

# **s.i.s. newsletter**

## **A Publication of The Society for Iranian Studies**

Volume XIII, No. 2-3, May-September 1981

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### **ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR IRANIAN STUDIES**

The Society's Sixteenth Annual Meeting will be held in Seattle, Washington, in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, hosted by the University of Washington, 4-7 November, 1981. The Park Hilton Hotel is the site of the meetings. Information about the MESA meetings, including registration and hotels, is available from: MESA 1981, Near East Studies Center DH-20, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195.

The Council of the Society will meet from 4-6 p.m. on Wednesday, November 4th, and the Society's general Business Meeting is scheduled for 9-11:30 a.m. Thursday, November 5th. All Society members and other interested people are invited to attend the Business meeting; suggestions for panels for the 1982 SIS meetings are welcome.

#### SIS Panels

Professor Mary-Jo Good (Department of Psychiatry, University of California, Davis) is this year's SIS Program Chair. She has organized four panels for the forthcoming meetings; they are jointly sponsored by SIS and MESA.

- I. A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN IRAN IN THE 1970s    Friday,  
November 6th, 9:30-11:30 a.m.

Chair: Byron Good, University of California, Davis

Papers: Reinhold Loeffler and Erika Friedl, Western Michigan University  
"Rural Transformation in Post-Revolutionary Iran"  
Michael M.J. Fischer, Rice University  
"The Bazaar in Anthropological Research"  
Manning Nash, University of Chicago  
"Iran in the 1970s: A Comparative and Structural Perspective"  
Richard Bulliet, Columbia University  
"Anthropological Research in Iran and the Social Historian"  
Leonard Helfgott, Western Washington University, and Lois Beck,  
Washington University, St. Louis  
"The Anthropology of Iran and the Concept of Tribe"

Discussants: Ervand Abrahamian, Baruch College, CUNY  
 Ali Banuazizi, Boston College  
 Nikki Keddie, University of California, Los Angeles

II. POST-REVOLUTIONARY TRENDS IN IRANIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY: IDEOLOGY VS. REALITY Friday, November 6th, 1:30-3:20 p.m.

Chair: Manoucher Parvin, University of Akron

Papers: Manoucher Parvin, University of Akron, and Udo Steinback, Deutsches Orient Institut  
 "Ideological Debates in Post-Revolutionary Iran"  
 Djavad Salehi, University of Pennsylvania  
 "Economic Consequences of the Islamic Revolution in Iran"  
 Majid Tehranian, University of Hawaii  
 "Islam, Capitalism and Socialism: Economic Ideology and Revolutionary Legitimacy in Iran"  
 Tagi Sagafi-nezad, University of Texas  
 "The 'Short-term' and 'Long-term' Economic Causes of the Islamic Republic"

Discussant: Rostam Kavoussi, University of Washington

III. WOMEN IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY IRAN Friday, November 6th, 3:30-5:20 p.m.

Chair: Guity Nashat, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Papers: Farzaneh Milani  
 "Revitalization: Some Reflections on the Work of Safar-Zadeh"  
 Guity Nashat, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle  
 "The Islamic Ideology Regarding Women in Revolutionary Iran"  
 Mary Hooglund, SUNY Binghamton  
 "Role of Women in the Iranian Revolution: A Village Perspective"  
 Shireen Mahdavi, University of Utah  
 "The Changing Role of Women in Revolutionary Iran"  
 Adele Ferdows, University of Louisville  
 "Women in the Writings of Allameh Majlisi"

Discussant: Nikki Keddie, University of California, Los Angeles

IV. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION Saturday, November 7th, 9:30-11:30 a.m.

