



# S.I.S. NEWSLETTER

## A Publication of The Society for Iranian Studies

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### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR IRANIAN STUDIES

This year's annual MESA/SIS meeting will be hosted by the University of Chicago, at the the Hotel Continental, 3-6 November 1983. Information about meetings, registration, hotels, etc., is available from: MESA 1983, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 5848 South University Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637. Telephone: (312)962-8297/8.

The Council of the Society will meet from 1-3 p.m. on Thursday, 3 November and the Society's General Business Meeting is scheduled for 3-5 p.m. the same day. All Society members are invited to attend the Business Meeting; we especially welcome suggestions of topics for SIS-sponsored panels for the 1984 SIS/MESA meetings in San Francisco. Anyone interested in being involved in next year's panels, please write to Habib Ladjevardi.

Nominations for new Council members will also be taken at the business meeting. Lois Beck, William Hanaway, Jr., and M.A. Jazayeri will complete their three-year terms at the end of 1983. For those who will not be able to attend this meeting and wish to nominate someone, please write to Habib Ladjevardi with your suggestions by no later than October 25th.

### SIS Panels at the Chicago Meeting

Guity Nashat and John Perry are responsible for organizing this year's panels, for which we would like to offer our thanks and appreciation.

Two panels and one workshop are being sponsored jointly by SIS and MESA:

# I. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OBSTACLES FACING THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Friday, November 4th  
2-3:30 p.m.

Organizer/Chair: Djavad Salehi Isfahani, University of Pennsylvania

Papers: Reinhold Loeffler, Western Michigan University  
"Iran Update: The Cultural Dimension"  
Ahmad Ashraf, New School for Social Research  
"The Question of Property in the Iranian Revolution"  
Fereidun Fesharaki, East-West Resource Systems Institute  
"Petroleum Sector Development Plans:  
Obstacles and Options in the Islamic Republic of Iran"  
Hashem Pesaran, Cambridge University  
"Islamic Government and the Iranian Economy"  
Gregory Rose, U.S. Army Intelligence and Security Command  
"Soldiers of the Revolution: The Iranian Armed Forces  
in the Post-Revolutionary Era"

Discussants: Shahrough Akhavi, University of South Carolina  
Manoucher Parvin, University of Akron

# II. THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: A WORKSHOP ON THE PROSPECTS FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MIDDLE EASTERN REVOLUTIONS

Saturday, November 5th  
9:15-10:45 a.m.

Organizer/Chair: Marilyn R. Waldman, Ohio State University

Papers: Eliz Sanasarian, University of Southern California  
"Problems and Prospects in the Comparative Study of Revolutions"  
Yvonne Haddad, Hartford Seminary  
"Women and Revolution in the Twentieth-Century Middle East"  
Mohammad R. Ghanoonparvar, University of Virginia  
"Prophets of Doom: The Literary and Extra-Literary Attitudes  
of Iranian Writers During the Pahlavi Period"

Discussant: John Esposito, Holy Cross

# III. SHI'ITE POLITICAL THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONS (IN HONOR OF THE LATE HAMID ENAYAT)

Sunday, November 6th  
9:15-10:45 a.m.

Organizer/Chair: Said Amir Arjomand, SUNY at Stony Brook

Papers: Ahmad Ashraf, New School for Social Research  
"The Political Implications of the 'Jum'a' Controversy  
in Recent History of Iran"

Juan R.I. Cole, UCLA

"Iranian Religious Influence on North India:

The Establishment of Shi'i Congregational Prayer in Lucknow, 1786-97"

Abbas Amanat, Yale University

"Distribution of Indian Pious Bequests and the  
Designation of Shi'ite Clerical Authorities in  
the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries"

Yann Richard, University of Paris

"Shari'at-Sangelaji: A Forgotten Modernist Theologian of  
the Reza Shah Period

## Abstracts

### I. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OBSTACLES FACING THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Reinhold Loeffler, "Iran Update: The Cultural Dimension"

