# The Intellectual Tradition of Libertarian Islam and Its Relation to the Thought of the Islamic State in Iran

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## Abstract

Liberal thought in Iran was based on contemporary political and social conditions that influenced Iranian thought. Also, this idea has benefited from some of the features of Iranian and Islamic political culture; therefore, it has been shown in a new form, called the tradition of freedom of Islam. One of the most important manifestations of this tradition can be seen in the formation of political thought after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The main question of this research, after explaining the idea of libertarian Islam in the form of an intellectual tradition, is how this idea has been effective in shaping the constitution and the nature of the political system in contemporary Iran. The results of this study show that the main issue of liberal thought in Iran was freedom of the public and restrictions on the duties of the government. In this regard, the original "non" has been absolutism. Thus, at the same time as the formation of the constitution after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, in spite of the inability to achieve complete power and the hegemony in the field of thought, it tried to prevent the widespread extension of the functions of the political system by ormulating restrictive laws of political power.

*Keywords: The Intellectual Tradition of Libertarian Islam; Bazargan; Ayatollah Taleghani; Islamic Government; Shahid Beheshti*

## Introduction

The Islamic Revolutionary Discourse consists of three main pillars. These three pillars are the founding bases for it, the people who believe in the Discourse of the Islamic Revolution and the structures and institutions derived from this Discourse. Meanwhile, intellectual foundations as the root of all political actions of rulers are important. On the other hand, these intellectual foundations have influenced the development of other ideas. However, Islamic thinkers often ignore this issue and consider and dominate the dominant intellectual discourse without considering any anti-hegemonic ideas but affecting the thought of the Islamic state. Meanwhile, one of the ideas that had a profound effect on the intellectual discourse of the Islamic Revolution is thoughts oriented towards liberal approaches that are referred to in the present study, called the Freedom Tradition.

Early research on this subject shows that one of the important roots of the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam is returning to Constitutionalism. The genealogy of this idea makes it clear that the concept of constitutionalism has been redefined with minor changes in the form of libertarian Islam. In spite of this historical course, and various manifestations of this thought, the present research, following the streamlining of the intellectual roots of the libertarian islam tradition, focuses on the evolution of this tradition in the near years of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Freedom Movement, and examines it. In the following, the relationship between the thought of the Islamic state and the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam[1] is discussed.

## 1- Theoretical Framework

Investigating different research methods shows that one of the most important frameworks that has the main purpose of understanding the relation of "thought" and "social conditions" is " communitarianism."

The philosophical and methodological theory of communitarianism, including the traditional approaches in political science and one of the dominant approaches to the debates of the 1970s, has been in normative political theory.

Over the past two decades, this theory has been trying to provide clear and acceptable answers to some of the most important theoretical and methodological questions by referring to the classical philosophical tradition. (Marsh and Stoker, 2005: 53).

This school has used a specific methodology and epistemology that distinguishes it from other analytical and intellectual approaches and it seems that its application in analyzing the contemporary Iranian intellectual thought theory offers different data from other theories, a separate presentation and a narrative. The most important assumptions of this approach are:

1. There is a network of communities in each community, each of which has a specific interpretive and philosophical mechanism, that is, the circle of reflection and interpretation of self, society and the world, called the tradition.

2. The core of Hegelian ideas is society, and "tradition" is at the center of the theory that, although it was degraded but never lost, it may have gone a coma and once again came to a specific historical moment. There is a network of traditions in each community that has its own life, birth and erosion.

3. Each tradition has a rationality that works with creativity to overcome possible crises and prevents its collapse (Abbasi, 2009: 8)

Theorists of this idea believe that social thinking takes shape in a particular tradition. Hence, the universe is only meaningful through this framework, and access to realities can only be achieved through these traditions and their rationality (Macintyre, 1981: 87).

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[1] . The emphasis on the term "libertarian" in this tradition is due to the fact that its companions placed the main axis of their political thought "on the freedom and liberation of man from various constraints such as ignorance and tyranny." But associates of this intellectual tradition accepted the religion of Islam as the basis of their thoughts, they emphasized the meaning and concept of freedom, which did not mean the full acceptance of the profession of liberalism and the school of liberalism. It was, however, the foundations of the Islamic religion, which called for freedom. Another important point is that the genealogy of this idea in contemporary Iran shows that believers are abundant in libertarian thought and organized in different groups. However, in this study, the companions of this intellectual tradition are summarized in the Freedom Movement. Because it seems that the group was the mean of all spectrum of libertarian who, in addition to the field of political action, also had a great influence on the formation of the concept of republicanism.

a) good

"good" is one of the concepts influenced by Aristotle's philosophy in the Thought of the communitarianism. In explaining the difference, Aristotle states that when the extrinsic goods are derived from the possessions and assets of individuals and to the extent that they gain more than anyone else, they remain less for others. Fame, wealth and authority are examples of this type.

Instead, achieving intrinsic good is fundamentally good for all members of a particular congregation, Although they are the result of competition in perfection. (Beheshti, 2001: 78).

b) Virtue

Another fundamental concept of communitarianism is virtue, which is due to its importance, other concepts are also formed around it. In this regard, a communitarian theorist sees virtue as a qualitative personality that can be acquired and its enjoyment and utilization allows us to attain the good of ourselves. Also, the lack of it effectively deprives us of the achievement of any of these good (Beheshti, 2001: 160)


## 2. Historical Background of the Thought of Libertarian Islam in Iran

the studies on the intellectual history of contemporary Iran show that Sayed Jamal al-Din al-Assadabadi is one of the most important critics of the Soltani regime in Iran. He did not limit his activities to the borders of Iran, and his aim was to reform all Islamic societies and their freedom from ignorance and tyranny. Ultimately, despite many achievements, he could not achieve all his goals in time. However, the result of his activities later became apparent with the efforts of his students.