Chair: Richard Cottam, University of Pittsburgh

Papers: Gregory Rose, Miami University, Ohio  
 "Vilayat-i Faqih: The Reconstruction of Islamic Consciousness Under Revolutionary Conditions"  
 Bahman Fozouni, University of Pittsburgh  
 "Imam Khomeini: A Profile of a Charismatic Revolutionary Leader"  
 Thomas Ricks, Georgetown University  
 "The Iranian Left and the Islamic Republic: Class Struggle and the Revolution Under Emerging State Capitalism"

Discussants: Grant Farr, Portland State University  
 M.A. Jazeyery, University of Texas

## Abstracts

### Panel I: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN IRAN IN THE 1970s

During the 1970s, a wide range of anthropological research was conducted in Iran. This panel provides a critical review of the issues addressed and the findings of that research. In what ways has our understanding of Iranian culture and society changed during the past decade? What are the most important questions in the field and what alternative theories have been advanced? What are the most salient unanswered questions that remain for future research? How did efforts by researchers to accommodate themselves to the Pahlavi regime affect the kind of research undertaken, the forms of analysis, and the publication of results? These issues will be discussed by an interdisciplinary panel of social scientists and historians.

#### Reinhold Loeffler and Erika Friedl, "Rural Transformation in Post-Revolutionary Iran"

This paper provides an analysis of the social transformation of a Lur village in southwest Iran during the past decade, focusing on the structural effects of the Iranian Revolution. Anthropological studies of Iran in the 1970s will be critically analyzed in light of social, economic and political changes during the period of the Islamic Republic. Several specific issues will be addressed. First, the transformation of rural economic relations will be examined, with a focus on land tenure. The effects of Land Reform on patterns of land ownership and the changes in ownership since the Revolution will be described. Analyses of peasant-landlord relations in Iranian villages will be critically reviewed, based on this data. Second, changes in village economic conditions that have resulted from altered patterns of migration for wage labor will be discussed. A large number of villagers migrated to the Gulf states and to other labor markets in the 1970s. Effects of changes in this pattern will be discussed. Third, the effect of the Islamic Revolution on the social and symbolic roles of rural women will be described. Finally, the village under study is in an area that borders on several regions dominated by national minorities. The pattern of the participation of minority groups and the effect of such politicization on the economic, marketing, and political activities of the village will be discussed. In conclusion, the changes in rural post-revolutionary Iran will be used to review critically anthropological studies of the 1970s.

#### Michael M.J. Fischer, "The Bazaar in Anthropological Research"

This paper will survey work by anthropologists, sociologists, and geographers on the bazaars of Iran and Afghanistan. Among the researchers whose work will be discussed are Belmont, Bonine, Bobek, Centlivres, Clarke, Costello, English, Fischer, Floor, M. Fry, Rotblat, Thaïss, Thompson, Thorpe, and Wirth. Analysis will focus on (1) the spatio-economic organization of the bazaar, and (2) the historical transformations of trade, including the work of Dillon, Good, Migeod, and Ricks. Particular attention will be paid to Marxian-Weberian issues of the rise of capitalism, as dealt with unsatisfactorily by Rodinson and Gran, and somewhat more interestingly by Amin, Lombard, et al. Additionally, discussion of the socio-symbolic organization of bazaars will respond to the debate on Islamic economics and to issues raised by Geertz, Fox et al.

Manning Nash, "Iran in the 1970s: A Comparative and Structural Perspective"

This paper will survey anthropological research in Iran in the 1970s, placing it in the context of studies of Third World and developing societies. Viewed among environing societies in the Middle East, Iran had a particular combination of structural features. It exhibited a repressive monarchy with shaky claims to legitimacy (shared with Saudi Arabia and Jordan), extensive oil fields (shared with Saudi Arabia, the Gulf Emirates, Libya and Iraq), and a dense population of ethnically diverse peoples and cultures. Given the combination of regional structural characteristics in a single constellation, Iran had particularly difficult problems of social articulation and cultural consolidation. It lacked all of the ingredients of a totalitarian state: a cadre party, a secret police, and centrally-controlled, regime-dedicated military. So it settled for an intermittent, authoritarian repression, which was supported by no broad segment, for even those who benefited from the regime resented it. And it generated a modern opposition based upon an earlier coalition of bazaaris, clergy, and parliamentary reformers.

