

s.i.s. newsletter

A Publication of The Society for Iranian Studies

Volume XIV, No. 3, September 1982

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ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR IRANIAN STUDIES

The Society's Seventeenth Annual Meeting will be held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the Hilton Hotel (near the University of Pennsylvania; Civic Center Boulevard at 34th Street), in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, hosted by the University of Pennsylvania, 3-6 November 1982. Information about the MESA meetings, including registration and hotels, is available from: MESA 1982, Middle East Research Institute, 3808 Walnut Street/BF, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (the phone number is 215/898-6335).

The Council of the Society will meet from 1-3 p.m. on Wednesday, 3 November, and the Society's general Business Meeting is scheduled for 3-6 p.m. on Wednesday, 3 November. All Society members and other interested people are invited to attend the Business Meeting; we especially welcome suggestions for SIS-sponsored panels for the 1983 SIS/MESA meetings in Chicago.

SIS Panels

Three panels were coordinated and organized by Society members in November 1981 at the Seattle meetings, for the 1982 meetings. They are jointly sponsored by SIS and MESA. The theme of the three panels is: "Culture and Politics in Iran Today."

- I. RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN IRAN Friday, November 5th, 9-12 a.m.

Organizer/Chair: Mohammad Ali Jazayeri, University of Texas at Austin

Papers: Hafez Farmayan, University of Texas at Austin

"Origins of Religious Opposition to the Institution of Monarchy in Iran"

Guity Nashat, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

"The Pre-Islamic Origins of the Power of the Faqih"

Patricia Higgins, State University of New York at Plattsburgh

"Minority-State Relations in Contemporary Iran"

Mohammad Ali Jazayeri, University of Texas at Austin
 "Religion and Nationhood: Kasravi's Perspective"

Discussant: Eliz Sanasarian, University of Southern California

II. INSTITUTIONS AND INTELLECTUALS IN CONTEMPORARY IRAN Thursday,
 November 4th (check program for time)

Organizer/Chair: Ali Banuazizi, Boston College

Papers: Farzaneh Milani

"The Association of Iranian Writers: A Journey Through
 Disillusionment"

Reinhold Loeffler, Western Michigan University

"Social Institutions and the Educated"

Gregory Rose, Miami University

"Ideology and Leadership: Pre-Revolutionary Views of Imamat-i
 I'tibari and Vilayat-i Faqih"

Majid Tehranian, University of Hawaii at Manoa

"Reason, Romance, and Revolution: Iranian Intellectuals and the
 Islamic Revolution"

III. USES OF CULTURE IN IRAN Thursday, November 4th (check program for time)

Organizer/Chair: Michael Fischer, Rice University

Papers: Rafique Keshavjee, Harvard/MIT

"The Play of Power and the Power of Play in Rural Khurasan"

Mary Hegland, State University of New York at Binghamton

"Women's Life Cycle Gatherings and Political Alliance in an
 Iranian Village"

Shahla Haeri, UCLA

"Uses of Sigheh/Mut'a (Temporary Marriage)"

Erika Friedl, Western Michigan University

"The Uses and Semantics of Suffering in Folk Philosophy"

Abbas Amanat

"Social Divisions and Political Attitudes within the Shi'i
 Clerical Hierarchy"

Discussant: William Beeman, Brown University

Abstracts

Panel I: RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN IRAN

The first two papers, examining the theoretical basis of the vilayat-e faqih, conclude that (1) conflict between religion and state found among Muslims is rooted in pre-Islamic Iranian culture; and that (2) Khomeyni's theory of government is not based in the early Islamic state, but is a radical departure from Quranic teachings and Mohammad's and Shi'i imams' practices. The third paper examines the worsened state of minorities under the current vilayat-e faqih. Kasravi fought religious divisions and questioned the vilayat-e faqih. Giving religion a broad and practical definition, he would abolish harmful beliefs and would unite Iranians on a solid (not sentimental) and lasting basis.

Hafez Farmayan, "Origins of Religious Opposition to the Institution of Monarchy in Iran"

According to written and spoken evidence, most scholars assume that religious opposition to secular government is basic to Islamic theological dogma. Most of these scholars also accept the idea that this concept is particularly true of the Shi'i concept of government. While this researcher also accepts these assumptions as generally correct, he believes that religious opposition in Iran to secular government is additionally deeply rooted in that country's pre-Islamic history and culture. This paper proposes to explore this latter premise by investigating a number of social and religious upheavals in Iran prior to the advent of Islam. It will attempt to show that development of the institutions of monarchy and of religion in Iran and their ancient opposing and rivalrous relationships constitute primary directions in the comprehensive development of the social and political structure of Iran, and that they are an integral part of the Iranian system.

