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The Absence of Civil Society in Iran During the 2nd Pahlavi (1941 - 1978)

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ABSTRACT

Background: This article Presents the factors that prevent civil society in Iran during the Shah's time 1941-1978 . **Objective:** In this paper, we are studying preventive factors such as dominant political culture within the political power structure during the Pahlavi and also incompetence political components which makes evolution if they exist led to the Making a civil society , within the construct of absolute Omnipresent and oppressive atmosphere of the Shah, who basically, by his weakness, fueled preventing the creation and growth of a civil society.

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of civil society in West was because of political thought of Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Certainly, primary manifestations and cause of civil society exist during the middle Ages in Europe. Existence of a civil society shows the regimes are democratic and more democratic, the regimes, it provides more desirable and appropriate context for civil society. Each government without civil society is away of progress and prosperity. Because the civil society provides a field in which there are political, social and ideological reality conflicts and government Attempts to resolve the dispute through mediation. Civil society prevents the construction of absolute power and its features such as political parties, Democracy and liberty of Media causes the stability and survival of the political system. It seems that the creation of a vibrant civil society that requires super-efficient elements and lack of a rigid political structure, causing the formation of the modern state and civil society and builds an internal regular and organized structure , Makes a different political system in both internal and external affairs . According to the UN human development report the only solution to increase citizen participation and strengthen democratic institutions is to develop civil society. Strengthening civil society institutions is a way to increase the sustainability of these institutions may have the ability of preventing the chaos of the government when it is very weak, but as we know, the main reason of the Islamic Revolution in Iran was the weakness of civil society. (mcllwain: 1998: 170)

Question: What are the reasons for lack of civil society in 2nd pahlvi era?

First hypothesis: it seems that the dominated political culture by the Shah, prevents the existence of civil society

Second hypothesis: it seems that inefficient Political component of civil society prevents the existence of civil society in the era of the Shah.

Civil Society:

The famous German philosopher Hegel according to his own philosophical and mental system, presented an analysis of civil society which has obvious distinctions with the interpretation of other authors.' This interpretation had great influence on posterity; in the way that the regarded receive of modern civil society is in the route that was entirely in the aspect that Hegel's vision opened it. According to Hegel, civil society, a set of mechanical assembly based on personal interests, (Gesellschaft), was a religious community and the organic integrity (Inweed, 1992: 54)

According to Hegel there are three stages of social ethics: Family, civil society and state (government).

Individuals, until they are in the family, their end are family that is a general goal and superior of individuals'. The family bonds, are feelings of love, but grow their separation seeds in themselves; because children are not considered members of the family. Every one has special purpose for himself and reckons others to achieve his purpose. every one totally dependent on others; Dependence of the independent individuals together, creates the urban society. (capston, 1985: 210)

Hegel says that Civil Society is the place of special interests and government preserves the public interest. (Hegel, 1984: 13)

Hegel follows goals with a philosophical look that how citizens' mental state can be changed and evolved from individual tastes toward the general and collective interests is in the ethical spirit. (Strauss, 1987: 743)

Marx calls civil society the bourgeois Community that with his work create political and legal structures of the modern world. (Tester, 1992: 14)

In Marx's thought the concept of civil society is applied as Financial, economic and social relations against the government. (Tester, 1992: 15)

According to Gramsci Civil Society is not the economic relations which comes from the capitalist system - ,but it is a complex generality of entities, relationships, organizations, and private and public traditions between government and legal force and the other hand there is economic infrastructure. (Antonio Gramsci, 1998: 10)

Unlike Hobbes doctrine, Locke believes that government is not absolute, but it is limited and stipulated, it means it Can not deny the natural rights of individuals (such as property). Therefore civil society is justified and legitimate until not abusing the rights that is made to protect them. (Gamble, 1987:66)

Political culture:

Political culture in Pahlavi era in Iran was patrimonialistic and this culture was because of power that is from above to bottom of the society which is primarily within the context of power, society is impressed by its unilateral structure. Naturally when a government wants to impose its domination on everything, including civil entities, then these entities become pragmatic that is they behave in an ideology frame, because there is no possible escape from this non flexible structure. So society institutions should be free from political pressure to accomplish their mission, unfortunately, become the tools or a kind of toy for government. Hence in this society the politics means "to de-camp the opponent" entities which are the main part of civil society institutions are doomed if they diverge with government and disobeying of regime's predetermined policy is virtually impossible for them.

