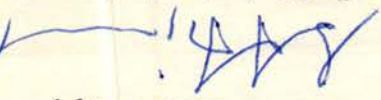


TÜSTAV ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TARİH

Yours sincerely,

Sald Amir Arjomand

Dear Mete,
To my deep regret and despite my arguments, the publishers of the volume on Social Movements have insisted on the omission of three chapters including yours. I am therefore returning the edited version of the article, and hope you will succeed in placing it elsewhere.
You may already have heard this from the SSRC form-ally, but I thought I would also write to express my gratitude for your prompt cooperation, and my regret that your paper was not accepted by the reviewers for the publisher.
With best wishes,

Professor Mete Tunçay
Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi
Ankara Üniversitesi
Ankara, Turkey

July 30, 1982

ST. ANTONY'S COLLEGE,
OXFORD.
OX2 6UF
TEL. 59651

Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr.
Staff Associate
(212) 557-9476

June 11, 1980

Professor Mete Tuncay
Siyasal Bilgifer Fakultesi
University of Ankara
Ankara, Turkey

Dear Professor Tuncay:

On behalf of the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East I am writing to invite you to participate in a conference on Social Movements and Political Culture in the Contemporary Near and Middle East. The conference will take place at the Seven Springs Conference Center, Mt. Kisco, New York on May 14-17, 1981. It is one of several sponsored by the committee under the general topic heading of Hierarchy, Authority, and Justice. The memorandum enclosed describes the plan of the conference.

The committee would like you to prepare a paper for the panel on The Political, Social-Structural and Behavioral Consequences of Social Movements. Papers on several countries are being commissioned. Yours should focus on Marxism in Turkey. The paper should not be more than 25 typewritten pages. It need not be a definitive statement based on exhaustive new research but rather should be designed to stimulate discussion and encourage further research. In the event that the paper will be published you may be asked to revise your paper in the light of the discussion.

So that all papers may be circulated in advance, we are asking that they be sent to the Council for reproduction no later than March 15, 1981. The committee will defray expenses of travel at jet economy rates and will of course take care of expenses at the conference. Transportation costs will be reimbursed only upon receipt of a completed manuscript.

Detailed instructions about paper preparation will be sent in the fall. Please let us know whether you will be able to participate no later than August 15.

Sincerely yours,

Rowland Mitchell

Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10158

Robert A. Gates
Staff Associate
(212) 557-9475

July 21, 1981

Professor Mete Tuncay
Siyasal Bilgifer
Fakultesi
University of Ankara
Ankara, Turkey

Dear Professor Tuncay:

I am writing to inform you that the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East has asked Professor Said Arjomand to serve as editor of a volume of papers resulting from the conference sponsored by the committee in May 1981 on Social Movements and Political Culture in the Contemporary Near and Middle East.

Professor Arjomand will be in contact with you shortly regarding the revision of your paper for possible inclusion in the volume and the schedule for submitting a completed manuscript to appropriate publishers.

Sincerely yours,

Robert A. Gates

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL İKTİSADİ VE TARİHİ ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Stony Brook

Department of Sociology
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794
telephone: (516) 246-6720/21/22

MEMORANDUM

November 23, 1981

To: The Contributors

From: Said Arjomand

Subject: Volume on Social Movements in the Contemporary Near
and Middle East

Thanks to your prompt cooperation, the editorial work has now been completed and the manuscript submitted to the SUNY Press. A Table of Contents is attached for your information. I will keep you informed of future developments. Meanwhile, please send me a brief introduction to yourselves (3 to 4 lines) for the List of Contributors. My address will be:

St. Antony's College
Oxford OX2 6JF
England

Again, very many thanks.

SA:car
Attachments

cc: Robert Gates
Editorial Subcommittee

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Foreword
Ernest Gellner

Introduction: National Integration and Social Movements in the
Contemporary Near and Middle East

Said Amir Arjomand

Part I: Ethnicity and Nationalism

1. Nationalism in the Middle East: A Behavioral Approach
Richard Cottam
2. The Arab Nationalist Movement and Its Bearers
Rashid Khalidi
3. The Development of Kurdish Nationalism
Chris Kutschera
4. Emergent Trends in Muslim Tribal Society: the Wazir Movement of the
Mullah of Wana in North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan
Akbar Ahmed

Part II: Islamic Movements

5. Shi'ite Traditionalism in Twentieth Century Iran
Said Amir Arjomand
6. The Fada'iyān-i Islam: Fanaticism, Politics and Terror
Farhad Kazemi
7. Ideology, Social Class and Islamic Radicalism in Modern Egypt
Eric Davis
8. Politicization of Islam in a Secular State: the National Salvation
Party in Turkey
Binnaz Toprak
9. National Integration and Traditional Rural Organization in
Algeria, 1970-80: Background for Islamic Traditionalism?
Peter von Sivers

Part III: Secular Movements and Intellectual Trends

10. Marxism in Turkey
Mete Tuncay
11. The Modernist Trend in Persian Literature and Its Social Impact
Michael Hillmann

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST (TENTATIVE OUTLINE)

Foreword by Ernest Gellner

Introduction: Types of Social Movements in the Contemporary Middle East in Comparative Perspective

Part I: Ethnicity and Nationalism

Five or six papers ranging from cases of tribal and ethnic nationalism to pan-Arabism and supra-national aspects of the Ba'th movement.