Guity Nashat, "The Pre-Islamic Origins of the Power of the Faqih"

One of the foundations of the state envisioned in the vilāyat-i faqih and embodied in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran rests upon the figure of an all-knowing, wise, and benevolent supreme religious leader. Not accountable to anyone but God, he is entitled to the unquestioning obedience and allegiance of the entire community. Only he knows what is best for everyone because he alone can interpret and communicate the wishes of God to His creatures.

The purported aim of Ayatullah Khomeini, the author of this theory, and those who enacted it into the constitution, is to recreate the mode of government that had prevailed in early Islam. This paper argues, however, that this theory of leadership is not a reenactment of this earlier government but a radical departure from the teachings of the Qur'an and the practices of the Prophet Muhammad and the Shi'ite imams. Furthermore, it attempts to demonstrate that the origins of this theory must be sought not in early Islam but in the religious beliefs and political thought of pre-Islamic Iran.

Patricia Higgins, "Minority-State Relations in Contemporary Iran"

A primary issue in post-revolutionary Iran is the relationship between minority groups (and their members) and the central government. This paper compares minority-state relations under the Pahlavi and the Islamic Republican regimes using a theoretical framework derived from the work of social scientists on ethnicity and on contemporary states. This framework calls attention to both ideological and materialistic bases of identity and of group dynamics and suggests that ethnic groups are not merely historical entities but are also functional units whose boundaries and boundary markers change with changing conditions. In the long run the state establishes a structure which bounds both the ideological and materialistic dimensions of minority-state relations, and members of minority groups adjust their response to this structure.

Comparison of the Pahlavi and Islamic Republican states indicates that the dramatic shift in emphasis from Persian-ness to Shi'ism as the symbol and focus for identity overlies a number of important similarities between the two states. Both have features common to modern states which limit the degree of cultural or political autonomy feasible for minority groups. Nevertheless, political and economic changes have reinforced ideological ones to make it less advantageous than before to be a member of a religious minority and to allow somewhat more room for linguistically-based cultural diversity in the Islamic Republic than in the Pahlavi state.

The response of members of three key minority groups--the Baha'i, the Kurds, and the Azerbaijanis--to the Pahlavi and Islamic Republican states is briefly analyzed in terms of the similarities and differences in the two states, and suggestions for future research are posed.

Mohammad Ali Jazayeri, "Religion and Nationhood: Kasravi's Perspective"

Ahmad Kasravi (1890-1946), Iranian scholar and ideologue, defined "religion" as "the way of life" and "politics" as "the path a people chooses for itself among other peoples" -- the way in which it conducts its life internally and in which it handles its relations with other political units. A "nation" is a group of people, within certain geographical boundaries, with a shared history, shared ideals, and shared beliefs, united in all major aspects of culture. On the basis of these assumptions, and others, (1) separation of "church and state" is meaningless. (2) Practically everything that passes for religion in Iran contradicts true religion. (3) The notion of "different religions", living, or "practised", side by side is in conflict with the very purpose of religion. (4) The existence of separate groups -- including ethnic, linguistic, and religious -- is not conducive to national unity, indeed to nationhood itself -- the people in Iran, thus, can hardly be considered a "nation", until the causes of disunity are removed. (5) In addition to causing disunity, the different religions contain beliefs, practices, and claims which are in conflict with national life, national cohesion. This is especially true of the majority religion: Shi'ism. Among other things, Kasravi was the first person (at least in modern times) to make the claim of the mullahs about the velayat-e faqih a prominent issue, pressing the ulama to answer several basic questions, and considering the claim, not only illogical, but destructive as well.

Panel II: INSTITUTIONS AND INTELLECTUALS IN CONTEMPORARY IRAN

Farzaneh Milani, "The Association of Iranian Writers: A Journey Through Disillusionment"

The first Congress of Iranian Writers, held at the University of Teheran in July of 1946, is an episode of major significance in the history of modernistic Persian literature. It not only represents a beginning of self-consciousness for many writers as a professional group, it also proves to have affected the writers' relations to themselves, their art, and their readership. However, since its inception, the Association of Iranian Writers was destined to be divided and disrupted by forces both from within--and especially from without--itself. If its first assemblage of members soon dissolved, it was rekindled in a 1968 convocation formed by, among others, Jalal Al-Ahmad. Lasting only two years, this second attempt at organizing a body of writers was also short-lived. Forced into years of silence, the Writers' Association finally became a powerful presence in the political and literary scene with its Ten Nights of Poetry Readings at the Goethe Institute in October of 1977.