One of the most important of these results is the weakening of the monarchy in Iran and the subsequent murder of Nasir al-Din Shah. Such results, in addition to influencing the public domain, have strengthened the Jurisprudential views opposite monarchyof the monarchy among scholars, and the combination of these two together led to the formation of the basic preliminaries of the constitution. Using these conditions, the scholars such as Mohammad Esmaeil Mahallati (1890-1964) tried to theorize the Alternate governments of the monarchy. In addition to questioning the legitimacy of the sultan, he also emphasized that the government is outside the domain of religion and is not related to religion and religious rules, therefore there is no reason to comment on the mojtahid and the jurisprudents in this area. Unless the general political affairs that attract the public interest and repatriate the losses, and what makes them prosperous (Zargarinejad, 1998, 1: 516). With this approach, he criticized the royal rule and its religious justification and divided them into two general types of opposition and sharia, divided into two types of constitutional monarchy and an independent monarchy. Subsequently, he divided the independent states into two independent monarchies of the prophets and twelve Imams and the autocratic monarchy (Ibid: 498). Localities believed that during the period of absence and absence of the infallible, the best kind of government was the constitutional monarchy, and stated that one of the benefits of this kind of government was "to reduce the oppression imposed on the people by the tyrannical government.

This is a clear indication of what is known as "The persuasion for good and dissuasion from evil", and its obligatory with certain conditions is a necessity of Islam. The second is the preservation of Islam from the Attack of the infidels And this happens when the chaos of the state reaches the point where the interests of the nation are constantly disrupted (ibid: 499-500). In this way, he accepted the limited monarchy to preserve Islam and to curb the oppression of the people. This argument was later used by Naini, and he also divided the government into two types of general, proprietary or authoritarian, and constitutional or order.

Since Naini is in the intellectual and jurisprudential school of Sheikh Ansari, Sheikh Ansari criticized the expansion of jurisprudents in political affairs. On the one hand, he is influenced by the great

Islamic thinker Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, and as such, he criticizes the Autocratic government. In the opinion of Kawakibi, the autocratic government prevents the growth of human talents. Kawakibi, by writing the book "The Nature of Despotism", considered it impossible to reconcile science with tyranny, and emphasized that tyranny silenced the light of science, Because between science and tyranny, there is a constant conflict. The tyrant is not happy with a clever scientist, and whenever he needs a scientist like a physician or an engineer or ... he will take someone who is flattered (Kawakibi, 1984: 117-115).

Naini also later criticized authoritarian regimes by specifying the model of the permanent contradiction of science and tyranny, he stated: "This is the ignorance of the nation that the king believes, in any case, people should be grateful for him." (Naini, 1999: 33). In explaining his jurisprudential reasons, he stated that the autocratic regime had three types of anger and oppression, namely the usurpation of divine right and oppression to God, oppression to the position of Imam and the usurpation of the rights of the people. (Ajudani, 2006: 46).

The total of these reasons has led him to seek an alternative through which, as far as possible, he reduces the three mentioned and closes the government to the cause of the Prophet's government. Consequently, the constitutional government proposed and theorized. In this type of government, which the constitution and the Shura Council have had a prominent role, the Sultan's government has been subject to two very influential provisions of the law and representatives of the people. In this regard, Naini stated that the two strategies mentioned above, according to the principles of our religion, are the successor to the issue of chastity (Naini, 1378: 87). This very important theory, which was registered in the name of Naini, continued to be used at a later time by scholars of constitutional jurisprudence, including the companions of the tradition of libertarian islam.

### 2.1 The first Generation of Libertarian Islam

The study of contemporary Iranian intellectual and political history shows that in addition to constitutional theory, in the years following the defeat of the movement and the special conditions governing it, new scholars began to criticize the theory of monarchy using some of the western ideas, with their common characteristics "returning to Qur'an "and its use as a solution to political and social problems. This thought evolved later and became known as "Islamic Democracy" in connection with political issues. The study of the thoughts of the followers of the tradition of libertarian Islam shows that, in addition to some of the constitutional bases, much of their intellectual basis is returned to thinkers such as Sheikh Hadi Najmabadi and his disciples as leaders of the theory of returning [2] to the Qur'an.

### 2.1.1 Sheikh Hadi Najmabadi

Historians usually return the starting point for the Qur'anic Democrats to Sheikh Hadi Najmabadi (1250-1320). In a way that can be deduced from historical books, most intellectuals of the Constitutional period and later were direct students of Najmabadi or intermediaries. He also, as some of the pro-Constitutional intellectuals was tapped, tried to express issues related to freedom and related issues to arouse people from neglect (Najafi, Azar: 1965). Although he was a companion of Seyyed Jamal al-Din, he, unlike him, believed in reforming people and public culture [by the Qur'ānic instrument] (Modarresi chohardehi, 1976: 29)

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[2] . Concerning the causes of the formation of such intellectual currents, it is argued that in certain specific conditions, such as the failure of an intellectual way, some scholars tend to think that the lack of attention to the main texts is the main reason for these failures. At this historical time, thinkers like Kharaqani believed that the main reason for the defeat of the constitutionalists was the lack of attention to the clear meaning of the Qur'an and its commands. Therefore, they sought to reform the community by focusing on the Qur'an. The savage in this regard states: "In the Islamic countries, there are two constitutional and monotheistic groups like mushrooms, Both categories in fact justify (claim) to everything ... except for the holy Quran! None of the two groups were nominally Quranic. It turned out that both groups of theologians in Iran and the Ottoman Empire did not know the Quran and its owner. Our purpose is to refer to the essence of the Qur'an and the intransigence of the Quran and the lack of attention of the Muslim community to the contents of the Qur'an and the Holy Prophet. Muslims must know that the Qur'an is the operative letter of Allah" (kharaqani, 1921: 284).

In addition, he was a serious critic of the traditional clergy, believing that the support of these clerics from the Sultans preserved their power and ultimately limited the legitimate freedom of the people:

*"An unbeliever can not deceive people and turn them back from the right unless they wear clothes from religion and piety. So devils are along with the same people who do not have a way to God and are dressed in piety. People consider them guides and masters, not from ignorance, but from carelessness, but often they realize that these people are cunning"* (Najmabadi, 1933: 78).

One of the most important features of Najmabadi's thought is paying special attention to reason in understanding and understanding social conditions along with the Shari'a. He put reason and Shari'a in each other and did not know the rational knowledge apart from the shari'a.