Part II: Islamic Movements: National Integration and Politicization of Islam

Six or seven papers on Iran, the Maghreb, Egypt and Turkey.

Part III: Secular Movements and Intellectual Trends

Two papers.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Foreword
Ernest Gellner

Table of Contents (Tentative)

1. Introduction

Part I: Ethnicity and Nationalism

2. Tribalism and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

3. A Case of Ethnic Nationalism

4 & 5. The Arab Nationalist Movement and Its Bearers
Iliya Harik & Rashid Khalidi (Two papers)

6. The Ba'th Movement

7. Nationalism in the Middle East: A Behavioral Approach
Richard Cottam

Part II: Islamic Movements: National Integration and
Politicization of Islam

8. National Economic Integration and Islamic Revival in Algeria: 1970-80
Peter von Sivers

9. Islam, Politics and Incipient Fundamentalist Movements in the Maghreb
Jean-Claude Vatin

10. Islamic Fundamentalism and Social Class in Egypt
Eric Davis

11. Politicization of Islam in a Secular State: the National Salvation Party in Turkey
Binnaz Toprak

12. Traditionalism in Twentieth Century Iran

13. The Fada'iyān-i Islam: Fanaticism, Politics and Terror
Farhad Kazemi

14. Pamphleteering in the Islamic Revolution: 1978
Shaul Bakhash

Part III: Secular Movements and Intellectual Trends

15. Marxism in Turkey
Meté Tuncay

16. The Modernist Trend in Persian Literature and Its Social Impact
Michael Hillmann

May 14-17, 1981

CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Seven Springs
Mount Kisco
New York

PROGRAM

Thursday Evening, May 14

⑥ Stability and Change in Middle Eastern Societies in the Post-War Era

Presenter: Richard Cottam

Friday Morning, May 15

Economic and Social Conditions Leading to Discontent and Social Movements

Discussant Chairman: Eric Davis

- ⑭ 1) Shaul Bakhash, Iranian Revolution
- 2) Hanna Batatu, "Iraq's Underground Shi'i Movements: Characteristics, Causes, and Prospects"
- 3) Ashraf Ghani, "Conjunctures of State, Economy and Ideology: Afghanistan 1950-1978"
- ⑤ 4) Rashid Khalidi, "Social Factors in the Rise of the Arab Movement in Syria"

Friday Afternoon

Demand Articulation and Political Mobilization

Discussant Chairman: Serif Mardin Richard Cottam

- ⑩ 5) Eric Davis, "Islamic Fundamentalism and Politics in Modern Egypt"
- ④ 6) Iliya Harik, "The Arab Nationalist Movement: Its Record and Prospects"
- ⑬ 7) Farhad Kazemi, "Shi'i Fundamentalism, Politics, and Terror in Iran: A Study of the Fada'Iyan-I Islam"
- ⑦ 8) Peter von Sivers, "Rural Demands and Governmental Responses in Algeria, 1970-80"
- 9) I. William Zartman, Morocco, the period since Independence

Friday Evening

Ideological Orientation and the Nature of Social Movements

Discussant Chairman: Richard Bulliet

(12/10)

Said Arjomand, "Traditionalism in Twentieth Century Iran"

11

Marwan R. Buheiry, "Resurgent Islam: One Hundred Years of Western Investigation?"

12 => B. Toprak

Saturday Morning, May 16

Social-Psychological Dimensions of Social Movements

Masochism of the T. Int.

Discussant Chairman:

Ali Banuazizi, Discontent and relative deprivations

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16

18) Michael C. Hillmann, "Iranian Leadership Styles as Implied in Persian Literature"

19) Serif Mardin, "Bediuzzam Said Nursi (1873-1960), The Shaping of a Vocation"

20

Marvin Zonis, "Self-Objects, Self-Representations, and Sense Making Crises: Thinking About Political Change"

Saturday Afternoon, May 16

Political, Social-Structural and Behavioral Consequences of Social Movements

Discussant Chairman: Amal Rassam

13)

Richard Bulliet, Islam since World War II

14)

Sondra Hale, "The Wing of the Patriarch: Marxism and Sudan's Women's Union"

15)

Suad Joseph, "Transformation of the Armenian Movement in Lebanon"

Rosemary Sayigh, "The Impact of the Palestinian Crisis and Resistance Movement on Families and Women"

(continued)

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİSTİK İRMAVAKFI

Political, Social-Structural and Behavioral Consequences of Social Movements (continued)

11 ← Binnaz Toprak, "The National Salvation Party in Turkey: Ideology and Organization"

15/16 Mete Tuncay, "Marxism in Turkey"

9/17 Jean-Claude Vatin, "Islam, Politics and Social Movements in the Maghreb"

Sunday Morning, May 17

Summary and Discussion

Ernest Gellner

"Evaluation of the Conf."