Although united at the time of the revolution, inner dissension and divergent ideological persuasions soon created rifts within the Association. These unresolved and seemingly unresolvable conflicts culminated in the expulsion of five of the most prominent members of the Association and its subsequent split in two major branches. One group, a minority, fully supports the policies of the Islamic Republic. The majority, however, openly criticizes the suppression of human and democratic rights in Iran and the regime's utter disdain for art and culture.

It should be noted that parallel to this fellowship of writers was a government-sponsored organization of distinguished scholars, writers, and poets. It was

formed in the early 1960s and continued its activities through a series of congresses and cultural festivals into the late 1970s. Although the almost exclusively traditionalist and pro-establishment orientation of this group is in direct contrast to that of the Association of Iranian Writers, its contribution in advancement of literary scholarship, its celebration of genuine works of artistic merit, and its promotion of creative talents can hardly be overlooked.

Reinhold Loeffler, "Social Institutions and the Educated"

Since the revolution, all institutions in Iran, including the former haven of privacy, the family, have become intrinsically politicized, a condition which deeply affects the lives of the educated young generation. This paper presents a discussion, on the basis of case material collected in a southern Iranian province, of some of the functions social institutions can be observed to have today, notably in regard to the educated youth. In specific, it examines (a) institutions as media shaping political attitudes, (b) institutions as arenas offering social and economic opportunities, (c) institutions as mechanisms of intense social and political control, (d) institutions as embodiments of idea systems generating commitment which overrides even kinship affiliation, and (e) institutions as intrinsically divisive forces in the society. The paper concludes with an outline of the social profiles, in terms of institutional affiliations, of the advocates of the major political orientations found in Iran today.

Gregory Rose, "Ideology and Leadership: Pre-Revolutionary Views of Imamāt-i I'tibari and Vilayat-i Faqih"

Three major works appeared in the 1970s -- Khomeini's Hukumat-i Islami (Najaf, 1970), 'Ali Tehrani's Hukumat-i Islami (Mashhad, 1970), and Morteza Motahhari's Valihā va Vilayatha (Qom, 1975) -- which marshalled ideological arguments in addition to the traditional case for a substantive role for the ruhaniyyat in government. These works reflected a growing tendency in ruhani intellectual circles to conceive of Islam as an ideology, and especially as an ideology in competition for the Muslim mind with Western and Marxist ideologies; this "ideologizing" of Shi'ism raised questions of ideological soundness as a criterion of religiopolitical leadership. This is, in part, to be seen in the treatment of 'adl as a qualification for leadership: it is regarded as a function of revolutionary consciousness and action.

This paper will present a detailed, comparative analysis of the arguments put forward by Khomeini, Tehrani and Motahhari for the exercise of the extrinsic functions of the Imamate (imamat-i i'tibari) through the governance of the jurisprudent (vilayat-i faqih) during the Occultation, focusing on the ways in which these arguments adumbrate ideological developments in the post-revolutionary period. Special attention will be paid to the role of ideological soundness in religiopolitical leadership, particularly as it arises in connection with the problems of "apolitical akhunds" and so-called "pseudoclergymen." Additional attention will be focused on the logical/conceptual consequences of the models of Islam as ideology adopted by each author. Finally, a comparison will be made of each author's view of religiopolitical leadership to those of such non-ruhani intellectuals as 'Ali Shari'ati and Abolhasan Bani-Sadr.

Majid Tehranian, "Reason, Romance, and Revolution: Iranian Intellectuals and the Islamic Revolution"

Secular intellectuals have often played a central role in modern revolutions, but the Iranian revolution of 1979 seems to be an exception to this general rule.

This essay will attempt to explain the paradoxes and tragedies of the Iranian situation. Because of the similarity of historical conditions, however, the essay may have also some relevance for an understanding of the position of intellectuals in many other Third World societies. The essay begins with a critical review of the concepts of "intellectual" and "intelligentsia" in the social contexts of the Third as compared with the First and Second Worlds. It will then offer a profile and typology of Iranian intellectuals, their social institutional linkages and ideological orientations during the seventies. The essay will argue that an increasingly dualistic socio-cultural situation, expanding education and employment opportunities, rapid social mobility, absence of outlets for meaningful political participation, weak institutional linkages and deep socio-psychological fractions, led the Iranian intellectuals to assume a far more erratic, culturally schizoid, and politically irresponsible (and ineffectual) role in the Islamic revolution than is often the case in most other social revolutions of modern history.

