.

5. Trying to found Tehran University

It should be mentioned that, Tehran University was founded in this period as one of the most basic civil foundation in which intellectualism took place. The history of schools in Iran is an approval to the role of
Tehran University. This university had a critical role in providing the place for Iran Intellectualism. So, one of the features of this university was to found the university.

The social place of the political intellectuals:

the reign of Qajar offered some legal and business privilege to Russia and England through the treaty of England and Turkmen chai and these capitulations enabled both governments to found their embassy wherever they like and they became exempt to tax and customs. Inflation also weakened the competitive advantage of Iranian businessmen compared to European businessmen. This condition resulted in formation of discrimination between the developing class of business bourgeois and government.

During the reign of first Pahlavi, a huge investment was applied in the field of constructing and development of the railways and the results of these actions were more than 20 kilometers in 1934. Based on the improvement of communication and security of the roads, business was improved and these reforms provided variety in employment, professional activities and job needed the knowledge and practical activities through which the need for developing the higher education and founding university was observed (Mahmoud, 2002, p. 34).

Industry:

The industries which were mainly the reminders of the production activities did not have the ability of competition and equality with the European productions. In this period only 10 percent of the working force of the country worked in civil industry and business and state services and 90 percent in the agricultural section (Katouzian, 2008, 112). This shows that Iranian society was a completely agricultural society with the village tradition. This structure was underdevelopment that may be one of the reasons for the accomplishment of the intellectuals in the first Pahlavi period such as Fouroughi and Taghizade (Abrahamian, 2007).

The semi modernism action of Reza Shah was started with support but some of the intellectuals of Iran that have thinking supports for reforms and innovation. Gradually and after the emergence of dictatorship features in Reza Shah, intellectuals stayed away from the political systems. Shah obtained the governmental organization and had innovative actions.

By losing the support of intellectuals, Shah had to reduce the intensity of the reforms and innovation and this stopped the development movement. Incorrect evaluation of the international politics and occupation of Iran by the researchers and decline of Reza Shah was naturally resulted in the social and political position of intellectuals (Khosrokhavar, 2004, p.32).

Politics

Political system of Iran in this period followed the traditional feudal system of the past. Dictatorship, having no rules and political relationships were based on employer and employee and the system was sick. It means that there were some tangible reasons for advertising against the political order. There were no political parties and political systems and laws and even working laws. In this dictatorship society there was no social and political refugee (Zibakalam, 2004, p. 49).

Reza Shah after establishing his reign created a new state bureaucracy and organized the military to support the court and king. So, by creating the fearing space and dictatorship, the chance and opportunity for intellectual activity was removed and intellectuals became isolated.

On the other side, the traditional rural area did not have complete development and the parties did not have any activity there. However, the reforms of Amirkabir in the short period of his ministry provided the condition for reforms so that council was founded by the order of Naseraldin Shah. However, the first political community called the forgetful. Another important community was the committee of revolution founded by the intellectuals of the Constitution with radical thoughts. Malekzade whose father was the head of the 57 intellectuals wanted to remove dictatorship and founded the state of rules. All the parties had the same goal. Malkom Khan was one of the most significant member of the Constituent society who tried to attract the clergymen to fight against the Qajar state and pretended that the base of democracy is freedom which is rooted in Islamic reforms. Although, having the accompaniment of the traditional representatives with the modern goals of the intellectuals caused that people of cities demonstrate for reforms. The challenges after the victory of Constituent Revolution were created among the modern and traditional movements and creation of terrors and decline of the first council and chaos in the society.

Social Cohesion:

At that time, having no mass media for communicating and staying of most intellectuals in big cities prevented the intellectuals to have proper communication together. This condition limited the intellectual activities and dispersion among the social classes prevented formation of communication among the intellectuals and people. This resulted in weakness of the social groups and intellectuals against the social isolation and fighting of the social forces.
On the other hand, contact with foreign countries caused that industrial countries and creating the educational institutes led to creation of new jobs and social groups of intellectuals. They could use the thoughts of European thinkers specially the French ones to create a developing process in the country (Zahedi and Heydazade, 2010, p. 149).

Conclusion:
Study of the formation of the intellectual process of Modern Iran showed that the significant intellectuals of the second half of the 19th century were growing outside of Iran. Akhoundzade, Talebuf and Malkom Khan were the examples. Although the intellectuals of first generation had limitations and significant effect on the traditional society of Iran and resulted in the Constituent revolution but the intellectuals did not have any position in the political and social systems and were not an efficient social movement and their role became weaker and lighter role during the Islamic period.

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