At the same time Iran undertook strenuous efforts at military expansion and societal modernization. Based on oil revenues and a shortage of technical and managerial skills, Iran exhibited typical Third World consequences of oil-fueled drives to social transformation and cultural glory: in the economy great inflationary pressures, neglect of the peasant sector, importation of foreign labor, migration of unskilled and semi-skilled to the cities; in politics an authoritarian regime with more and more incentive to be repressive, generating a constant and dedicated opposition; in class structure a nouveau riche tied to the central bureaucracy, a threatened older middle class, and an urban proletariat barely above the lumpen level; and in culture, embattled clerics, disaffected liberals, oppositional radicals, and vociferous intellectual critics.

From the perspective of the region, and from the dynamics of oil-based drives to modernity, the 1970s were for Iran a cauldron whose lid had to blow, irrespective of what the Shah and his foreign allies and supporters were willing or capable of doing.

Richard Bulliet, "Anthropological Research in Iran and the Social Historian"

The fields of social history, anthropology and sociology have obvious interests in common, but a practical realization of fruitful interchange among specialists is too seldom achieved. Anthropological work on Iran has been unusually abundant in recent years, but the benefits of the new insights afforded in the recent works have not yet been widely perceived. An examination of the applicability of new anthropological insights to the field of Iranian social history will be essayed along with observations on the reciprocal benefits anthropologists might obtain from recent works in social history.

The specific subjects to be touched upon include: the nature of tribes and pastoral economy; the patterns of urban settlement and relations between cities and their hinterlands; the social stratification in modern and premodern economic contexts; and the role of ethnicity, religious sectarianism and regionalism, from the perspective of social history. The significance of these factors over time and the effects on them of major changes or stages in the periodization of Iranian history will be discussed. It will be suggested that the chronological horizons for the patterns observed in recent anthropological work vary considerably, and that a study of Iranian social history may inform anthropologists' conceptualization of the factors of continuity and discontinuity in social structure.

Leonard Helfgott and Lois Beck, "The Anthropology of Iran and the Concept of Tribe"

A major portion of the "anthropology of Iran" as generated by American, European, and Iranian scholars in the 1960s and 1970s concerned those rural sectors of the national population that practiced a mixed economy of pastoral nomadism and agriculture, that were linguistically and ethnically distinct from the politically dominant Persian sector, and that were often labeled "tribal." This paper will focus on anthropological images of Iranian "tribes" by setting the historical, political, and ideological framework for such interest and by discussing theories and methods utilized by researchers. The literature examined consists of a large body of published and unpublished works, including papers presented by primarily western scholars at a festival of popular traditions in Iran, held in Isfahan in 1977. It will be shown that what was often labeled "tribal" by anthropologists was not properly defined or examined nor was it placed in historical and political economic context and that persistent usage of the term has had implications for the non-Persian and underdeveloped sectors of the Iranian population. The assertion made by some that anthropology in Iran served the interests of not only the Pahlavi regime but also the United States government will be discussed.

Panel II: POST-REVOLUTIONARY TRENDS IN IRANIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY: IDEOLOGY VS. REALITY

The purpose of this session is to investigate the developmental implications of post-revolutionary trends in the Iranian political economy. The over-extended economy of the prerevolutionary era has by now deteriorated to a depression and finally heralded the full-scale rationing of a war economy. Meanwhile, ideological and economic debates have continued unabated between the major factions of the Islamic Republic regime. However, beyond the surface changes and concurrent debates, a profound structural transformation of the Iranian economy can be discerned. The authors in this session attempt to describe such changes in the Iranian political economy, explain its causes and speculate about probable consequences.