Panel III: USES OF CULTURE IN IRAN

The Iranian Revolution has focused much attention and commentary on Islam and politics. The membership of the Society for Iranian Studies voted at the Seattle meetings to devote a panel to cultural forms which endure despite the revolution, a look at some of the "deep" patterns of culture. Papers have been offered on (1) play as a screen for projecting/analyzing modes of using power among men and among women, (2) kinship as a network for channeling political alliances, (3) temporary marriage (*mut'a/sigheh*) as a historically available form which has had a number of unintentional consequences in the context of Islamic revival, (4) folk cognitive styles displayed through accounting for suffering which generate enduring frames of evaluation and strategies for action, and (5) literary styles for formulating social consciousness. While all these papers are based on long and direct field experiences in Iran, the panel is enhanced by three papers (2, 3, and 4) based in part on data collected during the revolution.

Rafique Keshavjee, "The Play of Power and the Power of Play in Rural Khurasan"

Men's games (such as *qal'ah bazi*) during *nouruz* celebrations in a village in Khurasan tended to be egalitarian, and participants had to decide who was on their side or not. On the other hand, the women's game (*durnah bazi*) involved taunting a singled "victim" with cloth whips. This difference can be related to the manner in which men and women differ in their ordinary discourse. Among men, gradation of power, negotiation of status and ambiguity of intent tend to predominate, while egalitarian and intimate discourse is carefully circumscribed. The opposite tends to hold among women. This in turn is related to the nature of power exchanged among men and among women.

The following questions will be explored: By what logic do we connect power, ordinary discourse and play? Is there anything about rural life that makes such a relationship between the three possible? What does this suggest about the place of play in society?

Mary Hegland, "Women's Life Cycle Gatherings and Political Alliance in an Iranian Village"

Constance Cronin and Brian Spooner have both argued that the Iranian kinship system is more bilateral than patrilineal. Based on anthropological fieldwork in an Iranian village, this paper will first support the findings of Cronin and Spooner through the comments of informants and through the demonstration that

bilaterality, ties with the mother's side of the family and with in-laws did indeed influence decisions of political alliance during a local level conflict.

The second section of the paper will examine the cultural forces and traditional patterns of social interaction which are related to bilaterality and the importance of in-law ties. First, traditional obligations exist between father-in-law and son-in-law. Such cultural expectations leave a son-in-law and other in-laws open to social pressure as well as self-expectation to follow norms of loyalty and duty to in-laws. Secondly, raft o amad or social interaction is of supreme importance in Iranian village culture in demonstrating, solidifying and maintaining political loyalty and alliances. Therefore, the intense social interaction of women relatives is instrumental in maintaining political alliances among men. Such was especially so after land reform in the early 1960s when most village men began commuting to Shiraz to work, leaving the required social interaction up to women. Thirdly, Iranian village culture includes numerous occasions when women relatives are expected to gather in order to mark events in the life cycle of women.

The third section of the paper will describe the many occasions for women's gatherings to mark points in a life cycle. Such occasions include taking a young woman to buy clothes for her engagement and then wedding, assistance in preparing for weddings, visits to the public bath house before and after a wedding and after births, with elaborate hospitality at the bath house and home afterwards, the formal visit of a daughter to her natal home after a wedding, and formal visits of a mother to deliver maternity clothes and then a baby layette to her daughter.

Shahla Haeri, "Uses of Sigheh/Mut'a (Temporary Marriage)"

This paper discusses the revival of sigheh or mut'a practices within an overall framework of revitalization of Islamic ideology, concepts, and practices. Although an institution of considerable antiquity and legal history, little attention has been given to its modes of functioning socially either in the past or in the present Iranian society. Description of the origin and form of mut'a in pre-Islamic Arabia as well as in Iran today, differences and similarities with permanent marriage, Omar's prohibition of the practice, and Shia/Sunna differences on the matter will be briefly indicated. Primary attention, however, will be directed to data collected in Iran during the months of July-December 1981 to interpret the form and content of the institution and to throw light on a number of unintended consequences of the current revitalization of Islamic ideology for relations between the generations, between clerics and the laity, as well as between the sexes.