*"Never go out of the road of reason, and match the words of the elders and the divine books with reason and Shari'a. First, the wise person must think the words of the scholars and elders of his nation and religion"* (ibid: 33). His special attention to the Quran and reason provided a background in which some of his disciples, such as Khoraghani and later Seyyed Mahmoud Taleghani, Establish a balance between religious authority and reason.

### 2.1.2 Seyyed Asadollah Kharaqani

Seyyed Esdollah Kharaghani (1936-1875) is one of the most prominent scholars of the Constitutional Revolution and is one of the most important students of Sheikh Hadi Najmabadi, who has made numerous efforts to establish a relationship between the scholars of Najaf and Tehran. He was one of the most influential scholars of the constitutional treaty, after constitutional defeat, he rejected some of his early ideas about the replacement of constitutional thought with the monarchy. However, his intellectual base on the government, with a focus on reducing the king's power and paying attention to people in political decision-making, was maintained until the end of his life. "The presidency of the Muslims is the choice of the Qur'an, and Islam requires the administering of laws, the Qur'an governor gives the guarantees of God, the Prophet and the people, and rules Justly among the people.

*"The case of Olialammer and his obedience to the general Muslims and the people are obligatory and disobedient to him, and this ruler is the reference of all Islamic laws. It is forbidden to obey a ruler that is not referred to as a verse, and it is obligatory to disagree with him And such a person is not ordered"* (Kharaqani, 1960: 38).

This section of his speech shows that Kharaghani believes that the choice of instance of the verse is left to the people, and that the general public chooses according to the rules and conditions of the Qur'an. Yet these are scholars who extract the characteristics of the ruler from the Qur'an (kharaqani, 1960: 89). He further explains that the scholars who emphasized that in Islam the concept of sultan, king, sardar, emir, etc. exists, there is no knowledge of the Qur'an and it is upon the Muslim who chooses the ruler of the divine rules.

*"Muslims should choose a venue for the implementation of the Islamic law and the implementation of the Qur'an"* (ibid).

Along with this argument, Kharaqani says that the method of selecting for people should be based on advice and salinity. He emphasizes that this way ultimately prevents the disagreement between Muslims. He explains in further detail that the salinity and consultation should not be drawn to the explicit provisions of the Shari'a. The totality of Kharaqani's political theories based on the Qur'an, centered on popular choice and salience, ultimately led to the formation of a theory called "Islamic Democracy." He later explained the principles of this theory and stated:

*".... The principles of the clerics of Islam must take into account rights and limits, absolute equality, and those principles are based on the belief in the source, resurrection and prophecy. That is the*

*basis of the two eyes of the world and the afterlife. The nation, in the shadow of these holy principles, also has the glory of the people and the identity of independence. They are also not driven from the direct path of monotheism to dualism and Dahri And this comprehensiveness in the principles of politics, civilization and clergy is only one of the coordinates of the shrine of the of Islam"* (Jafarian, 2003: 189).

Hence, both Kharaqani and those who later supported this theory emphasized that the theory of Islamic democracy was unique to the islam, and other religions were not capable of producing such a theory, and in addition, although in some cases this theory came from some components of Western democracy But it is ultimately better and more complete. Attention to the ideas of the religious thinkers of this period shows that other people, such as Seyyed Asadullah Mamghani and later Shariat Sanglaji, acted on this basis and believed that the form of government in the time of absence should be based on the requirements of reason and logic, and according to the Quran's text, should be national and council.

Therefore, the government of the prophet and the imams appointed by God, and the government approved by the community or the majority of the nation, is recognized as an Islamic state and a right. (Mamqani, 1984: 36).

This thought and thought close to it in the intellectual history of Iran Continued and in some cases, each of them interacts with each other to form a new and evolving theory. For example, research on the subjects of the intellectual tradition of libertarian islam shows that their thoughts are the result of combining the two theories of "Constitutional Jurisprudence" and "Islamic Democracy."

### 2.2 The Companions of the Libertarian Islam Tradition

The history of contemporary political Iran shows that in the early years after the departure of Reza Shah from Iran, relative freedom has dominated Iran, and various Islamic groups and groups close to the left and liberal tradition have begun various political and social activities. Among these activities is the formation of groups against British colonialism, one of the main leaders of which can be referred to Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh and Ayatollah Kashani. The movement, which, in one of its most important activities, succeeded in nationalizing Iran's oil, broke apart after several failures, most notably the "Freedom Movement," which in the present study was based on an intellectual tradition and reviewed as libertarian Islam. This growing group has become one of the most influential political groups in contemporary political-intellectual history.

Research on the Freedom Movement shows that this flow came from the National Resistance Movement led by Mossadeq, who was later separated from the front for reasons such as their greater emphasis on the role of religion in political matters. Leaders of the Freedom Movement believed that the great emphasis on the National resistance front on the homeland was to obliterate some of the religious dimensions of the movement. However, the accuracy of their thoughts suggests that the constituent ones can not be placed in the same category. The group included a range of religions to people close to the national movement. Lotfollah Meysami (1940), pointing to this issue, places the movement's people in a general category and states that the flow of Ayatollah Taleghani, Engineer Sahabi, Dr. Shibani and members of the Islamic Association were more religious. Other factions were political and close to the national front, such as Mr. Hassan Nazieh who wanted to have a political and secular figure. Engineer Bazargan was in the middle. Meanwhile, it was ideological and wanted to be both religious and non-political, and ultimately those who tended to traditional religion and were very adherent to the rules and worship. they formed another faction in the Freedom Movement. In addition to the strong religious belief in politics, they were both active and radical and made deep analyzes (Meysami, 2001: 99). Despite this initial classification, a closer examination of the intellectual-political activities of this movement shows that this intellectual tradition has affected the "engineer Bazargan" and "Seyyed Mahmoud Taleghani " more than others.

### 2.2.1 Bazargan, the Main Theorist of the libertarian Islam Tradition

The study of Bazargan's ideas makes it clear that in addition to the intellectual atmosphere of the Bazargan family, his school also had a great influence on the formation of his thoughts. Abolhassan Foroughi, head of the Darul-moallemin School, was a man who was a philosopher and historian, at the same time from the religion and faith. He also taught both geographic and philosophical discoveries, as well as the interpretation of the Qur'an. In a class she spoke of schools and community issues, and in another class she was paying students attention to the Qur'an. Write on the board: "Allah does not change what is in a nation unless they change what is in themselves". The verse that later became the Bazargan's political slogan. Foroughi interpreted the circulation of nature in the language of the Qur'an.