Manoucher Parvin and Udo Steinback, "Ideological Debates in Post-Revolutionary Iran"

The post-revolutionary era in Iran has witnessed a popular uprising against Pahlavi's regime, turning quickly into an Islamic Revolution by the clergy. The Islamic Republic regime itself is now divided into two ideological camps, one fundamentalist and the other relatively more liberal and secular. The ensuing ideological debates and political struggle of the two groups are now shaping the development of the Iranian political economy.

The primary purpose of this work is an analysis of the ongoing ideological struggle in its various dimensions and manifestations, with special attention paid to industrial and agricultural questions and the debates on income distribution.

A secondary goal is to define, describe and contrast the "Islamic economies" as proposed and practiced in Iran today.

Djavad Salehi, "Economic Consequences of the Islamic Revolution in Iran"

The unfolding of events since the February 1979 Revolution is increasingly revealing the extent of the shock produced by the upheaval. While the economy has gone from recession to depression and to the full-scale rationing of a war economy, deep structural changes are taking place which

are not easily noticed. The political in-fighting between the two principal factions of the Islamic government has created the appearance that the future of the Iranian economy is being decided by the outcome of that debate. Much of course will depend on that outcome but in the meantime the dynamics of the system itself are constantly narrowing down the range of economic alternatives open to any group which may inherit the political power.

This paper attempts to study the nature and the range of those alternatives. Structural changes that have already taken place (e.g., nationalization of banks and large industries) and current changes (e.g., the Islamic land reform program) will be considered in detail. It will be argued that with the collapse of the previous regime and subsequent defeat of the Bazargan government, Iran is increasingly moving towards a state-capitalist solution to economic development. The implications of oil revenues for the success of such a regime are explored.

The analysis of this paper is based on data published by the government and the results of field work by the author during the first eight months of 1980.

Majid Tehranian, "Islam, Capitalism and Socialism: Economic Ideology and Revolutionary Legitimacy in Iran"

The doctrine of "unitarian economy" (*Iqtisad-i-towhidi*), propounded by some Islamic revolutionary ideologues in Iran, presents efforts towards the reconstruction and legitimation of a battered economic system that must combine the Islamic precepts with elements of free enterprise, collective ownership, and national planning. To what extent this doctrine or other variations on the same ideological themes also offer long-term prospects for economic growth and social welfare is problematic. The purpose of this paper is to review critically the economic ideas of the leading revolutionary ideologues in Iran, including particularly those of Ayatollah Seyyed Mahmoud Taleqani, Ayatollah Morteza Mottahari, and Seyyed Abul-Hassan Bani-Sadr, to suggest how effective they are in dealing with the practical economic problems of growth, stability, and justice in a modernizing economy.

Tagi Sagafi-nezad, "The 'Short-term' and 'Long-term' Economic Causes of the Islamic Republic"

To examine major long-term and short-term economic causes of the Iranian Revolution of 1978-79, this paper first identifies eight phases in the economic history of Iran since Reza Shah. The historical analysis leads to the identification of eight long-term and three short-term factors which, together, further fueled the revolution. The paper concludes by offering some thoughts about the most likely future course of economic development in Iran in the medium-term.

#### Panel III: WOMEN IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY IRAN

Farzaneh Milani, "Revitalization: Some Reflections on the Work of Safar-Zadeh"

"Good poets are the most honest historians of their times," asserts Safar-Zadeh, a contemporary woman poet. And certainly her own work takes its place among that of others to demonstrate this point. Though there is a variety of attitudes in the writing of women in contemporary Iran, though not all have responded to recent events and the reinstitution of Islam in the same way, the poetry of Safar-Zadeh can be seen as one of the most fully accurate chartings, not only of individual experience, but also of a collective history.