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr.
Staff Associate

(212) 557-9476

May 5, 1981

To: Participants in the Conference on Social Movements
From: Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr.
Subject: Travel arrangements to Seven Springs Conference Center

For those you planning to drive to Seven Springs a map is enclosed.

For those using public transportation there is train service to Mount Kisco from Grand Central Station, 42nd & Park Avenues. For departure times, see below. The trip takes about one hour. Upon arrival at Mount Kisco, take a taxi to Seven Springs.

Those arriving by air on Thursday, May 14, should take a taxi or airport limousine to Grand Central Station and a train from there. (Do not take a taxi from the airport to Seven Springs. The trip would be prohibitively expensive.)

Plan to arrive in time for dinner (7:15), or earlier if possible. There is a swimming pool, indoors, and tennis courts, outdoors, for recreation.

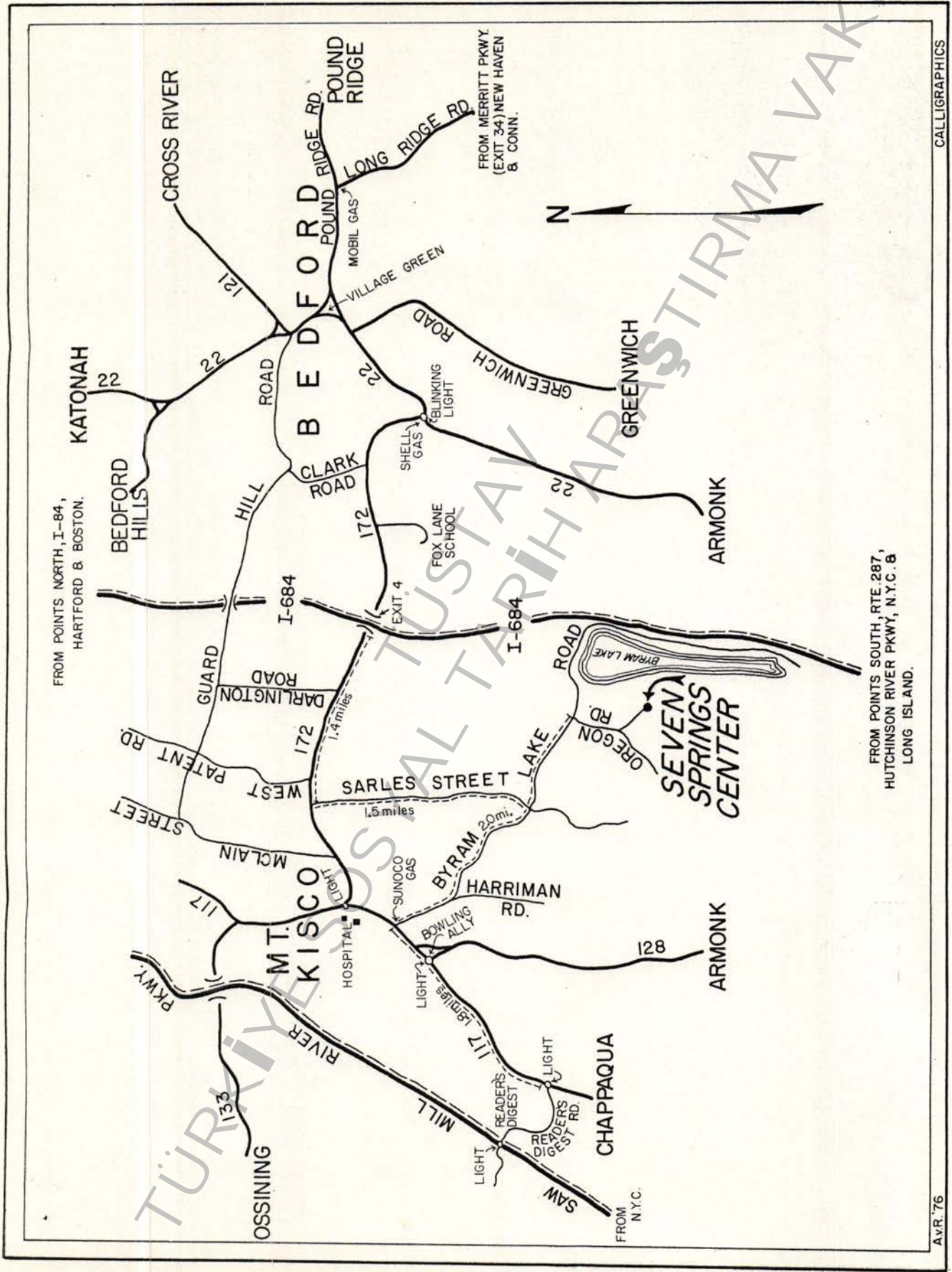
Train departure times, Grand Central Station to Mt. Kisco:
Leave Grand Central Station:

1:48
2:48
3:48
4:15
4:39*
4:59*
5:17*
5:39*
6:00*
6:27
7:15

* Rush hour trains; apt to be crowded.