Political culture of the Pahlavi period was imperative culture. In this attitude, governor is accepted as a superior or a hero and has a kind of sanctity. In this kind of political culture, civil society institutions are not themselves and act in a way to preserve governor's interests. If there is protest in this political culture, was stifled again in his place to obey, soon will return the interplay and absolute obeying.

Individualism also implies that minimal government intervention, that was opposite of socialism . In the United States, from the beginning, the firm's individualism was slogan for a liberality, with limited government and personal freedom. (Miller, 1991: 790)

"Individualism, is the social doctrine and social ideology that assigned higher moral value to a person than a society or community , And therefore theory of individualism is that people act in a way they know to keep Their own personal interest."(Fatwell, 1997: 79)

Adam Ferguson said, "Even in the Age of Enlightenment, a move that happens from a society, to the same extent is accompanied by ignorance. Nation's unwished create structures, which are actually caused by human action but not of human design. "(Ferguson, 1993: 122) Humanity sciences have to discover the laws of evolution of human societies.

This political culture and ideology of the ruling group in Iran during the Pahlavi, is incompatible with political competition. Sense of cynicism and lack of trust in the government, causing rising discontent and political power demand and virtually caused suppression ,stress, and fragmentation. We need a number of areas for institutionalized Civil society either internal area or International and foreign area. Within the country in terms of economic we need industry growth; in the social context we need education, increase in communication and some other factors of this kind to base civil society institutions on a proper context. While we witnessed an immaturity in the Pahlavi period in communication, training and development of our industry, namely, a lower failed order to establish civil institutions. In foreign affairs, the government was influenced the idea of the welfare state and was willing to it. Thus the causing the government to intervene in all spheres of political, cultural and economic opening that this provides a disadvantage for a flourishing civil society (Bashiriyeh, 1999:29).

A) Power resources concentration:

Concentration and Increasing of government control over the resources, lowers possibility of institutionalized of civil society. Resources control in the political environment of pahlavi seemed inevitable because of the Pahlavi era of "absolute" and the main characteristics of the Pahlavi autocracy was accumulation of power and resources concentration In fact moving of the Pahlavi government toward the renovation and modernization, was required for the development of different levels, making national unity and founding modern institutions, there is more focus on power. This process was a major obstacle for creating and developing of civil society capabilities and damaged it severely (Bashiriyeh, 1999: 65).

B) Iran's ruling political discourse in Second Pahlavi era:

Obviously, the political life takes place in the context of political discourse. Every discourse has its own features and gives the people and community their unique identity and character. Discourse of an autocracy, the discourse of modernism and the social and political life of society is organized in a certain direction. So it is natural that appearing and establishing of civil society requires a certain discourse of civil society. While Pahlavi era in Iran, dominant discourse was the discourse of Iranian modernism. These complex elements of discourse are: The theory of an ancient king, patrimonial theory and autocracy theory. Certainly, it was seen other elements such as law, civility and respect to religion. The main characteristic of this discourse was centralization, Anti- traditionalism, nationalism with the meaning of modernism and authoritarianism. (Bashiriyeh, 76:1995).

So we can say autocrat government with hegemony of modernism discourse in the Pahlavi period, prevented forming of civil society institutions. Basically, the main goal of the discourse was deleting everything in establishing this ideology.

Inefficiency of Political component of civil society in the Pahlavi era:

A) Parties:

Parties form for a specific mission in a society. They have some special functions as follows:

1 - **Training & education of efficient forces:** political parties through various training channels enhance the political knowledge of members. In fact they familiarize people with their political ends and their task toward government. (Nozari, 2002: 90; Mahdi nejad, 1976: 43 to 44)

2 - **Notification the government and the people:** parties via communication channels can mobilize citizens and Provide social and political participation of people on scene (i.e.: 86-87; Naghibzadeh, 1999: 73-74)

3 - **The Role playing in the election:** the parties, in fact, form public opinion and made beliefs similar. Deputies are introduced and elected through these parties (De veruge, 1978:395) Here we examine three important parties of the second Pahlavi era as one of the inefficient components that causes not forming institutionalized civil society:

1 - Left parties, TUDEH:

At first this party states that its plan is to unite workers, farmers and open minded people and other segments of society and combat to Imperialism. Of course according to Abrahamian, this party could attract different strata in society at that point of time (Abrahamian, 1998: 473) because of the communist nature of the Tudeh Party, Some members of the party were ambiguous to adapt to the specific circumstances of Iran. All members of the party were arrested after the 28 th Mordad Coup and because of reasons such as regime opposing to the activities of the Communist, the non-compliance with the religious fabric of society, traditional leaders death and being dependent on the Soviet Union was destroyed.