For example, in approving the verse of (Noor, 35), he used Optic theories and argued that contrary to the common belief of Muslims that the school recognized nature as a professional lecturer, God should be sought in nature (Barzin 1995: 16). It is worth noting that paying attention to natural issues and adapting them to Islamic ontology is one of the most important things that the Bazargan continued using this educational background later, and many of his books in the following years around this issue were formed. In addition to Foroughi, two other characters also influenced the formation of Bazargan's thought. One is Ayatollah Naini and the other is Heidar Ali Qalamdaran[3]. One of the most important issues that Bazargan was concerned with using Naini debates was his opposition to tyranny. One of the researchers, by carefully examining this connection, argues that the Bazargan used this Naini argument that the tyrant was condemned for attributing divine attributes to himself. The use of this argument to reveal the propaganda of the government in inducing various titles, including religious titles such Divine legitimacy to the king (ibid: 191). Using this view, the Bazargan later referred to the tyranny of the monarchy in his defense in the Pahlavi court and stated:

*"The action of the kings of the tyrant, who consider themselves to be the owners of the people, is in fact, a claim of possession and Absolute power. We know that this is a special truth only for God"* (Bazargan, 2006: 296).

In addition to Naini, the study of Bazargan's ideas shows that the emphasis on council and government consultation in Bazargan's thought is very close to the interpretation of Qalamdaran from the way of governance. Qalamdaran said:

*"The great verses are ultimately open to the public in a literal sense, and it is self-evident that the subject of the council is related to public affairs and the word "consultation" in the verse "and their affairs are by consultation" refers to the rule of the kingdom"* (Qalamdaran, 1343: 205).

Later, Bazargan, in addition to using this logic, referred directly to the use of Qalamdaran in his books and cited his most important book on government, the "government in Islam," and stated that Islam was not only neutral and He was not concerned with the politics and administration of the community, but considered the issue of the government or the governorship (velayah) as one of the most important religious issues, And Muslim participation in the election of the governor and his participation in the community of the Ummah and the care of the government in the line of prayer and fasting, but also prior to them.

### 2.2.2 Ayatollah Seyyed Mahmoud Taleghani, a Religious and Moderate Islamic Libertarian Tradition

Ayatollah Seyyed Mahmoud Taleghani (1910-1979) is one of the thinkers influencing Iran's contemporary history tradition of libertarian Islam. Understanding his thoughts and his practical role in

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[3] . Heidar Ali Qalamdaran is one of the people who believes in the "Shi'a reform". The roots of this thought flow back to the thoughts of the Qur'anic ones, such as Shariat Sanglaji and Kharaqani. For further study on the intellectual foundations of this thread and the person of Heidar Ali Qalamdaran, we refer the readers to the introduction of the book "Caliphate and Imamate" by Heidar Ali Golmardan.

the Islamic revolution is important because many political and revolutionary forces have been interested in him or influenced him by a variety of thinkers. Ayatollah Taleghani understood the traditional space of the seminary and after passing the Elementary stages in Iran With the help of a close relative, he secretly went to Najaf And used the science of great scholars such as Ayatollah Seyyed Abolhassan Isfahani (1905-1986) and Sheikh Mohammad Hossein Gharavi Isfahani (1917-1982), known as the company and Aqa Zia al-Din al-Iraqi (1892-1982). After many struggles and efforts, he was able to receive ijtihad degree from Ayatollah Isfahani. (Afrasiaby, 1981: 460). Using traditional lessons, he was looking for a way to use those sciences in political and social spheres. The struggle against tyranny and the corrupt governments ruling Muslims was one of Taleghani's most important concerns, he did this by highlighting some modern thinkers such as Ayatollah Naeni. In the introduction to the book, "Punishment of Allah and Tanzih al-millah," Naini explains the desirable state:

*"Any school, social plan, which restricts the tyrants and prevents them from liberating their will, is closer to the goal of the prophets and Islam, but the ultimate purpose of Islam is not constitution and democracy and socialism, all of these are successive steps to reach the ultimate goal"* (Naini, 1378: 10).

Another type of Taleghani modernism can be seen in the interpretation of the Qur'an, entitled "The Light of the Qur'an." The historical review of the Qur'anic commentaries of this period in general and the The Light of the Qur'an interpretation in a particular way suggests that this writing and emphasis on the Qur'an and social interpretation were a specialist of modernist intellectuals. The intellectuals who after the disappointment of the Constitutional Revolution had intended to redefine the original texts of religion. Considering Taleghani's interpretive method shows that in his thoughts, the Quran has a comprehensive program for all individual and social issues.

*"The Qur'an has been sent to guide people, and everyone is taking this fact. Although the Qur'an is to guide and benefit all people at any time until the Day of Judgment, so that the depth of its truth cannot reach the time of the people's minds, if it is, the people And the people who will come in the future will not benefit from it. This is the passage of time and science that reveals some secrets of the Qur'an"* (Taleghani, 1983: 3: 186).

In short, Taleghani's political thought derives from a particular intellectual tendency whose central focus is the comprehensiveness of religion, with the intersectional approach of the Classic thought of the seminary and modern religious thought in the direction of social interpretation of religion.

Another important concept in the thought of Ayatollah Taleghani is the emphasis on "human freedom" and its place in human societies. This is one of the components that, until the end of his life, was not removed from his thinking.

*"We should build a society based on the pattern of the Prophet, in which no freedom should be denied, because any population that wants to even criticize people's freedom has not known Islam"* (Ettela'at newspaper, 1979-7-22).

Using this model, his rule must be formed on this basis. Although the truth of the Islamic government is domination over affairs, the governor and the sultan can not seize and take action without voting and consulting the nation who is a partner in the interests. (Mirza'i Qajar, 1984: 91-90).