Erika Friedl, "The Uses and Semantics of Suffering in Folk Philosophy"

This paper is based on research conducted in rural Iran between 1965 and 1981, and particularly on the responses of villagers to the Iranian Revolution during 1981. Suffering, as a practical as well as philosophical matter, is interpreted on the folk level of an Iranian village as the result of several causes, yielding different meanings and warranting different strategies for coping. As a byproduct of life, suffering is taken as unavoidable, yet, because of its naturalness, its causes are open to inspection, and methods of relief and prevention depend on knowledge about the workings of nature and man's place in it. Suffering thus becomes one of the stimuli for what we call scientific inquiry. Interpreted as a God-willed occurrence, suffering is a reminder and reinforcement of God's ordained moral order - suffering as punishment for sins - and also a sign, if not proof, of God's omnipotence and inscrutability. Innocent God-sent suffering has religious merits, enables one to appeal for mercy and supernatural assistance, and,

as such, is essentially meaningful. In its emotionally most taxing form, suffering is a manifestation of evil or the effect of malevolent forces. Neither open to intellectual scrutiny, nor strictly falling under the divine demand of unconditional acceptance, it cannot be easily avoided and cannot be used for an emotionally satisfying explanation of man's place in the universe either. Finally, suffering induced by human actions, from neighborly slander to war, is dealt with within the theories about human nature, the formation of personality, childrearing, and the influence of gender and age on character. It is incorporated in a realistic appraisal of interpersonal dynamics and has a popular use-value as a manipulative underdog-strategy.

Abbas Amanat, "Social Divisions and Political Attitudes Within the Shi'i Clerical Hierarchy"

The early decades of the nineteenth century are a crucial period for the development of present day Shi'ism both in terms of its doctrine and its social structure. The revival of the Usuli school was essential for the formation of a new scholastic body which was partly independent from the secular power but was dominated by a network of influential jurists whose actual participation in the political and economic life was beyond their traditional constituency. As the religious authority and privileges were further legitimized by an "elitist" rationale, a rift occurred between the mujtahids of higher rank - who by the middle of the century were well established and often enjoyed hereditary privileges - and the low rank mullahs. They differed from the mujtahids in their humble background and provincial training since a majority were village mullahs, teachers, religious students, and popular preachers. Their radical outlook, particularly on the problem of authority, was expressed in their objections of the mujtahids' interpretation of religious authority in the absence of the Imam, their control of the public and their excessive material advantages.

Controversies between Shaykhis and their jurist opponents later resulted in division and open confrontation between those who represented the growing messianic tendency and those who were anxious to preserve the established status of the 'ulama'. The Babi movement embodied the opposition of the low rank clergy who in the attempt to eliminate the power of the mujtahids sought alliance with the merchants and other discontented groups. The movement failed in this objective and the rebellious faction was isolated and crushed chiefly because the jurist corps, despite its internal disarray, was still capable of maintaining its grip over the clerical community. Later during the constitutional period, a similar political dilemma divided the clergy in their support for the constitution. Both in the Babi episode and the constitutional revolution, the high ranking clerics sided with the state and survived but at a price of allowing the process of secularization to dismantle some of their functions and reduce their sphere of influence.

The modern resurgence of the "militant" attitude which directed its main criticism towards the policies of the state rather than the compromising tendency of the maraji' drew its strength not from the dissident forces in the periphery but from the main body of Shi'i orthodoxy. The revolutionary mullah of our time, unlike his predecessor, is insisting on the restoration of the dogma and the establishment of the mujtahids' hierocracy. In the past the Shi'i militant envisaged the revival of "the pure religion" in break with the practiced norms and in introduction of reforms. The concept of "renewal of the age" with its messianic connotation implied a progressive outlook. In contrast, the modern clerics of lower ranks despite their claim to enjoy the mandate of the "weak"

and the "oppressed" are rallying solidly behind the doctrine of the "guardianship of the jurist" (vilayat-i faqih). Unlike earlier instances where divisions in clerical stratification were determined by the degree of social mobility, religious training, or secular support, here the isolation and decline of the clerical community made the higher authorities look for support solely amongst the lower ranks and the lower ranks to bypass the question of the mujtahid's authority and instead drive the higher ranks to take a more militant direction. This may help to explain the clerics' unanimity, regardless of their social status, in exclusive preservation of political power.

