

# HAFIZ MONTHLY



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## Editorial:

Every year from the first day of February onwards, a Ten Day Official Celebrations begin in Iran to mark the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979. The Revolution ousted the late Shah and ended the 2,500 years of the Iranian "Imperial" tradition. On 9 December 1978 a mass demonstration endorsed a 17 point resolution which declared Ayatollah Khomeini as "the Leader of the Iranian People and the Revolution". The Iranian revolution was one of the most important world events since the Second World War. It was an event perhaps comparable to the Russian Revolution of 1917. What is more important is that every other revolution has split the population, with some important segments defending the old order. In Iran at the time of the revolution, i.e. 1978, there was an overwhelming popular mandate for the revolution and the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty. The Iranians decided that they could well do without economic development on Western lines and firmly rejected being dominated by an alien culture imposed upon them by force. Remarkably, the revolutionary struggle was able to rely upon non - violent tactics until a final armed conflict in February 1979. These peaceful tactics were practicable because even the military forces were in the end unwilling to fight on behalf of their benefactors, and refrained from shooting unarmed

civilians. An essay by Dr. S. Sadat deals with the Declaration of the Neutrality by the Iranian Army in February 1979.

Moreover, there was no support among Iranians for a regime that had systematically denied all democratic rights, created fear, and used torture against its suspected opponents. The result of all this was to estrange even those elements of society with vested interests in the status quo. Similarly, the new - rich industrialists showed no interest in identifying with the Shah's regime.

In this issue, there are three essays that shed light on the last Government formed under the Shah's rule. The first and most important of these articles is written by Dr. Naser Takmil - Homayoon. He records his memoirs for the first time of the earliest contact made on behalf of the Shah in the process of finding a suitable candidate for premiership from amongst the Nationalist politicians. He writes that an academic asked him to arrange a meeting between the nationalist Daryoosh Foroohar and Dr. Hooshang Nahavandi (a Shah minister). The meeting took place at Takmil - Homayoon's house and Nahavandi sought the names of the suitable Nationalists who would accept premiership.

The names of Gholam Hossein Sadighi, Karim Sanjabi and Shapur Bakhtiyar were mentioned. We know that only the latter accepted to become the Prime Minister. The Houses of Parliament approved his Cabinet, but the Nation did not.

The Ayatollah returned to Iran on 1 February 1979 and formed a rival government led by Mehdi Bazarghan to that left by the Shah. Bakhtiyar could not retain any power in the face of the increasing militancy of the Opposition. He left office and escaped to France. A Revolutionary Council dominated by Beheshti and Rafsanjani ran the country. Eventually, following a referendum on 31 March 1979 in which according to the Islamic Government authorities 98.2 per

cent of the voters had approved the abolition of the monarchy, the Islamic Republic of Iran was officially proclaimed. The official statistics of 98 per cent support for the establishment of an Islamic Republic should be taken with a pinch of salt but there can be no doubt that the proposition to end the "Imperial" regime was given overwhelming popular support. As regards the legitimacy of the referendum, certain political groups and parties had been bitterly complaining that:

- (a) The referendum was being unnecessarily rushed, without sufficient time being allowed for discussion and airing of views;
- (b) In any case, the pan - Islamic faction alone had the use of the radio and television networks to present its interpretation of the meaning and implications of an Islamic republic; and
- (c) The subject of the referendum had been undemocratically formulated so that all those who would vote against it could be branded as being pro - Shah, anti - Islamic, or both.

Advancing these and other arguments some opposition groups boycotted the referendum, and more other political parties took part in it with reluctance. However, few of these opposition forces later enjoyed sufficient popular support to allow them access to the post - revolution Parliament. Consequently the pan - Islamic faction monopolised the governing process to the exclusion of all opposition forces.

The aspiration of the authorities and perhaps even the early sentiments of the majority of the population of the Islamic Republic was to create a true and fair Muslim community in which all individual, social, economic, and legal relations are dominated by "Islamic Justice". With this in mind the Islamic Republic set up committees for: reviewing national resources; reviewing the spheres of the activities of the public, co - operative, and private sectors; Islamisation of the banks; expansion of production; taxation and budgetary planning etc.

One of the primary targets of the post - rev-

olution regime has always been to reduce Iran's dependence on oil. At the time of the revolution it was frequently pronounced that Iran should preserve and cut its oil output. However, the diversification of Iran's economy did not materialise. Indeed Iran lost much of its oil export during and after the revolution with detriment to its economy. For several years, not only Iran failed to compensate for the loss of its oil revenue by incomes from other sources but it also lost much of its non - oil output. By way of illustration it was reported officially by Iran that the country's non - oil exports declined 46.1 per cent over the one year period ending in April 1981 compared with the same period in the previous year. Obviously the eight - year - old war launched by Iraq against Iran in September 1980 had a devastating effect on the Iranian economy. During the earlier stages of the war, Iran had to import certain types of oil (including diesel oil) for domestic consumption because the Iranian oil refineries were immobilised by Iraqi attacks. Nonetheless the Iranian Government managed to come through this devastating war and maintain the objectives of the revolution.