In this paper I propose to examine how members of different classes in Iran today adapt philosophically and culturally to the conditions of life in the Islamic Republic. In the wake of the political, socio-cultural and economic changes since the last four years, Iranians of all walks of life have to come to terms with a depressed economy, the demands of a protracted war for material and personal sacrifices, concerted efforts by all branches of political authority to achieve ideological conformity, restrictions placed on education, and the enforcement of a restrictive brand of Islamic morality. People have to negotiate new strategies for economic survival in the face of widespread unemployment and inflation; the ongoing war with Iraq forces them to deal with war-fugitives, with aggressive conscription tactics, with victims of war and their official glorification, with the simulation of nationalism, xenophobia, and the resulting isolation. They have to cope practically and spiritually with the intensive propaganda and control efforts by the government, with the lack of education accompanied by anti-intellectual propaganda, and the effects of canon law on interpersonal relationships in and outside the family. It is hypothesized that this new existential situation by now has brought about profound cultural and philosophical reorientations in the everyday lives of ordinary Iranian citizens. The analysis will be based on data from recent fieldwork and literature.

Ahmad Ashraf, "The Question of Property in the Iranian Revolution"

The property question has emerged as a fundamental controversy in the Iranian Revolution. It has evolved around three major concrete issues of land reform, the extent of ownership of urban real estate, and the nationalization of foreign trade. The question of large industrial establishments is excluded because of consensus on their nationalization among the conflicting socio-political forces. These current issues are related to the vested interests of major social classes and socio-political forces in the Iranian society: the agrarian classes include landowners, commercial farmers, peasants, and agricultural workers; prosperous urban strata and real estate owners: the merchant class and the strata of the Bazaar community; and finally industrial entrepreneurs and the working class. Furthermore, the property question is intimately connected to the role of the state in the national economy, the models of revolutionary reconstruction of the Iranian society, and the processes of restructuring of stratification system and class relations. These group interests were expressed through a number of ideological configuration of Islamic and non-Islamic brands. The non-Islamic ideologies include radical Marxist

and liberal tendencies. The Islamic ideologies were unfolded in Islamic socialism, Islamic liberalism and Islamic radical fundamentalism. The variety of Islamic ideological proclivities shows how different socio-political forces have interpreted Islam in its own way and sought to advance its different material and non-material group interests through its espousal of Islamic ideology. Special attention will be paid to the current conflicting intellectual rationalization of Shii jurisprudence by certain factions of the ulama in regards to the question of public vs. private property.

Fereidun Fesharaki, "Petroleum Sector Development: Obstacles and Options in the Islamic Republic of Iran"

This paper proposes to trace the developments in the petroleum sector in the post-revolutionary Iran. A number of key areas will be examined.

- (a) The development in physical production capacity, reserve evaluation and enhanced recovery programs.
- (b) Political and economic determinants of oil production and exports.
- (c) Policies toward OPEC: from acting as an outsider to becoming an insider.

The paper will further examine the implications of restructuring large-scale energy projects (gas injection, nuclear power, gas exports and petrochemicals) for the hydrocarbon sector in particular and the economy in general. Moreover, this paper will argue that high oil revenues are likely to lead to higher imports from the West and even higher dependence on oil exports. Finally, this paper will analyze the current trends and speculations about the status of the oil industry during the remainder of this century.

Hashem Pesaran, "Islamic Government and the Iranian Economy"

The paper proposes to examine the possible transformations of production relations in the major productive sectors of the Iranian economy in the post-revolutionary period. The term "relations of production" is not confined here to legal ownership of means of production, but it is intended to encompass other aspects; namely control over the labor process and organization of labor as well as command over the final product and its use. It will be argued that these relations are important determinants of the growth in labor productivity as well as the distribution of net social product. Since the agrarian sector is to be discussed in a separate paper in this seminar, we would consider it only in its broad outlines and to the extent that is necessary for the purpose of this paper.

In the Iranian economy where the government is in direct control of a large part of the net social surplus in the form of oil revenues, the direct impact of the policy decisions of the government with respect to the disposal of oil revenues is of crucial importance. Here we try to refrain from a simplistic functionalist approach which considers the economic policy of the state as a mere reflection of the prevailing relations of production. We believe the governments, especially in an oil-producing country such as Iran, could have a high degree of relative autonomy vis-a-vis its underlying socio-economic base, and hence we consider a separate study of the economic policy of the government as an indispensable part of analyzing the economic system of the Islamic Republic.