### 2.3 Important Concepts of the libertarian Islam tradition:

The study of the intellectual tradition of libertarian islam showed that the main companions of the libertarian Islam tradition are Engineer Sahabi, Bazargan and Seyyed Mahmoud Taleghani. However, the formation and growth of the intellectual foundations of tradition, most often associated with the relationship between Taleghani and Bazargan. The first acquaintance of these two came back to their family relationship and years before the formation of the tradition. The Bazargan started his religious-social activity one year before the resignation of Reza Shah by joining the Islamic club. In the club his fate was linked with the cleric of thirty years old Mahmoud Taleghani and the professor of biology at the

University of Tehran, Dr. Yadollah Sahabi. Bazargan was already familiar with Taleghani's family, and Taleghani's father encouraged discussions at the house of Agha Tabrizi (father of Bazargan). But until the formation of Islamic club, There was no acquaintance with Bazargan and Mahmoud Taleghani (Barzin, 1995: 53).

These two men began to work closely together and, in some cases, they were exchanged between them, in such a way that even some Bazargan ideas were inspired by Taleghani's ideas in "prophetic mission and Ideology", which referred to this influence. (Bazargan, 1966: 198). Despite such cooperation, the role of Taleghani in the movement can not be regarded as a Bazargan. Because Taleghani had a personality beyond a party that was accompanied by various parties opposing the monarchy in various proportions. By studying this issue, Mr. Taleghani was more closely associated with the young forces of the Freedom Movement, who had more revolutionary tendencies. He believed that this was also a critique of Freedom Movement positions. In addition, Ayatollah Taleghani has no central role in the freedom movement. The works of Mr. Bazargan are dominant in the Freedom Movement, both theoretically and politically. On the other hand, the use of clergy in the Freedom Movement seems to be due to a political tactic, because the leaders of the movement came to the conclusion that the only way to succeed is to work within the framework of the language and culture of the masses of the people. Therefore, they tried to use religious people to gain public trust and more public relations. It seems that the use of Ayatollah Zanjani[4] and Taleghani has been done in this direction. The Bazargan later referred directly to this issue and even justified the use of religious appearances in this regard.

*"The emphasis on political Islam was used in the atmosphere of the repression of the 1340s to take advantage of the religious capacities of the society in the struggle against Pahlavi tyranny. Bazargan correctly believed that the Iranian people would not act except religious motives. Therefore, reliance on religious beliefs can provide a ground for massive public engagement in political struggle. From this point of view, religion could play an important role in strengthening the social and political morale of the Iranian people and, consequently, the establishment of democracy and its institutionalization"* (Bazargan, 1998: 126).

These issues, in general, make it clear that the libertarian Islam tradition consisted of a group of religious and intellectual individuals who were centered in the fight against tyranny, and by eliminating minor differences, they strengthened this common axis. Therefore, they were able to work well in the political space of the 1940s and 50s.[5]

### 2.3.1 Internal and External Goodness & Virtue in the Libertarian Islam Tradition

The attention to the tradition of liberating Islam shows that in this tradition the notion of inner goodness is well-defined, and virtue and outer goodness can be defined as well. The focus of this part of the study is Bazargan's thoughts, which are considered as the most important theorists of the libertarian Islam tradition, and are based on the above three components.

One of the most important components of the thought of Bazargan is the attention to the implementation of Islam and the emphasis[6] on the political image of religion. He always criticized the lack of scholars in politics and said that they have given up defending and jihad. From the two centuries ago, they have made The persuasion for good and dissuasion from evil clear from the operative treatises. Finally, they are not at all entered the issue of governance and the politics or administration of the Ummah, which includes all the material world and the afterlife [or almost not entered] (Bazargan, Bita: 51). Hence, he believed in redefining Islamic thought with a social approach. Lotfollah Meysami in his

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[4] . Seyyed Abolfazl Mousavi Zanjani (1278-1991) is an Iranian nationalist politician and writer and a member of the National Resistance Movement, the National Front, and later the Freedom Movement.

[5] .The emphasis on the anti-authoritarian capacity of religion was formed in the form of the ideological class freedom movement with the responsibility of Mr. Ezzatollah Sahabi, and in this class, the book " Tanbih al-ummah wa tanzih al-millah " N'ini was discussed (Meysami, 2001, Vol 1: 99)

[6] . This section focuses on Bazargan's ideas for the years prior to 1979.

memoirs, while referring to the influence of the tradition of the Bazargan and his words on this subject, states That (Bazargan expressed) one of the scholars had executed during Muharram's time in Tabriz. People mourned and chanted that the curse of God over the wrongdoers to Mohammed and his family. And nobody paid attention to the oppression of this person. But we are Muslims and we want to say that God's curse on the assassin Dr. seyyed Hossein Fatemi. (Meysami, 2001: 76).

However, the attention of the Bazargan was more towards the people and tried to focus on religious issues based on his peoples' approach. In other words, it can be said that the Bazargan had a tendency toward a kind of popular Islam, and believed that Islam would not be able to prevent the freedom of the people. This means that paying attention to Islam as a way is because "the people are Muslims." In the mindset of Bazargan and other members of the tradition of libertarian Islam, such a relationship between religion and people will ultimately boost the popular talent. He argued that "in a society governed by the rule of law and people living on the principle of living and doing things in their own hands, and feeling that they will achieve a better situation by working and expressing their merits", It is natural that talents go on, people will think and endeavor to see the result of those talents and efforts immediately in their daily life and in the future of themselves and their families. In such a situation, they are encouraged and feelings of value and effectiveness, and then they work more (Bazargan, 2006: 263).