If possible, buy ticket before boarding train.

If you have any questions, please telephone me at the above number. The telephone at Seven Springs is (914) 241-1880



CALLIGRAPHICS

A.V.R. 76

Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr.
Staff Associate
(212) 557-9476

February 2, 1981

To: Participants in the Conference on Social Movements

From: Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr. *RLM Jr*

Enclosed is a copy of a style sheet whose forms you should follow in writing your paper. Enclosed also is a sample title page. Please get your paper to this office on or Before March 15. As noted in the original letter of invitation, transportation will not be provided until the paper is in this office.

To facilitate matters, tickets will be purchased in this office and sent to you through the Council's travel agent. Please indicate on the enclosed ballot your travel plans as soon as you know them. We can then reserve space and purchase the least expensive ticket possible and hold it for receipt of your paper.

Arrangements for you to get from JFK or LaGuardia to the Conference Center at Seven Springs will be sent to you later. In planning your travel, you should try to arrive in mid-afternoon at the airport on Thursday, May 14 and to plan for a flight leaving in the late afternoon on Sunday, May 17.

If you have any questions about the conference or other plans, please do not hesitate to inquire.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Increasingly in recent years, a myriad of social movements have aimed to bring about fundamental changes in the social and political institutions and values of different Middle Eastern societies. While the political significance of such movements and their potential for transforming the overall social environment and political culture of the countries in this turbulent region have not been lost on any observers, their causes, patterns, dynamics, and consequences have not received the systematic examination that they deserve. As part of its broader effort to analyze the historical experience and the contemporary social and political structures of the Middle East, the Joint Committee of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies is planning to hold an international conference in the spring of 1981, which will focus on social movements and political culture in the Middle East over the past two or three decades. An important feature of the conference will be its interdisciplinary nature, emphasizing not only the economic and political dimensions of change but also the unique socio-historical, cultural, religious and social-psychological contexts for change and instability in the various Middle Eastern societies. Participants in the conference will include American, European, and Middle Eastern scholars from a number of disciplines as well as others whose areas of specialization may not be limited to the Middle East but who will bring to this forum broader theoretical and comparative concerns in the study of social change and social movements.

The conference will deal with the following topics, seeking in the case of each topic to compare different Middle Eastern societies among themselves and, when appropriate, with other societies in similar stages of development.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

I. Stability and Change in Middle Eastern Societies in the Post-War Era: An Overview

This single paper will serve the function of setting a conceptual framework for subsequent panels at the conference.

II. Economic and Social Conditions Leading to Discontent and Social Movements

The main question here is what set of historical, economic, political (including state-initiated programs of reform) and cultural conditions can be shown to have influenced particular social movements. A related issue is the timing of change movements and the role that certain internal or external "critical events" may have played in triggering and/or reinforcing particular social movements.

III. Demand Articulation and Political Mobilization

What are the mechanisms by which objective conditions of discontent are translated into stimuli for political mobilization? How are symbols and language used in the articulation of demands and what are the media used for their dissemination? By what mechanisms are potential participants

recruited into movements for social change? What are the social backgrounds from which different recruits come? What styles of leadership may be commonplace in, or perhaps even unique to Middle Eastern societies?

IV. Ideological Orientation and Nature of Social Movements

The main purpose of this panel will be to analyze the widely different ideological bases and orientations of various social movements in the region. It is expected that Islam -- as a religion and an all-encompassing political and cultural ideology -- will form a major focus of attention for some of the papers in this section.

V. Social-Psychological Dimensions of Social Movements

Some topics to be discussed by the contributors to this panel will be (a) the relationship between discontent, relative deprivation, and collective action; (b) the relationship between personality types and psychological orientations and participation in different social movements; (c) analysis of particular cultural themes and orientations that may enhance certain styles of leadership and may otherwise influence the orientation of social movements; (d) social conditions and factors that may increase the propensity of participants to violence; and (e) the relationship between leaders and followers.

VI. The Political, Social-Structural and Behavioral Consequences of Social Movements

Here the focus will be on the impact of specific movements upon the social order and the behavioral consequences that accompany their success or failure at different levels and within various spheres of social and political life.