In the article we hope to draw upon a variety of qualitative and quantitative evidence to substantiate our arguments. Apart from utilizing quantitative data immediately related to the issues under discussion, we also conduct a detailed analysis of the structure of foreign trade both in terms of its direction and its

composition. Changes in the structure of foreign trade, apart from being an important indicator of the changing structure of production in the post-revolutionary period, are also used here to reflect upon the likely implications of the international political posture ("neither East nor West") of the regime.

We shall also draw upon the parallels between the "Islamic regime" in Iran and Kalecki's characterizations of "intermediate regimes" to highlight some of the likely contradiction of economic systems of the Islamic Republic, and make some speculations on the likely course of future developments in the light of experience of other examples of intermediate regimes in the post-war period. We conclude the article by making a comparison between the Islamic economic system as reflected in the official ideology of the Islamic Republic and the economic realities unfolding under the Islamic Republic.

Gregory Rose, "Soldiers of the Revolution: The Iranian Armed Forces in the Post-Revolutionary Era"

As Cmdr. William Hickman, USN, observed in a recent monograph, "the transformation of the <Iranian> military has created an atmosphere conducive to 'Pasdarization.'" This transformation has been achieved with no little cost and under extraordinarily adverse conditions. The identification of the armed forces with the old regime, fundamental distrust of the regular military by revolutionary cadres, rivalry between the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and the regular military, and the considerable costs in human and material resources of the war with Iraq presented Iran's revolutionary leadership with grave problems in restructuring a military force capable of enhancing regime stability and confronting foreign adversaries. This paper will argue that, despite these difficulties, the current Iranian government has successfully transformed the Iranian armed forces into an effective military organization loyal to the regime. In making this argument, the paper will focus on the post-revolutionary purges of military personnel, armed forces reorganization, command and control systems (particularly the Joint Staff concept), integration of regular and paramilitary forces, political control structures, military leadership and operational readiness. The paper will further examine continuing operational and logistical problems evidenced in the war with Iraq and remaining questions of military loyalty to the current regime. It will conclude with an evaluation of the future role of the Iranian armed forces in the post-Khomeini period.

## II. THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: A WORKSHOP ON THE PROSPECTS FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MIDDLE EASTERN REVOLUTIONS

This workshop asks whether it is possible and fruitful to set Middle Eastern revolutions into a comparative framework, as well as what can be learned from such comparison about a particular revolution, in this case the Iranian. Comparisons will be made with so-called classical revolutions, with other third-world revolutions, and with other Islamic movements. An exploration of the literature of the revolution will raise a question implicit throughout: to what extent should the Iranian revolution be viewed primarily as an Islamic phenomenon? The audience is invited to participate actively in this discussion of the prospects for the comparative study of Middle East revolutions.

Eliz Sanasarian, "Problems and Prospects in the Comparative Study of Revolutions"

This presentation will focus on the Iranian Revolution in order to address the interdisciplinary problems involved in the study of revolution. A number of general questions will be explored, such as, "Is it theoretically feasible to separate third-world revolutions from classical Western revolutions, such as the French and Russian revolutions?" "What are the similarities and differences between the Iranian Revolution and other third-world uprisings?" "Since the Nicaraguan Revolution occurred during the same time period as the Iranian Revolution, what were some common grounds involving the growth of the anti-Somoza and the anti-Shah movements?" Recommendations for future comparative analysis of revolutions in the third world will be provided at the conclusion of the discussion.

Yvonne Haddad, "Women and Revolution in the Twentieth-Century Middle East"

During the twentieth century, the Arab world has passed through several ideological phases. The role and status of women has been a key issue in all of them. This presentation will discuss the ideological perceptions of women as propounded by nationalism (1920's), socialism (1930's and 1960's), and Islamism (1920's to the present). An important comparative issue will be the apparently uniform alteration of status women in revolution undergo after revolutions are over. This discussion of comparative revolution in the Arab world will provide a basis for comparison with the Iranian revolution. Of special interest will be a reconsideration of the appropriateness of the label "Islamic" for many of the political and social phenomena it is widely used to describe.