A typically modern characteristic of the early work of Safar-Zadeh is its alienation, conflict, and displaced spiritual longings leading to a series of eclectic social, political, artistic, and spiritual journeys. The character we see in this poetry is a seeker, as the poet herself was one. During this period her work is rich and dynamic, depicting both inner and outer experiences with the true psychic freedom and flexibility essential to an artist. Although frustrated and vulnerable, the voice of this poetry reveals a character privileged with refreshing complexities--emotional, psychological, and intellectual. At this time the poet transcends prevailing myths about the static, defined nature of femininity and is committed to a dynamic redefinition of her life.

Safar-Zadeh's journeys lead her finally into the arms of Islam. The failure of the earlier searches to provide a stable and unified context for her life draws her into an almost utopian feeling and partisan zeal about Islam. One must admit that the later poetry suffers--what was earlier a highly charged, intense expression of a complex reality becomes virtually one-dimensional, sloganish--far more limited in both vision and technique. The demands and drive of art give way to those of political and religious ideology, and the two seem not to be gracefully reconciled.

The embrace of Islam is a major turning point in the work of this poet. It is indeed a metamorphosis, a "revitalization" discernible in the changing pattern of her consciousness. By "revitalization," a term borrowed from anthropology, I mean simply a conscious and deliberate effort to move into a new Gestalt. An analysis of the dynamics of this process, as portrayed in the work of Safar-Zadeh, exposes the social context of her poetry as well as her poetic course itself.

Guity Nashat, "The Islamic Ideology Regarding Women in Revolutionary Iran"

Women played an important role in the Iranian revolution. Pictures of chador-clad women, carrying a child in one arm and raising the other arm in protest, or the younger women wearing the Islamic scarf and holding a machine-gun, have become among the hallmarks of the Iranian revolution. Yet during the last two years, the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran have tried both directly, through the passage of laws, and indirectly, through a wide campaign in the press, to encourage women to withdraw to the confines of their homes and to minimize public contact between men and women.

To many women and some men who participated in the Shah's overthrow, these efforts by the government represent an attempt by the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran to rob them of the fruits of their labor: greater freedom and equality for the women in Iranian society. Their reaction has ranged from mild dismay to deep outrage at the seeming betrayal of the revolutionary principles for which they fought.

This paper argues that the present leaders of the Iranian regime have been faithful to their ideals and have been consistent in their policies toward women; that their efforts in this direction closely adhere to the ideological position they expressed prior to the revolution. In their view, the primary responsibility of a Muslim woman is to secure the happiness of her husband and children. Attaining such a goal requires full time commitment from women; hence they have encouraged women to return to the home. Furthermore, the excessive mixing of the sexes they claim can create more social harm than good, and destroy the moral fabric of society.

To illustrate the main arguments in this paper, the views of some of the leading figures on the role of women will be examined.

Mary Hooglund, "Role of Women in the Iranian Revolution: A Village Perspective"

On the basis of data collected through participant observation and interviewing during 18 months of anthropological fieldwork, from June 1978 until December 1979, this paper will seek to analyze the contrast between the important role of women during the process of the Iranian Revolution and the decline in their position and public roles subsequent to the February 11, 1979 revolution. Through working with women in the village of "Aliabad" as well as talking with some women in the nearby city of Shiraz, it became apparent that women considered themselves to have two, rather contradictory, roles in the revolution. One role was to perform the same activities as men, participating in marches and demonstrations, shouting slogans, and passing on revolutionary ideology and information through discussion as well as gaining more information themselves through listening to tapes, speeches, and radio broadcasts. This perception of the role of women in the revolution was appealing to women holding quite different ideological viewpoints. It coincided with the ideas of both rather westernized women and women holding a progressive view of Islam who would agree with Dr. Ali Shari'ati's concepts of the equality of women and their equal role in society. Thirdly, it was also acceptable to more traditional Shi'ite women and women adhering to the popular version of Shi'ite Islam. During the course of the revolution, there was a transformation in popular Shi'ite ideology, which I have described elsewhere as a change from the view of Imam Hosain as Intercessor to Imam Hosain as Example. In the second view, which became more prevalent during the revolution, the duty of the believer is to follow Imam Hosain's example of struggling against repression and tyranny. This was the religious expectation of both men and women. Thus, women from various sectors of the population would say that the role of women in the revolution did not differ from the role of men, that half of the participants in marches and demonstrations were women.