Other panels on Iran at the MESA 1982 meetings in Philadelphia

Protest and Revolution in an Islamic Context: Cases from Lebanon and Iran

Iran in Islamic Times: The State of the Discipline

Contemporary Issues in the Persian Gulf

The Iranian Revolution

Revolutionary Trends in Iran and Its Export to the Gulf Regions (workshop)

Iranian-Soviet Relations in the Post-Revolutionary Period

Chair: Gregory Rose, Miami University

Papers: William Campbell, Miami University

"Soviet-Iranian Perceptions of Coincidence of Interests in the Persian Gulf"

Howard Hensel, The Monterey Institute of International Studies

"Soviet Attitudes Toward the Iranian Revolution"

Sepehr Zabih, St. Mary's College

"The Tudeh Party Since the Revolution"

Gregory Rose, Miami University

"The Lesser Satan: Attitudes of Islamic Republican Party Elites Toward Iranian Relations with the Soviet Bloc and the Participation of the Tudeh Party in Iranian Domestic Politics"

Discussants: Firuz Kazemzadeh, Yale University

Robert Kitrinos, University of Texas at Austin

Abstracts

William Campbell, "Soviet-Iranian Perceptions of Coincidence of Interests in the Persian Gulf"

U.S. diplomatic and military initiatives taken in the Persian Gulf in response to the potential threat represented by the Islamic Republic seem to regional observers objectively to confirm perceptions of U.S. intentions in the area urged by the Soviet Union in its broadcasts to the region throughout the seventies. As a result, there has emerged an objective coincidence of interest between the governments of the littoral states and the Soviet Union in managing the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf. It is my contention that the perceived strength and salience of this objective coincidence of interests best explains recent moves by the governments of the littoral states -- and in particular the Islamic Republic of Iran -- toward renewed or closer ties with the Soviet Union. To prove my contention, I intend to map the steps which have occurred in the relevant perceptions of the several parties to Gulf politics as the perceptions of these parties are recorded in FBIS, JPRS, CDSP and other pertinent sources.

Howard Hensel, "Soviet Attitudes Toward the Iranian Revolution"

The first part of the paper will provide a brief overview of the events leading to the fall of the government of Dr. Jamshid Amuzegar in August 1978 and Moscow's perceptions of those events. I will then concentrate on the changes in Soviet attitudes toward the Shah, his governments, and the Iranian revolutionary movement generally, as they evolved through the late summer-winter 1978-79. Special emphasis will be placed on the Soviet reaction to the establishment of the military government of General Gholamreza Azhari in November 1978, the politics of that government, the circumstances surrounding the restoration of a civilian government under Dr. Shapur Bakhtiar in January 1979, the Shah's departure from Iran on January 16, 1979, and the failure and ultimate fall of the Bakhtiar government in February 1979. The concluding portion of the paper will discuss the initial Soviet reaction to the victory of the revolutionary movement, the establishment of the provisional government of Mehdi Bazargan, and the implications of these events for the Soviet and Western positions in Iran and the Persian Gulf area.

Sepehr Zabih, "The Tudeh Party Since the Revolution"

The 1979 revolution has created numerous ideological problems for a variety of political groups, above all for the Soviet-connected Tudeh Party. As the oldest pro-Soviet communist party in the region, the Party suffers from several liabilities. As a pro-Soviet group, it was late in joining the anti-Shah revolutionary coalition. As a radical leftist party, it had lost its monopoly of representing the Marxist left at least since the mid-1960s. Finally, its identification with, and support of, the Islamic Republic since the revolution has created major moral and ideological dilemmas which have greatly eroded its traditional appeal to a large cross-section of politically articulate Iranians. This presentation will seek to analyze this aspect of the Tudeh Party and offer some thoughts about its short-range and long-range prospects.

Gregory Rose, "The Lesser Satan: Attitudes of Post-Revolutionary Religious Elites Toward Iranian Relations with the Soviet Bloc and the Participation of the Tudeh Party in Iranian Domestic Politics"

While emphasis has been given to anti-American attitudes held by Iran's post-revolutionary religious leadership, the attitudes of that leadership to such questions as Iran's relations with the Soviet Bloc and the participation of the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party and Feda'iyān-i Khalq (Majority) in Iranian domestic politics are increasingly important, particularly as an index of ideological and factional alignment among leading strata of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP).

This paper will attempt to delineate and evaluate the attitudes held by leading IRP cadres toward such issues as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet relations with the Third World, economic relations with the Soviet Bloc, military and security cooperation with the Soviet Bloc, military, economic and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan mujahidin, "superpower hegemonism," the participation of the Tudeh Party and Feda'iyān-i Khalq (Majority) in political propaganda and electoral and administrative politics, and "alien ideologies." The cadres whose attitudes will be examined will be drawn primarily from the ruhāni class (e.g., 'Ali and Muhammad Khamene'i, Beheshti, Bahonar, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ahmad Khomeini, Mahdavi-Kani, Musavi-Kho'ini, Ruhani, Muhammad Yazdi, Mo'adikhah, Do'a'i, Hadi Ghaffuri, etc.). However, some non-ruhāni cadres of significance will be included (e.g., Nabavi, Raja'i, Musavi). The data will be drawn from public statements of the relevant cadres as reported in Jomhuri-yi Islami and on the

Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran, interviews and private communications with IRP cadres, internal IRP documents and press reports from the Soviet Bloc, including the National Voice of Iran.