Conference on Social Movements and Political Culture
in the Contemporary Near and Middle East

Invited Participants

Ervand Abrahamian, Baruch College
Shahrough Akhavi, University of South Carolina
Said Arjomand, SUNY, Stony Brook
Ahmad Ashraf
Shaul Bakhash, Princeton University
Ali Banuazizi, Boston College
Hanna Batatu, American University of Beirut ✕
Richard Bulliet, Columbia University
Richard Cottam, University of Pittsburgh
Eric Davis, Rutgers University
Marius Deeb
Ernest Gellner, SOAS, London
Ashraf Ghani
Sondra Hale, California State University, Northridge
Iliya Harik, Cornell University
Michael Hillman, University of Texas
Suad Joseph, University of California, Davis
Farhad Kazemi, New York University
Malcolm Kerr, University of California, Los Angeles
Caglar Keyder, Middle East Technical Institute ✓
Samir Khalaf, American University of Beirut
Rashid Khalidi, American University of Beirut
Abdullah Laroui, University Mohammad V
Serif Mardin, Bogazici Univeristy ✓
Ergun Ozbudun, University of Ankara ✓
Amal Rassam, CUNY, Queens College
Binnaz Sayari, Bogazici University ✓
Rosemary Sayigh
Metec Tuncay, University of Ankara ✓
Jean-Claude Vatin, CRESM, Aix-en-Provence
Peter von Sivers, University of Utah
I. William Zartman, New York University
Marvin Zonis, University of Chicago

CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE
CONTEMPORARY NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Invited Participants

Ervand Abrahamian, Baruch College, City University of New York
Said Arjomand, State University of New York, Stony Brook
Shaul Bakhash, Princeton University
Ali Banuazizi, Boston College
Hanna Batatu, American University of Beirut
Marwan Buheiry, American University of Beirut
Richard Bulliet, Columbia University
Richard Cottam, University of Pittsburgh
Eric Davis, Rutgers University
Marius Deeb, American University of Beirut
Ernest Gellner, University of London
Robert A. Gates, Social Science Research Council
Ashraf Ghani, Columbia University
Sondra Hale, California State University, Long Beach
Iliya Harik, University of Indiana
Michael Hillmann, University of Texas
Suad Joseph, University of California, Davis
Farhad Kazemi, New York University
Samir Khalaf, American University of Beirut
Rashid Khalidi, American University of Beirut
Robert Lapham, National Academy of Sciences
Serif Mardin, Oxford University
Rowland Mitchell, Social Science Research Council
Amal Rassam, Queens College, City University of New York
Rosemary Sayigh, independent researcher
Binnaz Toprak, Bogazici University
Mete Tuncay, University of Ankara
Jean-Claude Vatin, Princeton University
Peter von Sivers, University of Utah
I. William Zartman, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS
Marvin Zonis, University of Chicago

Stony Brook

Department of Sociology
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794
telephone: (516) 246-6720/21/22

15
9/15/1981

Dear Mete:

Now that I am writing to you individually (as distinct from the standard letter which had to be sent to every contributor), I propose to drop titles and surnames. I assume I may do so as we have already met.

Thank you very much to your prompt attention to the business of revision. The additional materials you sent me are very useful and interesting. Some of them ^{are} too interesting to be footnotes, and I will incorporate them into the text. In exchange, I will convert some details and book references given in the text into footnotes.

Let me complain, however, that by being unco-operative about cutting the 1908-25 section, you created a lot of work for me. Even allowing for the obvious importance of the formative period, the excessive length of that section made your paper very unbalanced. I found that the structural balance of the paper could be greatly improved by omission of some disjoint details and drastic cuts in the first program of the TPC which you yourself admit was unoriginal and predictable. I hope you agree with me when you see the final version.

My remark on the inappropriateness of the terms 'political' and 'administrative' was based on a linguistic confusion on my part for which I apologize. The same is true of my remark about the use of the term 'false' on p.6 for which you have kindly supplied a footnote. The problem, however, was a very simple linguistic one which I should have been able to rectify myself by replacing 'false' by 'bogus'. Nevertheless, there were a number of evaluative statements which I have had to omit. For example, as a Marxist you are of course entitled to stress, to the appropriate audience, that terrorism is against the tenets of Marxism in your judgment. Not so, as a social scientist. Surely in that capacity your opinion on the propriety or justifiability of terrorism is not called for. All that matters is that some of the groups you are writing about claim to be Marxists and engage in terrorism. I have also omitted the paragraph on p.7(bottom)-p.8(top) because the idea is Gokalp's (unless you can prove Gokalp took it from your groups rather than directly from Durkheim's lectures on professional ethics; even then our volume may not be the appropriate forum for reporting this would-be interesting fact in history of ideas).

I am also puzzled by your wanting to avoid making any commitment to any analytical statement of a causal explanatory nature. The cessation of direct Comintern influence, and the replacement of the TPC by a plethora of groups and factions seem to mark the major difference between the periods before and after 1960. You would not be helping the reader form a clear structured impression

of the article if you do not provide a clear summary statement on these differences and possibly also on their likely consequences-- e.g. the decline in the Russian directive ideological influence and the freer assimilation of a variety of Marxist ideas and approaches.