A second role of women in the revolution was to serve as a symbolic rejection of the political and cultural influence of the West, specifically the United States, and the shah and other members of the westernized political elite. Emphasizing aspects of traditional social structure and culture such as the segregation and veiling of women and the division of labor, with women's role being the raising of children, served as a symbolic rejection of western values and influence, and reaffirmation of Iranian identity and dignity. These two divergent roles could be combined in demonstrations---women could march and chant, wearing veils, separated from men and carrying their children. The overwhelming majority of women were willing voluntarily to wear veils and march in separate groups from men as a sign of political and cultural resistance.

After the revolution, however, as the conservative religious faction continued to build up power, the role of women in public life became more and more restricted to demonstrations of support for the current regime, which did not transgress the conservative Islamic view that women should be segregated, veiled, and restricted to raising children. Voluntary veiling and segregation became a symbol of loyalty to the regime, and the enforcement of these customs was a demonstration of the political power of the conservative Islamic faction. It became apparent that the view of the conservatives was not that women's role is the same as men's in all aspects of public life, but that her role is equal only in the religious duty of struggling against tyranny. The religious admonition directed at women to follow the example of Imam Hosain pertained only to the political struggle against tyranny and repression. Once this goal had supposedly been reached and the Iranian nation was free of the shah and U.S. influence, Shi'ite Islam, now the ideology of the political elite,



could find no place in public life for women, other than joining in demonstrations supportive of the regime.

The paper contains a postscript discussing the views of divergent sectors of the female population, based on scattered informal interviews.

Shireen Mahdavi, "The Changing Role of Women in Revolutionary Iran"

The current Iranian Revolution has affected the position of women to a considerable extent. The objective of this paper is to analyze and compare the position and status of women in Iran prior and subsequent to the Revolution of 1979.

A brief historical account will treat the position of women in Iran up to the nineteenth century. The changing position of women will be considered through the following factors:

1. Through the educational opportunities offered to women beginning in 1834 when the first elementary girls school was founded in Rezaieh culminating in the hiring of the first woman professor by the University of Tehran in 1936.
2. Through the legal changes which affect the position, role, and participation of women in society, beginning with the 1935 decree that banned the wearing of the veil, and culminating in 1962 when women were given the right to vote and become eligible for election.
3. Through changing attitudes towards society in general and women in particular as a result of the impact of western ideal and influences.

The three factors which were instrumental in changing the position of women up to 1979 will each be examined in the post-revolutionary society.

Adele Ferdows, "Women in the Writings of Allameh Majlisi"

Ayatollah Khomeini's vision of an Islamic society for Iran implies a distinctively Shi'i system where the position and rights of women are to be determined by the Shi'i interpretation of the Qur'an and be based on Shi'i hadith. Allameh Majlisi's collection of Shi'i hadith is one of the most revered and relied on sources for the Ithna Ashari Shi'i laws on which many Iranian religious leaders including Khomeini rely for their pronouncements and religious decrees.

This paper will be an attempt to analyze the position of women as reflected in Majlisi's collection of the hadith as a possible means to project the direction which women's lives may be taking if these religious texts are implemented fully in Iran. Some of Khomeini's own rulings and decrees as well as the post-revolutionary laws and rules affecting the rights and status of women issued so far will be also examined and related to the hadith. The object of the paper will not be to predict but to theorize.