Therefore, it can be said that "the inner good of the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam is the flowering of human talents in a Non-authoritarian society." This thought even implied spirituality in the service of the people of the world and argued that "spirituality and morality, regardless of its religious or human value, are very significant for the necessity of life and material value (ibid: 110). However, the achievement of this good is also possible through the use of virtues. A review of Bazargan's thoughts suggests that it is possible in his mind to reach goods through the use of "reasonable freedoms". In various cases, in discussing these categories, he even interpreted the mission and duty of the prophets in this regard and argued that the mission of the prophets was to free humans from idols or false gods and ignorance and from devil's Deception Or the Passion and the master of power and oppression of time (Bazargan, 1985: 65). The attention to such freedoms was such that in his thinking, even liberal liberty was not unpleasant, and it was accepted by some constraints. He states:

*"If, in ideologies after the 18th century, we see an objection to liberalism, not because of the opposition and to return to the principle of freedom, but as their elimination of the factors or barriers to the liberation of the classes of the nation, which, by the hands of the capitalists and the privileged classes in The wrappers of the law will place a new clause on intellects, talents and locks on the languages or open the way for other dictatorships* (Bazargan, 1966: 139). "

Based on this view, the Freedom Movement later, as a form of libertarian islam, laid down one of its basic principles for gradually preparing people for participation in public affairs, as well as for the good use of national democracy and national law. (Iran Freedom Movement, 1982: 45). So, in short, "individual and social liberty" can be considered as the virtues of freedom-loving Islam. But the attainment of final good and virtue also requires initial conditions. In the following, it will be mentioned in the context of the external good study. The first important thing to understand correctly is that in the minds of the followers of the tradition of libertarian Islam, a principled and social identity approach was established, and even political activities were defined in this regard. Bazargan's thoughts about social identity are the cornerstone of his views on political activity. The pamphlet of "religious struggle-political struggle" provides a complete picture of his thoughts on social-religious awareness and Islamic identity as an ideology. "Bazargan basically believes in this pamphlet, while the Iranian national identity is a relatively new concept, their Islamic religious identity is historical and universal. In addition, for the political mobilization of the people, the use of this religious factor as a basis for an ideological structure is essential. The Bazargan's theory is relatively consistent with his suggestions of democracy. Because he assumes that the awareness of the people about themselves [as Muslims] strengthens the tendency toward democracy and national unity [against political tyranny and backwardness] (Barzin, 1995: 331).

Based on this, the tradition of libertarian islam focused on public attention and some kind of public satisfaction as a cornerstone of its activities and believes that preserving the government in this way is possible. But the basis of the material and spiritual powers of the state is exclusively the general satisfaction of the rulers of the country, not the absolute power of an individual or a state. The government must be original and rely on the desires and aspirations of the deprived people of the country. The goal of liberating Islam in terms of restoring the fundamental rights of the Iranian nation is based on the idea of interaction and reform before it relies on a revolutionary transformation. Evolution in terms of the implementation of the principles of democracy and constitutionalism for the purpose of securing this purpose is, in our opinion, the first and most important step in the determination of the full range of powers and responsibilities of the governing body (Iran Freedom Movement, 1982, 137).

Therefore, on such a basis, the Bazargan insisted that the concept and content of the verses and hadiths, and the direct message of the message of Imam Ali, the owner of the government and the electorate, are the people themselves, and the Islamic government is a supreme democracy or public authority (Bazargan, 1998: 306).

In this regard, some adherents of the tradition of libertarian Islam, such as Taleghani, emphasized that the justice system should be inspired from the bottom up, and that the social system and leadership should be chosen by the masses of the people. This is also the view that the Islamic state is also guided by The companions of the tradition of libertarian Islam were defined by two characteristics of "freedom" and "destroying the cruelty of rule." Taleghani, in his answer to the question, defined his desirable system and stated:

*"...(among the most important features of the state) is the destruction of the Shah's government and the release of the people to determine their fate, of course, in some countries there may be governments that are somewhat consistent with this philosophy. The Islamic government, which is considered for Iran, will not be similar to Saudi Arabia. Because there is a family and inheritance in it. But the idea we have is a purely Islamic complex that can be developed with the progressive standards of the Quran and the free vote of all people"* (afrasiaby, 1981: 376).

Accordingly, in the tradition of libertarian Islam, even the election of the ruling jurisprudent was also given to the people. Taleghani emphasized that, since God ruled man over his socio-political destiny, this divine right can not be abandoned or taken for the benefit of a particular individual or group, the nation must know and accept the Leader (Hajibeigi Kandri, 2000: 120).

In addition to the macro level, the choice of the ruler in the mind of the Bazargan should be carried out with the selection of people, at the micro level, the companions of the tradition of libertarian Islam also believed in the presence and participation of the people, and cited the life of the Imams and the Prophet in justifying this issue:

*" In the administration of the state, the council of affairs and the rule of the nation are among the texts of the Qur'an and the indisputable inferences. The Prophet, who received the revelation, is ordered to be consulted. The practice of the Prophet and Ali, who consulted with companions and fighters, followed the majority of their votes, although contrary to their own views, is a clear demonstration of the system of Islamic governance. This suggests that the Islamic state should be the national democratic government of the divine."* (Bazargan, 1985: 74-73).

On the whole, it can be said that while the views of the members of the tradition of libertarian Islam have not been clearly defined, the attention of the followers of this tradition indicates that the direction and form of government depicted in liberating Islam  is from "down and people" to "high and rulers". So that in this intellectual tradition, leaders are not allowed to act in the political and social decisions contrary to the will of the public. This kind of political system, which is also the external good of tradition, can ultimately lead the society to the virtue considered by the tradition of libertarian Islam.

## *3. The Ratio of the Intellectual Tradition of Libertarian Islam and the Idea of the Islamic State*

One of the most persistent and influential ideas in contemporary Iran, which, with the victory of the Islamic Revolution, was the basis for the formation of the government, is the idea of an Islamic government. This idea was formed on the basis of the Velayat-e-Faqih at the head of the government and aimed at the implementation of the Shari'a rules in society, and ultimately grew to the satisfaction of the public. The historical study of this idea before it comes to power makes it clear that various social and political factors have contributed to its development and expansion. Among the most important of these factors was the weakening of other ideas as a Shia monarchy in contemporary Iran. The important point is that the Islamic government, along with social developments, tried to redefine some of its early elements. For example, political thought of Imam Khomeini (RA), as one of the main theorists of the Islamic state, has evolved over his years of political and intellectual activity. For example, he gradually introduced the important issue of popular acceptance along with divine legitimacy. In this regard, research shows that this idea has used or at least interacted with some of the components of thought in other ways, such as the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam.