Mohammad R. Ghanoonparvar, "Prophets of Doom: The Literary and Extra-Literary Attitudes of Iranian Writers During the Pahlavi Period"

This paper will examine the major fictional and poetic works of twentieth-century Iranian writers and their self-proclaimed role as modern social prophets. Assuming the roles of social critics and visionaries, major figures in prose fiction, poetry, and drama have devoted much of their literary efforts to both ameliorating social conditions as well as anticipating the future of their society.

As a starting point, 1921 marks the publication of the first modern Persian short story and the dawn of so-called New Poetry, from a literary historical standpoint, as well as the accession to power of Reza Khan, later Reza Shah Pahlavi, from the socio-political standpoint. And 1978 marks not only the end of secular dictatorship, as these writers have considered the Pahlavi regime, which had given rise to a revolutionary, engage literature in terms of both form and content. It also produced in these writers a response, often negative, to "modernization" and "Westernization," which they generally viewed as detrimental to Iranian traditional values without having brought about any significant improvement in the human condition in Iran.

Among other things, the question of commitment, i.e., the popularity of the writer vis-a-vis his explicit or implicit stance against the governing regime; the didactic role of these writers in attempting to bring about a unified and coherent social movement; and ambiguity as a literary device in avoiding censorship as well as reinforcing the poet's role as diviner are examined. At times, the nature of the commitment of these writers extends beyond a merely literary domain, since, rather conscious of the traditional role of the poet in Iran as a soothsayer, these writers of imaginative literature have engaged in the projection of their individual visions for the future of the society in their works. This research suggests that the projections made by these authors in regard to the inevitable change in the society

have been fairly accurate as well as overwhelmingly skeptical, envisioning chaos and disorder rather than utopia.

### III. SHI'ITE POLITICAL THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONS

Ahmad Ashraf, "The Political Implications of the 'Jum'a' Controversy in Recent History of Iran"

In the Koran it is expressly ordained in a sura revealed in Medina "When ye are called to prayer on the day of the assembly hasten to the praise of Allah and leave off your business" (LXII,9). The attendance at the Friday congregational prayer (jum'a) is, thus, regarded as an individual duty (wajib aini) incumbent on all male, adult, free, resident Muslims.

From its very commencement in Medina the "jum'a" had a political implication of utmost significance. In the early Islamic era it was a proof that the participants had converted to Islam and joined the Muslim community (umma). Thereafter, it implied a manifestation of allegiance (bai'a) to the commander of the Muslim political community (ulu'l-amr) who conducted the ritual, or whose name was mentioned in the sermon (khutba). The "jum'a" was, thus, established as one of the most significant religio-political institutions and served to articulate the connection between religious institutions and the political authority of the Muslim community at both theoretical and practical levels.

The very political content of the "jum'a" was faced by the Twelver Shiites with ambivalence and deep anxiety. While the "jum'a" is a "wajib aini," its practice is a sign of allegiance to the rulers who are considered as the usurpers of the political authority of the "Imams." The Shiite jurists are, thus, divided on this question: some support its practice as "wajib aini;" others as optional; still others support its prohibition (haram) during the "ghaiba."

The purpose of this paper is to provide an historical analysis of the relation of the "jum'a" controversy to the standing of the ulama vis-à-vis the state and its legitimation in the Iranian polity in the modern era. Also reflected upon will be the political implications of the revitalization of practicing the "jum'a" in the Islamic regime.

The following panel will also be of interest to SIS members:

REVOLUTIONARY IRAN  
Saturday, November 5th  
11-12:30

Chair: Ervand Abrahamian, Baruch College

Papers: Ervand Abrahamian, "The Mujahedin: The Conscience of the Iranian Revolution?"

Revolutions, it has often been noted, devour their children. The Iranian Revolution is no exception. In the four years since the Revolution, the main threat and therefore the main victim of Islamic Republic has turned out to be not the remnants of the old regime, but on the contrary the radical Mujahedin-i Khalq with its thousands of idealistic youth who had eagerly welcomed the downfall of the Shah. For some, the Mujahedin have become the conscience of the revolution. For others they are an infantile ultra-left disorder.