2 - National parties:

National parties who actually have a sense of nationalism due to failures and consequences in sixteenth parliamentary elections, decided to form a "united front" of the parties had formed a group. National Front was able to be as part of the national oil industry campaign and creation of the Second National Front, that was formed out of the National Front (Abrahamian, 1998: 566) forming the national front and the establishment of the Fourth National front Followed Human Rights Politics in America, by Jimmy Carter. But these parties failed to succeed because of some reasons such as: the frontal structure, lack of organization and lack of an organized program to campaign. (Karimi Meleh, 2001:197).

3 - State parties:

The main goal of forming these parties was to increase the political power of the Pahlavi regime. These parties were ordered and they were under control of government, some of the parties are:

Iran Novin Party:

The party was created generally on the necessity of political atmosphere in that day and it was along America's policy in order to prevent a coup that would change the regime which was a loss for them, Hasanali Mansour, ministers of court, was on the charge of the party (Naderie Bab Anari , 2009: 41)

Rastakhiz Party:

By order of the Shah, the only authorized party in 1353 was established in order to achieve a one-party system. In fact, the main goal of this party was evolving a military out of fashion dictatorship to an inclusive party government (Abrahamian, 1998: 543) the party was dissolved by the government at the beginning of the Islamic Revolution.

B) *Inefficient democracy:*

According to Charles Merriam, democracy is defined as "the field of democracy is not a line of rules or master plan of an organization but it's a Framework of thinking and acting along public interest in a way in that public willing interprets (Merriam, 1969: 44)

Bayras's definition of democracy is: "the form of government in which the ruler's power legally, assigned not only to a specific class or classes, but also it has been entrusted to all members of the community as a whole " (Bayras, 1962: 2) In the Pahlavi period 1941-1978, we see that, despite a relatively open political space, essential components of democracy can not play the original role. For example, the democratic government holds democratic elections, but in the Pahlavi era we saw cheating in the election process and exerting political purposes. Newspapers and media were under restriction of government. Parties were not able to compete peacefully and they have governmental nature. Private sector was weak . Everyone was not all equal in front of law.

Economic democracy was an advertising keyword of regime against human rights. Regime authorities emphasized several times that establishing economic democracy preceded political democracy; in fact founding the foundations of economic democracy, speaking of political democracy was in vain. Shah always emphasize that "Political rights without social rights, justice without social justice and political democracy without economic democracy has no longer real meaning in our world "(Mirtorabi, -65:2000)

C) *Restrictions on the press:*

From 1941, we, in fact, witnessed a relatively open political space. The feature of press in Iran during the Pahlavi was diversity and its critical content. Even newspaper and publications content, in some cases, were so critical that caused widespread and various reactions. disclosing of some newspapers was against the royal family and the court, that they did not welcome it. Some newspaper inquire government offices' performance . They sometimes Broadcast rumors also demolish Political opposition .Government in order to prevent the activities of the media, restricted and seized the press The outstanding sample was the "bound to censor " all papers relating to the war. (Documents from the Iranian press, 1:1999). In the second Pahlavi was the Peak of censorship, and intellectual seeps stopped. The censors' claws did not allow a intellectual exchange, environment was protected with null palpitation, So that the regime's repression, was officially proclaimed censorship in 1345. Generally freedom of thought and expression, which was the basis of growth and prosperity of the community, was attacked by regime so that the silence was substituted and banishes the people from productive and creative thought and empower filth (Madani, 179:1987-176). If there is not a boundary between the public and private spheres and between Economic life and government, we require legal structure and a series of basic rights which without it, we will not establish a civil society. Well as self-assembly and a plurality of voluntary associations that shape the diversity of life must be free of government interference that we can not see it In Pahlavi press association.(58 cohen and arato, 1992)

2. *Discussion:*

In this article we have tried to find the reasons for barriers of forming civil society in Iran in second Pahlavi era. Then we must say the first serious steps toward modernization were during the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi,. It seems that the modernization trend in the second Pahlavi era was accelerated , one of the requirements for renewal the civil society. Existence of civil society in the Pahlavi era had close alliance with the absolute government in a way that government knows itself as the manufacturer of The civil society.* That did cross Vmlazmh Community The rigid structure of civil government with barriers, lack of The Community Civil literally has been in the western developed countries., Even if you have a good opinion To look optimistic it can be said that the In the second half of the Pahlavi era of civil Section Vnars formed

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