#### Panel IV: INTERPRETATIONS OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

The Iranian Revolution, which overthrew the monarchy in Iran, was the work of a unity between three main historical forces in the Iranian society: militant Islam, progressive nationalism, and revolutionary socialism. After the revolution, the struggle for power between the Islamic Republican Party-led by clergy, on the one hand, and the nationaliterian forces-the National Front and other Mossadegist elements on the other, ensued. The outcome was the consolidation of state power in the hands of the clergy by the beginning of 1981. The struggle, however, is by no means over. The recent developments indicate that a new realignment of forces between the nationalist and other anti-IRP forces is in the offing. The composition and features of this new alignment correspond with the unique characteristics of contemporary Iranian nationalism.

Gregory Rose, "Vilayat-i Faqih: The Reconstruction of Islamic Consciousness Under Revolutionary Conditions"

The paper will discuss the concept of vilayat-i faqih in Ayatollah Khomeini's writings and speeches in terms of his notion of Islamic consciousness and the role of ideology in its reconstruction. Specifically, Khomeini has extended the private law notion of walayat (guardianship) over incompetents and minors to the public realm by arguing that the ummah's Islamic consciousness has been systematically undermined by the influence of the West and that the ummah, therefore, stands today in the state of an incompetent with respect to interpretation and enforcement of shari'a in political life. Thus, the faqih becomes an institutional mediator of the reconstruction of Islamic consciousness through the educative medium of ideology and revolutionary struggle. The paper will conclude with discussions of possible further developments ideologically and institutionally affecting vilayat-i faqih in the post-Khomeini period.

Bahman Fozouni, "Imam Khomeini: A Profile of a Charismatic Revolutionary Leader"

Iran's Revolution of 1978-79 under the leadership of Imam Khomeini has confronted the students of Middle East politics with many enigmas. The confluence of Islam and politics, nationalism and religious fundamentalism which precipitated the ratification of "nomocracy" as the model of Islamic republic has raised several conceptual difficulties for analyzing and understanding the Iranian Revolution. A natural response of many scholars seeking to overcome these difficulties has been to search for answers in both the corpus of Islamic theology and the grass-root appeal of Islam. The present paper challenges this view and offers an alternative reconstruction of the Islamic revolution which at once avoids those conceptual trappings and brings to surface some core secular long-term trends camouflaged by Khomeini's charisma and the Islamic facade of the revolution. It is argued that the history of post-revolution Iran is indeed a history of tension and conflict between deeply-entrenched secular forces and trends, and the newly fostered and uniquely binded fundamentalist/revolutionary Islam, the ultimate force and legitimacy of which does not extend much deeper than its source, Imam Khomeini. The key dimensions of this reconstruction consist of explaining the nature and role of Imam Khomeini's revolutionary charisma, adducing the profound impact of the experience of the revolution on Khomeini's ideology and his interpretation of Islam, and exploring fundamental transformation of the role of Islam as a pragmatic and malleable theodicy into an illusory and rigid eschatology.

Thomas Ricks, "The Iranian Left and the Islamic Republic: Class Struggle and the Revolution Under Emerging State Capitalism"

Over the last seventy years (1911-1981), the Iranian Left has actively participated in supporting national and international issues of grave importance to the Iranian people. Comprised principally of the professional and worker classes with support from members of the peasantry, military-religious strata, and national-traditional propertied classes (bourgeoisie), the Left has addressed the issues of workers' rights, land reform, women's rights, the nationality question, and monarchy with considerable unevenness and internal differences. With the coming of the Iranian Revolution, the Left once more participated alongside the religious leadership and in cooperation with the traditional and national bourgeoisie to overthrow the dependent and state/Pahlavi propertied classes. The removal of the monarchy and creation of the Islamic Republic did not end class struggle or lessen the political

problems involved in the nationality question. On the contrary, the February Revolution of 1979 only created a new political structure without altering the social system or the direction of the Pahlavi development plans, that is, the creation of state capitalism.