Using this data, the paper will provide an analysis of the ways in which IRP ideological commitments to a nonaligned foreign policy and pan-Islamic revolutionary activism relate to the above-listed issues and the interaction between IRP cadres and Ayatollah Khomeini in formulating state policy on these issues. The paper will then put forward an analysis of factional alignments within the IRP leadership based on the attitude evaluation and a tentative estimate of the impact of these attitudes on Iranian foreign policy in the immediate post-Khomeini era. The paper will conclude with a discussion of attitudes toward the above-listed issues held by key figures in the ruhani opposition to the IRP (e.g., Ayatollah Hasan Tabataba'i-Qommi, 'Ali Tehrani, 'Abd al-Reza Zanjani) and the degree to which the positions advocated by oppositionists has affected IRP attitudes.

ELECTIONS TO THE SIS COUNCIL

Three members of the SIS Council completed their three-year terms in 1981. They are Ahmad Ashraf, Mary Jo Good, and Heshmat Moayyad. Five persons were nominated for the Council during the SIS Business Meeting in 1981, and Society members voted for these candidates in 1982. The election results place Said Arjomand, Marilyn Waldman, and Habib Ladjevardi on the Council for the 1982-1984 term.

We offer our thanks to the Elections Committee at the University of Michigan: Jerrold Green (Chair) and K. Allin Luther.

IRANIAN STUDIES, THE JOURNAL

Volume XIV, Numbers 1-2 (1981) is currently being mailed out to members. It contains the following articles:

Ahmad Ashraf, "The Roots of Emerging Dual Class Structure in Nineteenth-Century Iran"

Shaul Bakhash, "Center-Periphery Relations in Nineteenth-Century Iran"

Guity Nashat, "From Bazaar to Market: Foreign Trade and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Iran"

R.D. McChesney, "Comments on 'The Qajar Uymaq in the Safavid Period, 1500-1722'"

Book reviews are written by Bryan Turner, Eric Hooglund, Jerrold Green, Hamid Algar, Richard Cottam, and Richard Frye.

Volume XIV, Numbers 3-4 (1981) will be mailed to members in October 1982.

Volume XV, Numbers 1-4 (1982) will also be mailed to members in October 1982. This is a special volume devoted to Literature and Society in Contemporary Iran; its guest editor is Michael Hillmann.

TREASURER'S REPORT--John Lorentz, TreasurerStatement of Operations: The Society for Iranian Studies
1979-1980-1981

<u>RECEIPTS</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>
Regular Members	\$1936.98	2845.70	2632.00
Student Members	387.00	357.50	367.00
Individual subs.	NA	NA	NA
Institutional subs.	904.00	3273.95	3484.65
Donations	292.00	156.00	420.00
Journal Sales	1297.55	324.70	1600.75
Interest	88.19	--	350.51
Restricted Grant Funds			8750.00
TOTAL	4905.72	6957.85	17604.91
 <u>EXPENDITURES</u>			
Journal			
Printing	5393.00	1670.00	11395.25
Typing	316.64	363.00	1070.25
Mailing	1077.33	420.67	1620.68
Editing	--	--	810.00
Xerox	36.44	138.96	64.89
Newsletter	295.88	277.05	748.05
Office			
Secretary	708.00	920.50	436.00
Supplies	327.55	55.30	160.91
Other	576.19*	20.50	135.00
TOTAL	8731.03	3845.48	16441.03
<u>FUND BALANCE</u>	<u>3061.42</u>	<u>6906.90</u>	<u>8070.78</u>

*Includes \$223.88 penalty for early withdrawal of time accounts, and \$274.25 in accountant's fees.

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- RIPEH: Review of Iranian Political Economy and History IV(2) and V(1)(Fall 1980 and Spring 1981)--Iran's Revolution: Struggle Against Reaction, Struggle Against Intervention [research articles by Mary Hooglund, James Cockcroft; photo essay, bibliographic essay on women in Iran, documents, poems, current events, etc.]

