

**CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICS
IN MODERN IRAN:
A RE-EXAMINATION AND IMPLICATIONS
FOR THE FUTURE**

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA
Loma Pelona Center
March 1-3, 2012



On behalf of the University of California, Santa Barbara, the Department of Religious Studies, and Iranian Studies, we express our gratitude to the Semnani Family Foundation for its generous support, which played a major role in making this conference possible. The Foundation has given us an opportunity to invite speakers of national and international prominence and to promote an intellectual exchange at the highest level.

Janet Afary

Mellichamp Professor of Global Religion and Modernity

In addition to the gift from the Semnani Family Foundation, this conference was made possible with the support from the following:

- The Duncan and Suzanne Mellichamp Academic Initiative
- Professorship in Globalization, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Office of the Dean of Humanities and Fine Arts, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Interdisciplinary Humanities Center, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Center for Middle East Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Department of Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara
- The International Qajar Studies Association (IQSA)
- The Middle East Studies Program, Santa Barbara City College
- Dr. Shoreh Ershadi

With a major contribution from the Semnani Family Foundation and additional support from the Duncan and Suzanne Mellichamp Academic Professorship, Iranian Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara hosts this international conference to provide a fundamental assessment of Iran's experience with constitutionalism. We hope this gathering of constitutional lawyers, academics, and journalists serves as a forum for an in-depth, critical examination of the past and current Iranian constitutions, and also offers the opportunity to propose practical recommendations for the future.

All activities on Friday and Saturday will be held at the Loma Pelona Center at the University of California, Santa Barbara, unless otherwise noted.

Thursday, March 1

7:00 pm - 9:00 pm

Welcoming reception and remarks by Professors Dwight Reynolds and Janet Afary

Mosher Alumni House, University of California Santa Barbara, hosted by the International Qajar Studies Association and the Middle East Studies Program, Santa Barbara City College

7:30 pm

Opening Plenary, *by invitation.*

The Pressing Challenges for Constitutionalism in the Middle East

Hiram Chodosh, S.J. Quinney College of Law, University of Utah

Chibli Mallat, S.J. Quinney College of Law, University of Utah

Friday, March 2

8:30 am

Coffee and Tea Service

9:00 am - 10:30 am

The Qajar Era and the Constitutional Revolution

Chair: Manoutchehr M. Eskandari, Santa Barbara City College

Iran's First Constitution: Achievements and Drawbacks

Janet Afary, University of California, Santa Barbara

Prospects of Constitutionalism in Iran and the Role of Shi'ite Clerics

Mateo Farzaneh, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago

Empowerment and Persecution: Non-Muslim Communities in the Constitutional Period (1905-1921)

Mehrdad Amanat, Independent Scholar, Los Angeles

Discussant: Houry Berberian, California State University, Long Beach

10:30 am

Coffee and Tea Service

10:50 am-12:40 pm

Constitutional Conflicts During the Pahlavi Era

Chair: John Foran, University of California, Santa Barbara

Constitutionalism, Popular Politics and State-Building in Early Pahlavi Iran

Stephanie Cronin, University of Oxford

The Constitution and Governance in Post-Reza Shah Iran

Fakhreddin Azimi, University of Connecticut

Iran's Authoritarian Modernity and the Challenge of Secularism

Afshin Matin-Asgari, California State University, Los Angeles

Observations on Ethics and Law from the Constitutional Revolution to the Present

Houshang Keshavarz Sadr, Social Science Researcher, Paris

Discussant: Ali-Akbar Mahdi, Department of Sociology, Ohio Wesleyan University

Friday, March 2

1:00 pm - 2:30 pm

Lunch at the Faculty Club, University of California, Santa Barbara, by Invitation.

2:45 pm - 4:15 pm

Constitution of the Islamic Republic

Chair: Shiva Falsafi, University of California, Los Angeles

Article 168 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic in Theory and in Praxis
Mehrangiz Kar, Brown University

Islamic Republic or Sectarian Oligarchy?
Abdol-Karim Lahidji, Iranian League
for Defense of Human Rights and
International Federation for Human Rights

Simultaneous Interpretation by Shirin Ershadi, Attorney and Legal Translator

4:15 pm

Coffee and Tea Service

4:45 pm - 5:30 pm

***Roundtable Discussion:
Lessons for the Future***

Janet Afary, University of California, Santa Barbara
Hamid Akbari, Northeastern Illinois University
Amir Soltani, Writer, San Francisco Bay Area

5:30 pm - 8:00 pm

Cocktails, Dinner & Performance at the Faculty Club, University of California Santa Barbara, by Invitation.