### 3.1 The Basis of Difference Affecting the form of the Political System

A preliminary comparison and comparison of the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam with the idea of the Islamic state suggests that they are shared with each other in some cases, such as the emphasis on freedom. But checking the underlying layers of these two shows that they have deep and serious differences. The intellectual root of the companions of the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam, such as Bazargan, returns to the Ayatollah Naini. The intellectual basis of the scholars who believe in the Islamic regime, such as Beheshti and Montazeri, are returning to the minds of the scholars who believe in the formation of a government such as the JAWAHER Writer (1704-1813) and Seyyed Ahmad Naraghi (1771-1830).

Because of such fundamental differences, the Bazargan emphasizes on the struggle against tyranny as Naini, and the Imam khomeini relied on non-Islamic acts contrary to the Islamic law and the need to combat it (Jafarian, 2006: 334). Moreover, on the basis of such differences, which were emphasized in the constitution of the Freedom Movement on being Muslim, being Iranian, following the constitution and following Mosaddeq, which in this constitution Monarchy was the divine gift, has come to the king from the nation (Documents of the Freedom Movement of Iran, 1982: 17) And later, the Bazargan stated that we are subject to the constitution, we advocate the full and comprehensive constitution. Our views on the monarchy will both boost the stability of the monarchy, and will allow the production of ultra-national forces. We are really supportive of it (monarchy) (Iran Freedom Movement, 1982: 17). While Imam Khomeini, from the beginning of explaining his political thought in Kashf-ul-Asrar, except the divine rule, considered all monarchies to be contrary to the interests of the people, and considered the rules in vain except God's law (Imam Khomeini, 1945: 186). Due to this fundamental difference, the liberation movement did not hurry in the months leading up to the victory of the Islamic Revolution to go to the Shah And preferred to take anti-obsolete activities step by step. Interestingly, Bazargan also emphasized on this point in his visit with Imam Khomeini in Paris, but Imam Khomeini (RA), with a different approach to this method, said about the outcome of this visit:

"Before I was in Paris, some people came up with suggests that it is good to step forward, and now we will keep the king and reign and rule, and then we will make the parliament, and then what to do next and to eliminate them. I told this gentleman that he was a good guy, but he was wrong: Do you guarantee that this movement will now come to light after it's sleep? He said no, I said, "Do You guarantee that if we gave the king the expediency, go one step, tomorrow he would not have destroyed all of us?" He said no, I said that now that this fire has been ignited, we must use it (Imam Khamini, 1999, vol 6: 139)." Such fundamental differences in the method of these two traditions also influenced the definition of the nature and form of government.

### 3.2 The Nature of the Government in the Tradition of Libertarian Islam and the Thought of the Islamic State

First and foremost, before explaining the type of view of these two in the way of governance, it is necessary to point out that the attention to the constitution and monarchy in the thoughts of the companions of the tradition of libertarian Islam does not mean that this tradition agrees with the monarchy of despotism. It means that the peoples of this intellectual tradition considered a non-revolutionary and cultural change for its gradual role-play at the community level.

However, the difference between these two thoughts about the nature and purpose of government was very serious. For example, in the minds of the Shahid Beheshti, the goal of the supreme divine government, political organizations, systems and social regulations is that it leads the world of humanity to prosperity (Beheshti, 1956: 36). Hence, in this theory, the election of the governor and the leader will not be accepted through a general election. Because in choosing, the client can dismiss her attorney at any moment. Hence, the issue of the Leadership Attorney will be resolved by itself, and when the righteous government comes into being, its rulings and resolutions are binding on everyone, whether they are involved in it, or not. Whether they agree or disagree (Jafarian, 2005, Vol 2: 1149). With such an approach, the theorists of the Islamic state opposed any liberty [which could be derived from liberal meaning]. Beheshti, for example, by Knowing the economic and political liberty in a same way, criticized the political liberty of liberalism:

*"...It is said to this liberal gentleman that the freedom of the person on whom liberalism emphasizes has a trajectory, goes one way, and in this way, as we move forward, we see a prosperous minority enjoying many freedoms, Juicy, enjoyable and have plenty of facilities to exercise their freedom And we see a majority of them who are wretched, depressed and have very weak facilities for using freedom and exercising liberty"* (Beheshti, 1982: 69).

In addition to the serious opposition of Paradise to liberalism and its near-mindedness, such remarks further emphasize the opposition of the believers to the Islamic state by interpreting the freedom of libertarian islam. The study of Beheshti's works and speeches in this regard clearly shows that this approach is opposed to elements of democracy, such as collective rule, and against a particular class in the administration of government.

*" In most of the various projects that have been inflicted through human beings for centuries or more than seven centuries, or have been introduced into religious teachings, the need for a government to run a community is seen as a constant principle. If, according to the scientific and philosophical criteria, we can not provide a solid proof of the correctness of this principle, we will inevitably find itself accepting it even as a theoretical subject: This principle is the following: in the social life of man, the rule of an individual or group or class is necessary"* (Beheshti, 1956: 18).

A greater explanation of the political theory of the followers of the tradition of libertarian Islam reveals that their thinking about the government is against the theory of the Islamic state. Because one of the most important issues regarding the idea of the libertarian Islam tradition is their democratic approach to the government. In that sense, they considered the purpose of the government to protect the masses and satisfy their needs. For example, Ayatollah Taleghani, referring to the Holy Qur'an, stated in the definition of politics that if the meaning of politics is responsibility towards human beings and the protection of the oppressed and the struggle against oppression, this is in the text of the Quran and its teachings, and it has always been more or less current. But if the concept of politics lies, lies, deceit, and does not speak to the masses of people, Islam condemns this policy (Taleghani, 1980: 63).

Therefore, the choice and use of the usual methods of democracy for the companions of the tradition of libertarian Islam was not hindered, and the Bazargan stated in his explanation that the government we considered was a popular, national, guiding, free, elected, council and divine government. There are also privileges of the popular, liberal, and democratic governments (Bazargan, 1966: 27). With

this view, in the rule of this intellectual tradition, the "presidential" political approaches are more limited and, instead, With this view, in the rule of this intellectual tradition, the "presidential" political approaches are more limited and, instead, parliamentary systems are prominent. It also means that the rationality of this tradition was gradually evolving, and the likelihood that the libertarian Islam tradition would end in the parliamentary political system was high. In a way that later Ebrahim Yazdi referred to this issue in his interviews and introduced the parliamentary system in accordance with the ideas of the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam.