Could I ask you for a concluding section of one or two pages which would (a) do the above and thus extract and concisely state the structure of the article, and (b) end with a restatement of the substance of your important observations on p.3 ? Your remarks from the postscript of your book really belong to the conclusion. They are disconcerting when they come, and chronologically unhelpful to the reader. Incidentally, the reference to the events of March 12, 1971 will not mean anything to the non-Turkish readers. I enclose an edited version of the passage (with the English fixed up here and there) for your convenience, and hope you could modify and expand it as the concluding statements of your article.

Your paper has been thoroughly revised to make the English more fluent. It is being retyped and will be sent to you by the end of the week. I hope the edited version meets with your approval. Apart from cuts in the early pages, the alterations are entirely stylistic. Please read the new version carefully to make sure I have not made any erroneous statements based on the misreading of the original. In one or two places -- or more-- the meaning was not entirely clear and I had to guess what was intended. Meanwhile, I should be grateful if you could start working on the conclusion. As you know, we do not have too much time, and, thanks to prompt returns by you and some other contributors, I have every hope of meeting our original schedule.

With the very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,



Said Arjomand

Whether a certain theory is suitable to a given social structure, is not an empty or a purely verbal question. During the last decade, interesting developments have taken place which have confused us greatly. Some features of the socialist program spread to non-leftist circles. But the Left itself split into many fractions. Most important of all, a movement [i.e.... specify] aiming at making a short-cut to power and cherishing a set of seemingly leftist demands, but also drawing on Kemalist support and utilizing Kemalist methods, created a pretext for a counter-reaction. It was sensed that there were some particip^{tion} in this movement from the Left itself. Today, our leftist movements evaluating the experiences of other socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and China and applying the results of these evaluations of Turkey's conditions, constitute irreconcilable fractions which consider one another as the arch enemy. I am of opinion that this situation reflects an optical failure which leads to misjudgement on both sides.

Professor

Dear Said Arjomand,

I do not share your basic opinion on the preferability of an analytical to a descriptive text. I believe that a good description implies the existence of a sound theoretical approach, and analysis for its own sake often leads to a distortion of facts.

Still, I made some amendments following your suggestions. But I could not make drastic cuts from the first 20 pages as you asked me to do. I rather like the quotations from my book. They seem formed to be the moral of the whole story. However, as you are the editor, I am open to specific suggestions you may make.

There has not been a periodization in the history of the Turkish Left as you say, with an early phase where Marxist theoreticians were at the same time party members and a later phase where they were not. The latter period is characterized with a proliferation of parties and groupings; but people using the Marxist rhetoric cannot be said to be partyless. I still think my distinction between political and administrative periods in the course of recent Turkish history makes more sense.

Thank you for your letter of July 17. I congratulate you for being appointed the editor of the forthcoming volume, and I wish you success in this job.

Yours sincerely,

Mete Tunçay

1) The paper requires a good deal of work to acquire the analytical structure which would justify its publication. Nevertheless I would like to include it because of the interest of its subject matter.

2) To build up the analytical structure of the paper, I suggests you focus on the reasons for the failure of Marxism as an intellectual and political movement exclusively.

With this focus, your important observations on p.28 assume a central position. You should elaborate your argument on the dogmatic orientation of Positivism and Marxism alike, and bring in your suggestive characterization of Marxism as the third Islam, following Kemalism as the second Islam. Lack of attention to theoretical and international problems discussed by Marxism before World War II (mentioned by Mardin and Abrahamian during the discussion), the fact that the literature is not read and books are bought and put on selves, that the level of sophistication of Marxist university students and even professors is the same, and the incredible fad of the Asiatic Mode of Production can all be discussed in greater detail. In this light, your historical sketch can be divided into the early period, where Marxist theoreticians were at the same time the party members, and the recent period of fragmentation when you have a group of people, mostly students, using Marxist concepts and rhetoric without being party members . The contrast between these periods of organization and fragmentation seems more pertinent to the central theme than the (analytically inadequate) distinction between 'administrative' and 'political' periods with which you begin.

3) You should avoid using evaluative terms and substitute analytical terms for them wherever possible.

4) The Foreword, especially the lengthy quotations, need to be rewritten and drastically abridged.

5) It would be nice if you could translate quite a few more representative samples of original texts and substitute them for paraphrases, or add them on.

6) Some more specific comments:

- o P.5, line 4 "many members" : Working class members or in general.
- P.5, lines 6-7 "its functioning as a labor union" : Expand and explain.
- o P.6, line 9: "False" ?? (An example of use of evaluative terms)
- o P.6, line 18: 'from adopting' instead of to adopt?
- o P.6, line 23: " exploit" instead of "utilize from"?
- P. 20, last 4 lines: This has not been made clear in your exposition.