Rafsanjani during his eight years of Presidency relied on market forces to rebuild the Iranian economy. After him Khatami for another eight years, went for a policy of international appeasement via a plan of "Civilizational Dialogue". His reforms aiming at the creation of a civil society, prepared the Nation to rejoin the international community and even to discuss a renewal of diplomatic relations with the U.S.A. He was unable to put his ideas into practice as he was too soft to be taken note of in the tough world of the Iranian politics.

The enormous flow of money into Iran in the past few years had benefited only a tiny minority, leaving the great mass of the people embittered. The marginal benefits extended to the ordinary citizens were only available to those members of the lower classes who would allow themselves to come under the patronage of the privileged. Some independent - minded persons

(including intellectuals, political activists, journalists, lawyers and students) have suffered persecution.

In spite of the high price of oil, Iran still has no comprehensive scheme of social security. Freedom of the press is also restricted. Despite extreme resentment and opposition to such human rights violations, coming primarily from wealthier and better educated Iranian individuals and groups primarily living abroad, the Nation in 2005 voted for Dr. Ahmadinrad (the ex - Mayor of Tehran). He was quite popular with the majority of the Iranian voters, compared with his rival: the well - known Rafsanjani. The majority of the people were unwilling to suffer financially in exchange for the opportunity to re - assert themselves culturally. Now the issue of nuclear energy is presented as an element of self - assertion in the present - day Iran. This sentiment centres upon an ambition to achieve scientific, economic and cultural autonomy and total self sufficiency against a background of neo- colonialism and dependence on the West. Although the aftermath of the revolution has not been up to the expectation of very many secular groups who participated in it, no political opposition has been allowed to develop as a possible future alternative force. Although Iran's dependence on the West in economic and industrial terms has not disappeared, the political will for a chieving self - reliance is still a decisive factor in the actions taken and the policies pursued. This sentiment is quite evident in the Iranian nuclear energy programmes.

## ABSTRACTS OF PERSIAN ARTICLES

### A- IRANIAN STUDIES

- 1- Iran in the Eyes of the Western Cultures, by the late Professor Dr. Mohmood Kooros, an Iranian teaching in Germany.
- 2- On Kurds and the Kurdistan of Iran, by Dr. Mohammad Saleh Ebrahimi (The translator of the Holy Quran into the Kurdish language).
- 3- Correction of Some Errors in the Complete Collection of the Poetic Works of

Nima the father of modern Persian poetry, by Prof. Hassan Amin.

4- Documents and Letters by, and on, Amir Kabir (the reformist Iranian Prime Minister of the Qajar period), by Ali Ale - Dawood.

5- The Legal History of Iran by Professor Hassan Amin, reviewed by Shahram Ramazani Bandbon Balenghah.

6- The Political Effects of the Conquests of Alexander the Great in Iran - by Mohammad Hassan Sadri.

### B- ON AKHAVAN

Mehdi Akhavan Sales was one of the most important figures amongst the contemporary Persian poets. His works in both classic and modern poetry are remarkable; and he must be considered as the strongest link between these two styles of contemporary poetry. In this issue there are four essays on Akhavan:

(a) An introductory essay by the Editor on Akhavan's life and works, outlining the three main periods of his poetic life.

(b) An essay by K. Hazrati on the relations between Akhavan and Dr Ali Shariati.

(c) A long essay by Ezzatollah Fooladvand, defending the status of Akhavan as a modern epic poet rather than a narrator as he has been coined by some critics.

### C- HAFIZ STUDIES

The Majic Quarters in the poetry of Hafiz, by Dr. H. Vahidi, Satire in the poetry of Hafiz, by Bahauddin Khorramshahi.

### LAW AND POLITICS

a) Oath A Comparative Study of the Ancient and Modern Laws, by Prof, Hassan Amin.

c) My Memoirs of the 1979 Revolution, by Hossein Shahsavarani (the ex - Judge of the Supreme Court).

d) In Memory of a Law Professor: Mohammad Ali Hekmat, by A.R. Zakerhossein.

b) Iranian oil and the Soviet Union, by M.R. Jalali Naini.

### E- POETRY, SHORT STORIES AND BOOK REVIEWS