*" One of the charges against us is that we are a parliamentary advocate. Well, yes, is not one of the main demands of the Islamic Revolution of Iran liberty and national sovereignty? The sovereignty of the nation is possible through the participation of the people and free elections and the parliamentary system, not from Through the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the righteous?"* (Motameddezfuli, 2003: 342).

With this approach, they avoided any definition of government in the sense of certain particular sovereignty to the general public. For example, Ayatollah Taleghani stated in the days leading up to the victory of the Islamic Revolution in the definition of the republican rule that the most important component of republican rule is the lack of rule of a particular class over others.

*" ...Every republicanism has standards in the world. I do not consider the Islamic system equal to the government, because the government has the meaning of some sovereignty over others, but in Islam, the rule of law is only for God, who is the creator of all people, and all the people Servant of God "* (Taleghani, 1980: 65).

Considering the people in choosing and directing political issues in Islamic society from the point of view of the companions of the tradition of libertarian Islam, this issue was expanded to all aspects of life, even the choice of ruler. In a way that the companions of the tradition of libertarian Islam believed that the election and dismissal of the Imam should also be done with the public opinion.

*" The election and dismissal of the Imam and the general governor should also be carried out with consultation and selection of the people. The leadership of the Prophet of Islam, as determined by his mandate as God's mission, was not relevant to the consultation and selection of the people, but after the death of the Prophet We see that the immediate and long-standing issue that has been at the top of the issues of the Islamic Ummah has been the matter of determining the caliph or Imam"* (Bazargan, 1962: 146).

An important point is that The two theories "Attorney of ruler" and the "Islamic state" at this historic point tried to interact with one another, and in some cases, believers in one thought interpreted the other for their own benefit. For example, Bazargan criticized the thesis of the Velayat-e faqih Imam Khomeini (RA) that, firstly, this treatise is a jurisprudential debate that includes the generalities of the state and it is not stated that the Velayah and the sovereignty should be in the hands of the jurisprudents or their reference, And (Imam) have not entered into the shapes and details (this kind of government). Secondly, in the years before and after the victory, the treatise (Velayat-e Faqih) was not discussed (Bazargan, 1984: 85). According to the research framework, Bazargan seeks to reduce the role and effectiveness of rival ideas about the nature of the state and opposes the theory of the general lawyer, since in the view of the adherents of the tradition of libertarian Islam, the political system of the Islamic state ultimately causes Despotism and government withdrawal from attention to public interests. In such a way that Taleghani was faring that the rule of the jurisprudents would tend toward his own government And states that in the government of a person such responsibility falls on a person, the other people are not responsible and in the absence of the responsibility, the talents is extinguished or eliminated, and its people become foolish. So that after that person, that community collapses. Another danger is the deviation from the general public and the adoption of his personal and ethnic interests on others and negligence in the ruling (Taleghani, 1981: 73).

In addition to these differences, one of the other critics of the tradition of libertarian Islam is to defenders of the Islamic state Those who believe in the idea that the Islamic government has used some of the non-Islamic elements in the Islamic left is used in its rationality. For example, when Shahid Beheshti, likening the constitution to the left thought, stated that "even in the Soviet constitution at the very beginning, they bound the government, which must be at the hands of the Marxist workers party ... because it is a schooling society". Abu al-Fazl Mousavi Zanjani Close to the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam, he criticized this similarity of Beheshti (qelfi, 2005: 600)

Bazargan, referring to this issue, also referred to the revolutionary thought in Iran, based on the ideas of the left and a kind of deviation from the true Islam, and stated:

" *...it is certain that our revolution has gone beyond the boundaries of Iran and has violated the struggle against tyranny and has defined the task of serving Islam and the universal mission And then the confrontation with US imperialism and the issuance of revolution to save the superiority of the world's disadvantaged people become its main goals. According to Mohammad Hassanin, this issue has lost the status of a universal state and human defense, and, in the light of the novelty and priority of goals or the adoption of tactical policies, would either deliberately or unwittingly make a distinct leap toward international Marxism, and by its militancy, It was a reminder of the communist class revolutions, not the provider of the merciful face of the Prophet of Islam* " (Bazargan, 1984: 172).

The correctness of this critique is the fact that some believers of the Islamic regime, such as Ayatollah Montazeri, later also emphasized this issue and acknowledged that they were influenced by some of the left-wing intellectual processes at the beginning of the revolution.

*" and Dr. Beheshti in the Assembly of Experts argued that, for example, in the Soviet Union, which wants to run a government, one who is ideologist and knowledgeable in communist issues will choose him for the government and put it at the top ... We also do the same in Islamic matters that He (the elected) should be expert in matters of Islam and should even be aware of others in this regard "* (Montazeri, 2000, Vol 1: 456).

## *Conclusion*

The survey of various ideas affecting the formation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran shows that these thoughts have taken effect and shaped the rationality of the Islamic state. The historical-intellectual survey of the Islamic Revolution of Iran shows that at the time of the rise of the Islamic Revolution, several thoughts are interacting with one another. One of the most important of these is the idea of libertarian Islam and the other idea of the Islamic state. The present research attempted to put forward the idea of liberation in the form of the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam and to examine and eventually interact with the thought of the Islamic state. The results of this research also show that this tradition has been shaped and grown by focusing on liberation and the struggle against authoritarian thought, and, in the meantime, using gradual struggle tactics. In the struggle against Pahlavi monarchy, from the very beginning of the struggle,members of tradition believed that the power of the kingdom and the king should be limited. Consequently, this tradition could not be accompanied by other ideas such as the Islamic state, which considered a serious and revolutionary struggle and a complete elimination of the monarchy. Thus, the intellectual tradition of libertarian Islam, after the collapse of the monarchy, was also through its representatives in the Assembly of Experts of the Constitution, and later, with executive power, attempted to implement its ideas. One of the most important examples of such activities was the removal or diminution of approaches that gave widespread authority to the political system or were more revolutionary in their political and social activities. As a result, the distance between the followers of the Islamic thought and the intellectual tradition of Islam became more and more.

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