The aim of the paper will be to answer the question why the Mujahedin have turned drastically against the Islamic Republic. To answer this question, the paper will investigate the following interrelated topics:

(1) The ideology of the Mujahedin, especially its secular-populist interpretation of Islam as opposed to Ayatollah Khomeini's clerical-populist interpretation.

(2) The links between this secular-populist ideology and the social composition of the organization's leaders. The paper will present statistics to prove that most of the organization's leaders, founders, and cadres come not just from the intelligentsia, but more precisely from the young intelligentsia born into traditional lower-middle class homes and moulded by the violent events of June 1963. The paper will argue that these generational and class factors explain much of the Mujahedin's political outlook and behavior.

(3) The reasons why subsequent to the Revolution the Mujahedin succeeded in attracting a large following -- especially in the universities, technical colleges, and high schools.

Eliz Sanasarian, "The Political Institutionalization of Fanaticism:  
The Case of Iran"

Since the 1979 Anti-Shah Revolution, the status of various groups has deteriorated considerably. Three major sectors of Iranian society have been the main victims of this system: women, minority groups, and intellectuals. There is a direct relationship between institutionalizing fanaticism and the oppression of these groups. This paper focuses on the incremental changes in policy regarding each sector. It asserts that fanaticism has been established by tactics involving radical legal changes, socialization in schools, and community and local coercion. Ideas and pronouncements which were only years earlier casually denied as belonging to the selected (exceptional) few have now become the practiced norm.

In the absence of any viable international concern and supervision, the Islamic Republic has deleted the most basic civil and human rights. This paper shows that political power of the ultra-traditionalists has negatively affected the three sectors and has further reinforced the rule of a fundamentalist theocratic regime in Iran.

Bassam Tibi, "Identity and World View in a Changing World.  
The Iranian Revolution and the Quest for Islamic Identity"

The concept of identity is a widely discussed and controversial issue in the social sciences. One controversial issue in the identity debate is how to interpret identity in a changing world. The employed concept in this paper is one which refers to how people perceive themselves and how they distinguish themselves from others. Identity is based on shared cultural assumptions that are historically related to a specific social, political and economic context in a given society. From this concept the question arises whether the Islamic umma, as the Iranian revolution claims, could be the framework for the production of meaning for the Arabs. The analysis of the attempts of Islamic revivalists in the Arab world to accept the claim of the Iranian revolution and to adjust the Islamic identity to the modern concept of political community in order to support and propound the notion of "an-nizam al-Islami" constitutes the focus of this paper. The findings are that the Iranian claim is futile and the efforts to employing it as a political strategy are abortive. In this paper a concept of time is introduced underpinning the suggestion of a historicizing of Islam and Arabness. Identity is based on a common world view. Cultural meanings that determine the world view of a social group or people are not immutable because they are socially produced in a specific time and space.

IRANIAN STUDIES - The Journal

Volume XVI (Nos. 1 and 2) was mailed at the end of July and Nos. 3 and 4 are currently being prepared. The journal's 15-year index is also in preparation and will be available at the Chicago meeting in November.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Opening in International Business:  
Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas at Austin

The University of Texas at Austin invites applications for a position in International Business, focusing on the Middle East, to become effective September 1, 1984. The position entails a joint appointment between International Business and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the Assistant or Associate Professor level, depending on credentials. Well developed research skills and a strong commitment to a high level of scholarly research productivity are essential. Experienced applicants are expected to have commensurate publication credentials. The University of Texas at Austin is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer. Please send vita and all supporting materials by January 15, 1984 to: Professor Robert T. Green, Graduate School of Business, GSB 3.112H, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

\*Arjomand, S.A. "The Office of Mulla-abshi in Shi'ite Iran," Studia Islamica LVII (1983), pp. 135-146.

Ghani, Dr. Ghassem Memoirs, Vol.IX (Ithaca Press, 13 Southwark Street, London, SE1).

\*SIS member