Further comments made during the discussion of the editorial subcommittee:

Pp. 1-21 to be cut drastically

Pp. 27-31 extended and thickened correspondingly.

Stony Brook

Department of Sociology
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794
telephone: (516) 246-XXXXXX 6724
Home (516) 689-8143

July 17, 1981

Professor Mete Tuncay
Siyasal Bilgifer Fakultesi
University of Ankara
Ankara, Turkey

Dear Professor Tuncay:

As you have been informed by the Staff of the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East, the Editorial Subcommittee and I have decided to bring out a volume on social movements in the Middle East and to include your paper, subject to satisfactory revisions.

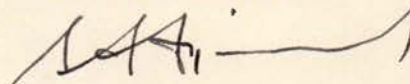
The prospects for the speedy publication of the volume, very probably the first volume ever to appear on social movements in the Near and Middle East, are excellent. SUNY Press has already agreed to consider the MS. I myself am on its Editorial Board and hope to have the MS ready for submissions when the Board next meets on September 23.

The editing and publication not only can be and also have to be speedy. The reason is that I will be away next year, at St. Antony's, Oxford, and must complete the editorial work and leave the MS in care of the Press before leaving. I am therefore setting September 15 as the deadline, but will be most grateful for earlier returns which would enable me to set out preparing the volume at once.

A tentative outline of the volume is enclosed, together with specific comments on your paper and suggestions for revision. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have suggestions or questions or for any other reason.

In view of our severe time constraints, I would like to urge you to begin the revision and return the paper to me as soon as convenient. In any event, please make every effort to meet the September 15 deadline. I thank you very much in anticipation of your full and prompt cooperation.

Yours sincerely,



Said Amir Arjomand
Assistant Professor

SAA:va

Stony Brook

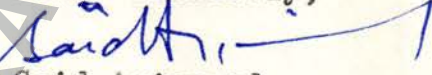
Department of Sociology
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794
telephone: (516) 246-6720/21/22

October 9, 1981

Dear Mete:

Here, at last, is the edited version of your paper. I am sorry that the retyping coincided with the busy starting weeks of the semester, and it did not get done sooner. Please read ^{and correct} the typescript carefully, add the additional marks for the Turkish words, and return it to me as soon as possible, with the new concluding section. We are proceeding according to schedule, and I expect an outstanding volume out soon.

Yours sincerely,


Said Arjomand

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI
TÜSTAV

16th May '81

Ideo. ^{rel.'s} * Soc. Structure

□ Suppressed by the Ott. ?

Dashnak Reformist

Hunchak Revolutionary

Movement or Party ?

parallel with Mafia

Dash. NP in the Ott. Ass.

(Sociologists' questions

Varthes Ef.

Intellectual hist. approach

FAS - CEZAYIR - HUNUS

Collaborated with

Remnants of the

U&P / Ts. Russ.

Armed Administration

Entente Powers esp. the Brit.

Afternoon :

(1905-41) Pre-Tudeh

NT

Paradox
Acquiescence

Nationalism

Factionalism

1920s & 1930s

[speculation]

Bukharin - Rikov

Illegal / Und. ground Party

Trotsky

Stalin

* Asiatic Mode of Prod.

Hegel

Marxist-Leninist

present-day

o Marxism not meant for our society.
M-L Classes (sold)

Equality
& Identity

Muslim - Marxist - Nationalist

Met Tunçay

Morning

15th May '81

Batatu: recent conversion / proselytizing?

Ghain: merchantile bourgeoisie ~ "State"

State < instrumentalism
structuralism

Pentat'ran "autonomy"

Intervention
Econ. & Domination
Soe. CLASS

* Phases of Development
State Capitalism

[Corporatism]

Organic & non-conflict.
Solidaristic / mutualist

	K	A
S	1	2
Sh	3	4

Def - i Mazarrat (i) (law)
Redd - i Mezalim (trade)

(100) A söA sö
12 - 13 - 14 / 146,5

Afternoon

"Leg: Hindu"

Deepening of underdevelopment

Programmatic translation of Ideology

Evening

Sel. Mübnye | Conservatively
Karnnye | using the term in its
Reformist vs. Traditionalist | Original A. sense
as well as Radical & Progressist

Dubious Dichotomy } Civ. }
Cult. }

Destruction

Modern Turks. (Neo Fascists) | Provincial
Turkish Moslems. | Pet. - Bourg.