Welcome by Carol Genetti, Associate Dean, Division of Humanities and Fine Arts
Recognition of Mr. Khosrow Semnani

7:40 pm

Performance by the Middle East Ensemble
University of California, Santa Barbara

Saturday, March 3

9:30 am

Coffee and Tea Service

10:00 am - 12:00 pm

Women, Youth, and Labor: Challenges to the Theocratic Constitution

Chair: Kathleen Moore, University of California, Santa Barbara

Women's Labor in the Islamic Republic of Iran: Losers and Survivors

Sohrab Behdad, Denison University

Political Islam, Modernity and Gender: Lessons of the Iranian Experience

Chahla Chafiq, Writer and Researcher, Paris

The New Civil Sphere and Its Limits: The Green Movement, Democratization

Among the Youth, the Gender Question, and the Inauguration of a New Type of Social Movement

Farhad Cavard, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

A Novel Constitutional Solution to a Persistent Dilemma: Separation of Mosque and State

Shiva Falsafi, University of California, Los Angeles

Discussant: Nayereh Tohidi, California State University, Northridge

12:15 pm - 1:45 pm

Lunch at the Faculty Club, University of California, Santa Barbara, by Invitation

Recognition of Houshang Keshavarz Sadr
by Hamid Akbari

Saturday, March 3

2:00 pm - 4:00 pm

***Constitutional Democratization:
Obstacles and Prospects***

Chair: Kevin Anderson, University of California,
Santa Barbara

*The Ethnic Dimension of Constitutionalism and
Democracy in Iran*

Nayereh Tohidi, California State University,
Northridge

Obstacles to Constitutional Democracy in Iran

Kazem Alamdari, University of California,
Los Angeles

*Oil, Socioeconomic Polarization, and the
Rentier State*

Cyrus Bina, University of Minnesota

*Redefinitions of the Marja`iyat and Velayat
Relationships under the
Islamic Republic of Iran*

Majid Mohammadi,
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Discussant: Sohrab Behdad, Denison University

4:00 pm

Coffee and Tea Service

4:30 pm - 5:30 pm

***Roundtable Discussion:
Implications for the Future***

Janet Afary, University of California, Santa Barbara
Hamid Akbari, Northeastern Illinois University
Amir Soltani, Writer, San Francisco Bay Area

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Semnani Family Foundation

Khosrow Semnani completed his high school education in Iran before moving to England and the United States. He earned a dual Bachelor of Science degree in Chemistry and Physics from Salt Lake City's Westminster College. He later earned a Masters of Engineering Administration degree from the University of Utah. Mr. Semnani was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Science degree from Southern Utah University in May 2005. In addition to his work in the areas of energy and renewable resources, Mr. Semnani has been involved in various philanthropic endeavors. He served for eight years as Vice Chairman and for three years as Chairman of the Board of Trustees for *Encyclopedia Iranica* at Columbia University. Together with his wife, Ghazaleh Semnani, they founded the Semnani Family Foundation, which supports health, education, social issues, and disaster relief in the United States and around the world.

Duncan and Suzanne Mellichamp Academic Initiatives

Professor Emeritus Duncan Mellichamp is a founding member of the Department of Chemical Engineering at the University of California, Santa Barbara and a Fellow of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. Dr. Mellichamp and his wife Suzanne Mellichamp were the 2007 recipients of the UCSB Medal, the campus's highest honor, recognizing their philanthropy and devotion to the campus. The Mellichamp Chair in Global Religion and Modernity focuses on the encounters of religion, politics, and modernity, and is one of four professorships within the Academic Initiatives cluster.

Iranian Studies at University of California Santa Barbara

Iranian Studies, located in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is devoted to the study of Iran, Persian Culture, and the Iranian Plateau. Iranian Studies was begun in 2010 with support from the Duncan and Suzanne Mellichamp Endowment in Global Religion and Modernity in collaboration with the Department of Religious Studies and the Center for Middle East Studies. Iranian Studies organizes annual lectures, symposia, film screenings, and conferences, often in collaboration with the Center for Middle East Studies, and the Middle East Ensemble in the Department of Music at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Iranian Studies hopes to create a resource center devoted to the research, teaching, and dissemination of Iranian history and culture.

Information about Iranian Studies at UC Santa Barbara, as well as information about these conference proceedings, including participant biographies and abstracts, can be found at the following website:

ucsb.iranianstudiesprogram.com

Conference Organizers	Janet Afary Hamid Akbari Kevin Anderson, Dwight Reynolds Amir Soltani
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Translation of Abstracts and Program into Persian	Claudia Yaghoobi
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