

## Iran's Reconstruction Jihad

Based on more than 130 interviews with government officials, revolutionary activists, war veterans, and development experts, this is the first full-length study in English to examine the significant yet understudied organization and ministry, Reconstruction Jihad, as a basis for understanding the political and social changes and continuities that have transpired in the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) over the last four decades. Exploring the success of the Iranian revolution, the state's development policies, its overall resilience and the conflicting dynamics of its attempts to mobilize and institutionalize activists, *Iran's Reconstruction Jihad* is one of the few studies that adopts an institutionalist approach toward analyzing critical aspects of the IRI's history and politics, with comparative implications for analyzing revolutionary processes and outcomes across other geographic regions and time periods.

ERIC LOB is Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Florida International University. He received the 2014 Foundation for Iranian Studies annual award for best dissertation and honorable mention for the biannual Association for Iranian Studies Mashayekhi Dissertation Award. His research has been published in journals including *IJMES*, *Iranian Studies*, *Middle East Critique*, and *The Middle East Journal*. He is a Board of Trustees member of AIIrS and a member of MESA.



# Iran's Reconstruction Jihad

Rural Development and Regime Consolidation after 1979

ERIC LOB
Florida International University





## **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108720298

DOI: 10.1017/9781108766852

© Eric Lob 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

First paperback edition 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Names: Lob, Eric S., 1974- author.

Title: Iran's Reconstruction Jihad : rural development and regime consolidation after 1979 / Eric S. Lob.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019040408 (print) | LCCN 2019040409 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781108487443 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108720298 (paperback) |

ISBN 9781108766852 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Iran. Vizārat-i Jihād-i Sāzandagī. | Rural development–Iran. | Iran–Politics and government–1979-1997. | Iran–Politics and government–1997–

Classification: LCC HN670.2.Z9 C636 2020 (print) | LCC HN670.2.Z9 (ebook) | DDC 307.1/4120955-dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019040408

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019040409

ISBN 978-1-108-48744-3 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-72029-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



#### Contents

List of Figures		page vi
List of Tables		vii
	Introduction: Reconstruction Jihad	1
1	Inception (1962–1979)	15
2	Expansion (February 11-November 6, 1979)	39
3	Consolidation (1979-1989)	68
4	Demobilization and Institutionalization (1983-2001)	125
5	Disillusionment and Mobility (1983-2001)	170
6	Associationalism (1983-2013)	222
7	Africa (1985–2013)	249
8	Lebanon (1988-2013)	281
9	Jihadi Culture and Management (2005-2017)	310
	Conclusion: Deconstructing Reconstruction Jihad	335
Bibliography		349
Index		373



### **Figures**

1.1	Five dinar stamp commemorating the Shah's	
	1962 White Revolution and Land Reform - Referred	
	to as the "Revolution of the Shah and the Nation"	
	(Inqilāb-i Shāh va Milat)	page 16
2.1	Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and RJ's "All	
	Together" slogan and logo with a sickle, stalk, and	
	Qur'anic Verse	40
3.1	Two hundred riyals currency note	
	commemorating RJ	68
3.2	Members of the trench builders without trenches	
	during the war	91
3.3	RJ's organizational structure (1979–1983)	93
3.4	A political rally organized by RJ	102
4.1	RJ's organizational chart between May 13, 1988 and	
	September 2, 1990	147
6.1	An RM recruitment poster	228
6.2	The TBA's logo	234
6.3a	The MAJ supreme leader's representative, Ayatollah	
	Hassan 'Alami, addressing members of the JA at its	
	annual meeting	238
6.3b	'Alami honoring and giving a gift to a member of the	
	JA at its annual meeting	238
6.3c	'Alami attending the JA's annual meeting	239
9.1	Model of a trench builders' trench at the Museum of	
	the Holy or Sacred Defense and the Promotion of	
	Resistance Culture	316

vi



#### **Tables**

3.1	WES's wartime performance record	
	(1982–1989)	page 89
3.2	The IRI and RJ's developmental performance record	
	(1979–1999)	94
4.1	RJ's economic targets and achievements	136
4.2	Training center enrollment by major and level	
	(1985–1989)	156
4.3	Short-term course enrollment by major	
	(1986–1989)	156
4.4	Students under contract at the training centers by	
	major and level (1989)	160
<b>4.</b> 5a	Student enrollment abroad by country and	
	level (1989)	162
4.5b	Student enrollment abroad by year and	
	expenditure	162
4.6a	Students with service commitments by	
	level (1989)	164
4.6b	Students with service commitments by	
	major (1989)	164
6.1	RM's developmental performance record	
	(1983–1989)	224
6.2	The JA's priority programs and operating costs	
	for 2011	241
7.1	RJ's overseas operations from 1987 until	
	March 1993	260
8.1	JB's developmental activities (1988–2008)	308

vii