TÜRKİYE

in transition

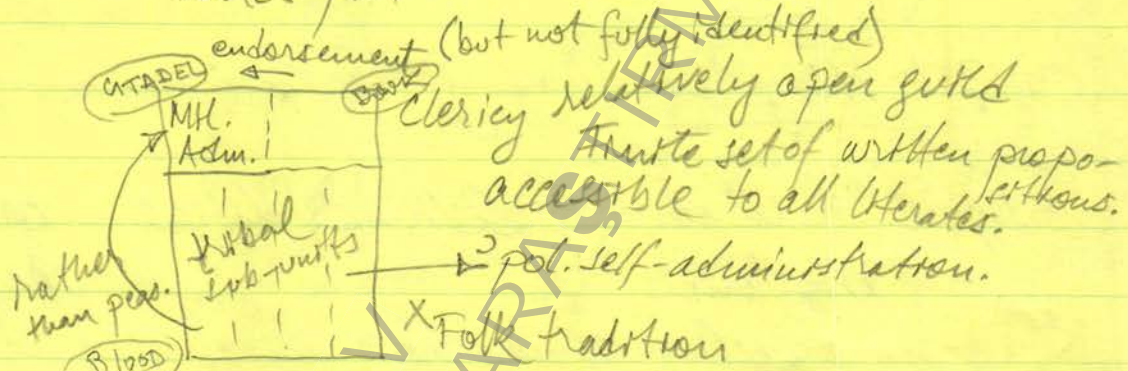
18th Cent. Enlightenment Ideology

{ Self Policing & rational Mark 1. Laissez faire
Recollection Mark 2. Socialist

either Westernise or become populist. [nativist]

Both unpleasant: [rupture from one's past] [Idealising one's past]

Muslim Society
at Agrarian age



Mobility = illusion of equality

intense moralism

in transition (Islam)
Can it last?

de-absolutization does not take place.

TÜRKIYE SOSYAL TARİHİ

Ask about Dagdeviren Coll.

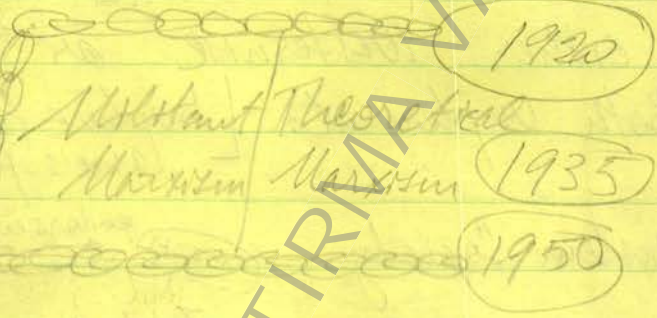
Professor Afaf Marsot
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CA 90024



Sharia

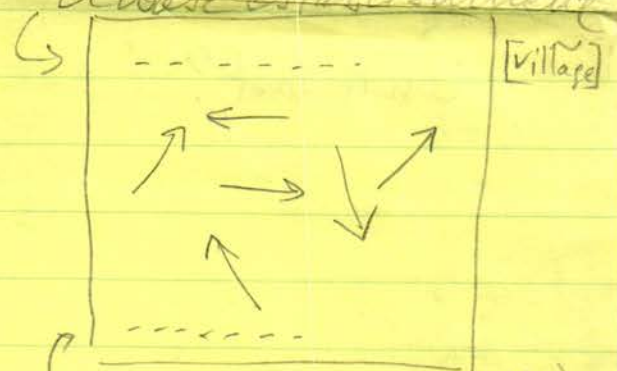
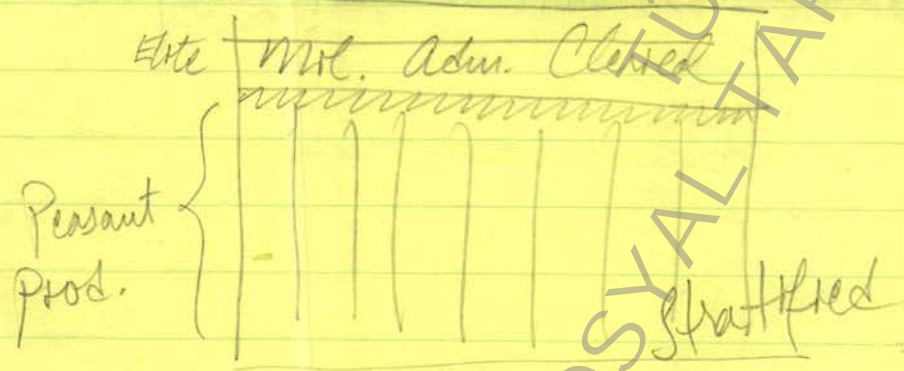
17th May '81 Sunday



Ernest Gellner: Islam & Politics, backlash at the Enlightenment
"Modern" an objective syndrome

Passage of Agrarian to Industrial Society

Marx X Hist. stages determine our problems, but not our solutions
above establishment



Agrarian Existence
Absolutist Ideology
[State in fact feeble]

Sub-proletariat (altru)
Lack of social distance
Non-absolutist

Poor & Stable
Culture diversified

Richer Econ. & Cognitive Growth
Homogeneous

Modernization

Transition