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON IRAN

- Baniasadr, Abolhassan. The Fundamental Principles and Precepts of Islamic Government. Trans. from the Persian by Mohammad R. Ghanoonparvar. Lexington, KY: Mazda Publishers, 1981.
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Editions E.J.Brill, Oude Rijn 33a-35, Leiden, Pyas-Bas.
- MERIP Reports XXII(3)(March-April 1982)--Khomeini and the Opposition.
- "Teheran Report," Art in America (October 1981)
Sarah McFadden, "The Museum and the Revolution"
Robert Hobbs, "Museum Under Seige"
Eva Cockcroft, "Post-Shah Art"

RECENT CONFERENCES ON IRAN

- The Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic: New Assessments May 21-22, 1982
The Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution
Organizer: Nikki Keddie, UCLA
Papers: Eric Hooglund, Ohio State University
 "Social Origins of the Revolutionary Clergy"
 Shahrough Akhavi, University of South Carolina
 "Clerical Politics Since 1979"
 Reinhold Loeffler, Western Michigan University
 "Economic Changes in a Rural Area Since 1979"
 Shaul Bakhash, The Institute for Advanced Study
 "The Politics of Land Reform"
 Adele Ferdows, University of Louisville
 "Shariati and Khomeini on Women"
 Mangol Bayat, Harvard University
 "Khomeini as a Man of the Modern World"

Claude Van Engeland, Nieman Fellow

"The Exile Groups"

Azar Tabari, University of Manchester

"Mystifications of the Past and Illusions of the Future"

Gary Sick, Columbia University

"U.S. Policy During the Iranian Revolution: A White House View"

William Miller, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

"Gulliver's Travels and the Uses of History: U.S. Policy in Iran"

Muriel Atkin, George Washington University

"The Islamic Republic and the Soviet Union"

William Millward, Montreal, Canada

"Iran 1982"

Chair/Discussants: Ervand Abrahamian, Patrick Clawson, Nikki Keddie,
Richard Cottam, Leonard Helfgott, and Gene Garthwaite

Convention on Human Rights and Civil Liberties in Iran May 22, 1982
Iran Committee for Democratic Action and Human Rights
Chicago

Speakers: Ali Banuazizi, Boston College

"The Plight of Iranian Intellectuals"

William J. Butler, International Commission of Jurists

"International Human Rights"

Fazlur Rahman, University of Chicago

"Islam and Human Rights"

Curt Goering, Amnesty International, Area Coordinator, the Mid East

"The Assessment of Human Rights in the Islamic Republic"

Douglas Martin, National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of Canada

"The Human and Civil Rights of Baha'is in Iran"

R. Moqaddam Marage'i, Former Governor of Azerbaijan

"The Islamic Constitution and Civil Liberties in Iran"

Guity Nashat, University of Illinois

"The Denial of Women's Rights"

Khalil Reza'i, Mujahedin-Khalq

"The Violation of Human Rights in Iran - An Insider's View"

THE CENTER FOR IRANIAN RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

On August 8, 1982 the Center for Iranian Research and Analysis (CIRA) was formally founded in Washington, DC, with immediate plans for incorporation. Activities leading to the establishment of the Center began last April with a conference at American University addressing the successes and failures of Iran's revolutionary movement. The Provisional Steering Committee includes: Hassan Zavareei (Chair), Mohammad Eghtedari, Ali Mirsepassi, Val Moghadam, Rostam Pourzal, Thomas Ricks, and Nasser Tahmassebi.

CIRA is an independent, democratic, nonprofit organization created for a better understanding of the struggle for liberation in Iran and the region surrounding it. The Center is composed of scholars and activists dedicated to the critical study and progressive transformation of the Iranian society and the external forces which impact upon it.

CIRA intends to promote and generate studies of political economy, history, culture, and the arts. Its activities will include a research journal, a speakers bureau, a newsletter, seminars, and university courses.

The Center recognizes that its strength will derive from members and supporters. The Center welcomes inquiries and invites you to support and utilize it. For further information, write or call

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DIRECTORY OF GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS AND COURSES IN MIDDLE EAST STUDIES

The Middle East Studies Association of North America has recently published the Directory of Graduate and Undergraduate Programs and Courses in Middle East Studies in the United States, Canada and Abroad (1982). Requests for copies should be sent to MESA, Department of Oriental Studies, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721 (phone 602/626-5850).

Society members are urged to send news of their recent publications to the Executive Secretary, for inclusion in the next Newsletter.

Lois Beck
Executive Secretary