Therefore, contrary to popular belief, the paper will argue that the Iranian Revolution has just begun, that state capitalism on the model of Algeria is emerging more efficiently under the Islamic Republic than under Pahlavi monarchy, and that the fundamental contradiction in Iran today is not the Beheshti versus Bani Sadr political struggles but rather the Beheshti-Bani Sadr (traditional and national bourgeoisie representatives respectively) versus peasant-worker-progressive small propertied (petit-bourgeois) classes represented by the supporters of the People's Mujahidin, People's Fedayi Minority, and the Kurdish Komala. The fundamental contradiction in Iran today is social and economic not political or religious in essence. The fundamental issues are therefore land ownership, factory ownership, housing, jobs, and decentralized political authority; in each instance, the peasant and worker councils, women's rights, and the Kurdish autonomy movement represent the direction of the Revolution supported by the Iranian Left against the social and economic interests of the Islamic Republic's present leaders.

The written and oral evidence to support the paper's theses are drawn from official and unofficial documents, interviews, and popular press. The data and interpretations have been collected over the last two years following the February Revolution of 1979.

#### Another panel on Iran at MESA

SADEQ HEDAYAT (1903-1951) in 1981      Thursday, November 5th, 2-4:30 p.m.

"Sadeq Hedayat in 1981" is a multifaceted inquiry into the contemporary relevance, some thirty years after his death, of the best-known and most controversial writer of Persian during the last five centuries. Specifically, through its eight papers and subsequent discussion, this Hedayat panel examines Hedayat's views of and attitudes toward religion, Iranian identity, the functions of art, and women in an attempt to demonstrate his continuing significance as an Iranian intellectual and writer.

Chair: Michael Hillmann, University of Texas

Papers: Hafez F. Farmayan, University of Texas

"My Reminiscences of Šādeq Hedāyat"

Kazem Tehrani, Portland State University

"Hedāyat's 'Āb-e Zendegī': Mirror of Iranian Socio-mystical Problems"

Carter Bryant, University of Texas

"The Rejection and Transformation of Religious Values in Hedāyat's Fiction"

Mohammad Ghanoonparvar, University of Virginia

"Būf-e Kūr: Writing as Therapy"

Michael Beard, University of North Dakota

"The Hierarchy of the Arts in Būf-e Kūr"

Farzaneh Milani, University of California, Los Angeles

"Hedāyat Is not a Misogynist"

Leonardo Alishan, University of Utah

"Eden, Eve, and the Perils of Adam: A Study of Hedāyat's Women"

Hasan Javadi, University of California, Berkeley

"Satire in Hedāyat's Fiction"

Discussant: Ehsan Yarshater, Columbia University

In addition to these five panels on Iran, there will be a number of other papers presented on Iran in the MESA 1981 program.

#### ELECTIONS TO THE SIS COUNCIL

Three members of the SIS Council completed their three-year terms in 1980. They are Eric Hooglund, M.A. Jazayery, and Lois Beck. Six persons were nominated for the Council at the fall's Council meeting and general business meeting, and Society members voted in 1981. The election results place Lois Beck, William Hanaway, and M.A. Jazayery on the Council for the 1981-1983 term.

We offer our thanks to the Election Committee at the University of Arizona: Michael Bonine (Chair), Constance Cronin, Richard Eaton, and William Royce.

#### IRANIAN STUDIES, THE JOURNAL

Vol. XII, Nos. 3-4 was recently mailed to members.

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- Said Amir Arjomand, "The State and Khomeini's Islamic Order"
- Guity Nashat, "Women in the Islamic Republic of Iran"
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This volume should be ready for mailing by the time of the 1981 MESA-SIS meetings.

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#### NEWS OF SOCIETY MEMBERS

Reinhold Loeffler and Erika Friedl, both in the Department of Anthropology at Western Michigan University, have, as of August 1981, completed a year of anthropological research in southern Iran. They will be presenting a paper on their research in one of our SIS panels at the November 1981 MESA meetings. We welcome them back.

Society members are urged to send news of their professional activities and publications to the Executive Secretary.

Lois Beck  
Executive Secretary