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**One Unites into Two: from an Onto-theological Statement to
a Political Implication**

**[Eno se združuje v dvoje: od onto-teološke izjave do politične
implikacije]**

Dissertation

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to provide a philosophical-psychoanalytical reading of one of the most socio-politically tempestuous periods in the history of modern Iran, spanning from the 1979 revolution to the end of the leadership of the first Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic in 1989 – a tumultuous decade full of colossal upheavals such as the revolution, the establishment of a theocratic government, the articulation of the public sphere based on a notorious policy of “gender segregation”, the country’s regional and global isolation, and the widespread socio-political oppression. In the space of just one decade, we have witnessed a series of major transformations, each of which, on its own, is enough to leave a huge impact on the entire socio-political fabric for a long time to come.

In other words, this research is to delve into the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the subsequent establishment of the Islamic Republic from a philosophical-psychoanalytical standpoint. In discussions surrounding the 1979 revolution and the Islamic Republic, it is customary to treat them as synonymous to the extent that the “Islamic” qualifier in the Islamic Republic’s title retroactively applies to the revolution itself, transforming it into the Islamic Revolution. The widespread usage of the term “Islamic Revolution” in references to this event speaks volumes about this practice. In contrast to this approach, this research hinges on structurally distinguishing between the revolution and the governmental formation that arose afterward. We argue that the relationship between these two should be comprehended in light of this structural distinction.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, we delve into the differing approaches of Christianity and Islam in their engagement with the intertwined dimensions of time: *Chronos*, *Kairos*, and *Krisis*. Subsequently, we will elucidate the ontological and political implications of Islam's articulation of "the division in time" in contemporary Iran, contending that the mathematical statement "One unites into two" aptly encapsulates the onto-theological and political dynamics at play within the Islamic Republic.

Moving on to the second chapter, we will aim to provide a brief exploration of the political-theological associated with the Islamic Republic, with a specific focus on the doubled figure of Ayatollah Khomeini as both the spiritual and political leader of the revolution (*imām*-sovereign). Drawing inspiration from Ernst Kantorowicz's 'the two king's bodies' theory and Eric L. Santner theory of *the Flesh*, we will demonstrate how Khomeini's doubled figure is reflected in the duality of his two bodies – the sovereign's body and the body of *imām*. In the concluding section of this chapter, our intention is to illustrate, drawing upon Lacan's theory of signification, the interplay between S_1 and S_2 within the context of the Islamic Republic under the leadership of Khomeini.

In the third chapter, we will shed light on why Michel Foucault, in his engagement with the Iranian uprising of 1978–79, preferred to use the term "revolt" instead of "revolution." Our goal is to transcend the vague distinction he drew between revolt and revolution by drawing from Furio Jesi's *phenomenology of revolt* and elucidating in what sense the Iranian uprising can be categorized as a revolt. Furthermore, we will emphasize the

influence of the Iranian uprising on Foucault's later works, asserting that his involvement in Iranian politics significantly shaped his subsequent intellectual trajectory.

In the fourth and final chapter, we tackle the notion of "political act" in the context of the 1979 Revolution. Drawing upon the conceptualizations of political act by Slavoj Žižek and Alain Badiou, as well as Jacques Lacan's idea of the *passee*, we will argue to what extent this revolution can be characterized as a political act.

Povzetek

Namen disertacije je podati filozofsko-psihoanalitično branje eno izmed družbeno-politično najbolj burnih obdobj v zgodovini sodobnega Irana, ki je trajalo od revolucije leta 1979 do konca vladanja prvega vrhovnega vodje Islamske republike leta 1989 - burno desetletje, polno kolosalnih pretresov, kot je bila revolucija, vzpostavitev teokratske vlade, artikulacija javne sfere, ki je temeljila na razvpiti politiki "segregacije spolov", regionalna in globalna izolacija države ter vesplošno družbenopolitično zatiranje. V samo enem desetletju smo bili priča vrsti velikih preobrazb, od katerih je vsaka sama po sebi dovolj, da bo še dolgo pustila velik vpliv na celotno družbeno-politično strukturo.

Z drugimi besedami, namen te raziskave je raziskati iransko revolucijo iz leta 1979 in poznejšo ustanovitev Islamske republike s filozofsko-psihoanalitičnega vidika. V razpravah o revoluciji iz leta 1979 in Islamski republiki je običajno, da se ju obravnava kot sinonima, kolikor se kvalifikator "islamski" retroaktivno nanaša na samo revolucijo in jo spreminja v islamsko revolucijo. Razširjena uporaba izraza "islamska revolucija" pri nanašanjih na ta dogodek je zelo zgovorna, kar zadeva to prakso. V nasprotju s tem pristopom ta raziskava temelji na strukturnem razlikovanju med revolucijo in vladno formacijo, ki je nastala po njej. Trdimo, da je treba razmerje med njima razumeti v luči tega strukturnega razlikovanja.

V prvem poglavju te disertacije se bomo poglobili v različne pristope krščanstva in islama k obravnavi prepletenih razsežnosti časa: *Kronos*, *Kairos* in *Krisis*. Nato bomo pojasnili ontološke in politične posledice islamske artikulacije "delitve v času" v sodobnem Iranu,

pri čemer trdimo, da matematična izjava "Eno se poenoti v dvoje" ustrezno povzema onto-teološko in politično dinamiko Islamske republike.

V drugem poglavju bomo na kratko raziskali politično-teološke vidike, povezane z Islamsko republiko, s posebnim poudarkom na dvojni figuri ajatole Homeinija kot duhovnega in političnega voditelja revolucije (imām-sovereign). Po zgledu teorije "kraljevih dveh teles" Ernsta Kantorowicza in teorije Erica L. Santnerja o *mesu* bomo pokazali, kako se Chomeinijeva podvojena figura odraža v dvojnosti njegovih dveh teles - telesa suverena in telesa *imáma*. V sklepnem delu tega poglavja bomo na podlagi Lacanove teorije signifikacije ponazorili vzajemno delovanje med S_1 in S_2 v kontekstu Islamske republike pod vodstvom Chomeinija.

V tretjem poglavju bomo osvetlili, zakaj je Michel Foucault pri obravnavi iranske vstaje v letih 1978-79 raje uporabljal izraz "upor" namesto "revolucija". Naš cilj je preseči nejasno razlikovanje med uporom in revolucijo, ki ga je uvedel, z opiranjem na *fenomenologijo upora* Furia Jesija in pojasniti, v kakšnem smislu lahko iransko vstajo razumemo kot upor. Poleg tega bomo poudarili vpliv iranske vstaje na Foucaultova poznejša dela in trdili, da je njegovo sodelovanje v iranski politiki pomembno vplivalo na njegovo nadaljnjo intelektualno pot.

V četrtem in zadnjem poglavju se bomo ukvarjali s pojmom "političnega dejanja" v kontekstu revolucije iz leta 1979. Na podlagi konceptualizacij političnega dejanja Slavoja Žižka in Alaina Badiouja ter ideje Jacquesa Lacana o *prehodu* bomo utemeljili, v kolikšni meri lahko to revolucijo označimo kot politično dejanje.

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