



CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES, AND MINES OF PERSIA

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES, AND MINES OF PERSIA (Oṭāq-e bāzargānī wa ṣanāyeʿ wa maʿāden-e Īrān; also called Oṭāq-e Īrān), a national federation of local chambers and syndicates created in Esfand 1348 Š./March 1970 through the merger of various local chambers of commerce and the national chamber of industries and mines of Iran. The purpose was to facilitate the functioning of the ministry of economy in its dealings with big traders and industrialists. The chamber is a legal entity consisting of a representative body (*hayʿat-e namāyandagān*) which is formally elected by the constituent members (big traders and/or industrialists), and the chamber's board of directors (*hayʿat-e raʿīsa*). Since its formation in 1305 Š./1926, the Tehran chamber has dominated the activities of the other, national and local, chambers.

Councils of merchant representatives (majles-e wokalā-ye tojjār), 1301/1884. The antecedent of the chamber of commerce is to be found in certain events in 1301/1884, when the merchants of Tehran, led by [Ḥājj Moḥammad-Ḥasan Amīn-al-Ẓarb](#), demanded that Mirzā ʿAbd-al-Wahhāb Khan Naṣīr-al-Dawla should be dismissed as minister of commerce and that they should be permitted to establish a council composed exclusively of their own representatives to protect their interests against foreign competition and



official corruption. The council was to exercise wide-ranging jurisdiction, from administering national commerce to adjudication of commercial disputes. It was also proposed that the council should undertake initiatives to further the economic development of the country, for example, establishing a national bank, building factories, and instituting quality controls on export products. Nāṣer-al-Dīn Shah agreed to this demand and on 12 Šawwāl 1301/5 August 1884 decreed the formation of such councils in the capital and other major cities (Ādamīyat and Nāṭeq, pp. 299-371; Ašraf, 1980, pp. 107-110; cf. bāzār iii. socioeconomic and political role of the bazar). This initial attempt failed, however, and the councils did not last long because of officials in the ministry of commerce who resisted it and provincial governors, who had long used their power over the merchant class to exact excessive fees (*madākel*; see, e.g., Molkārā, pp. 168-71). At the turn of the 20th century, the emerging bourgeois modernizers still called for the formation of an autonomous chamber of commerce (Issawi, pp. 67-69).

Chambers of commerce (oṭāq-e tejārat), 1305-10 Š./1926-41. After a brief period (1297-1305 Š./1918-26) in which councils of commerce (*šūrāhā-ye tejārat*) were established and active in Tehran and major cities, in 1305 Š./1926 chambers of commerce were established to replace them. Half the board members of the councils had been elected by the merchants and the other half appointed by the Ministry of agriculture, commerce, and public utilities (Wezārat-e falāhat, *tejārat wa fawā'ed-e 'ammā*; *Majalla-ye falāhatwa tejārat*, 1297 Š./1918, pp. 69-70, 92-94, 110-50, 192-94; 1298 Š./1919, pp. 58-66; 1299 Š./1920, pp. 281-87). On 16 Mehr 1305 Š./8 October 1926 the first chamber of commerce in Persia was inaugurated at the ministry of commerce in Tehran with [Ḥājj Ḥosayn Āqā Mahdawī Amīn-al-Žarb](#) as president and Mīrzā Ġolām-Ḥosayn Kāšef and Mīrzā Moḥammad Sepehr as secretaries (*Sāl-nāma-ye Pārs 1306*, p. 10). The representative body included Ḥājj Mīrzā Abū Ṭāleb Eslāmīya, Mīrzā 'Abd-al-Ḥosayn Nīkpūr, Faqīh-al-Tojjār, Āqā Mīrzā Moḥammad-'Alī Mahlūjī, and Āqā Shaikh Ḥosayn Ḥarīrī. The founding members of the Tehran chamber had previously served on an ad hoc committee of the merchants' board of directors (*hey'at-e modīra-ye tojjār*), which was formed to support Reżā Khan's campaign for the throne during 6-8 Ābān 1304 Š./28-30 October 1925 (Amīr Ṭahmāsb, pp. 137-45; Ḥ. Farhūdī and E. Nīkpūr, personal interviews). Amīn-al-Žarb served as the first president of the chamber (1305-11 Š./1926-32) and was succeeded by Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥabīb-Allāh Amīn-al-Tojjār Ešfahānī (1312 Š./1933) and Nīkpūr (1313-35 Š./1934-57). From Bahman 1306 Š./January-February 1928 until Mordād 1308 Š./July-August 1929 the proceedings of the chamber were



published in the monthly journal *‘Aṣr-e ḥadīd* (“Iron age,” later renamed *Majalla-ye rāhnamā-ye tejāratī-e Īrān* “Journal guide to the commerce of Iran”), edited by F. Pārsā. In 1308 Š./1929 Pārsā dissociated himself from the chamber, and in Ābān/October-November a new journal, the monthly (later biweekly) *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e tejārat* (Chamber of commerce review), began publication under the editorship of ‘Abbās Mas‘ūdī, who also edited the daily newspaper *Eṭṭelā‘āt* (Information). The small secretariat of the chamber was financed by members’ subscriptions, equivalent to one percent of their income taxes (increased to 1.5 percent in 1331 Š./1952); voluntary contributions; and other, minor, revenues.

In 1310 Š./1931 with the enactment of a foreign-trade monopolization law (*Qānūn-e enḥesār-e tejārat-e kārejī*), the government seized control and monopolized foreign trade, causing the merchants a great deal of anxiety and arousing their suspicion. The authorities suspended the existing chambers of commerce and encouraged their members to cooperate in organizing new bodies, to which permanent legal status was granted. In Mehr 1309 Š./September 1930 the Majles provided for thirty-six new chambers to be established in the major cities, the number of representatives varying with the population and commercial importance of the city from six to fifteen (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-e tejārat* 9, 1309 Š./1930, pp. 12-14; *Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq bāzargānī . . .*, pp. 5-11). Only five years later, in 1314 Š./1935, did the government reduce the number of chambers to sixteen and move to tighten control over their activities (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-e tejārat* 119, 1314 Š./1935, p. 9). Merchants in each of the sixteen cities chose from among their own number a slate of candidates, from which the government then selected a third to serve in the representative body of the chamber. The minister of the economy or his representatives had the right to participate in the chamber’s discussions and decision making, and whenever the minister attended he assumed the honorary chair of the meeting (*Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī . . .*, p. 6). In 1312 Š./1933 the general bureau of commerce organized a national conference of chamber representatives, designed to help orient merchants to government policy and to encourage their cooperation. Prime Minister Ḥājī Mokḥber-al-Saltāna Maḥdīqolī Hedāyat inaugurated the conference and participated in the discussions, and ‘Abd-Allāh Yāsā‘ī Ṣadr-al-Odabā’, a cabinet member and director general of commerce, was elected as the first conference chairman (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-e tejārat* 61, 1312 Š./1933, pp. 12-13).

In Ḳordād 1311 Š./1932 a commission consisting of representatives of the



Tehran chamber of commerce and high-ranking financial and economic officials under the chairmanship of the powerful court minister 'Abd-al-Ḥosayn Teymūrtāš met to discuss problems of foreign trade and exchange (*Majālla-ye oṭāq-e tejārat* 43, 1311 Š./1932, p. 6). Shortly afterward, on 19 Tīr 1311 Š./10 July 1932, a new foreign-trade monopolization law permitted the government to transfer to private individuals its import rights for certain items (Komīsiūn-e Mellī, II, pp. 1925-27). The representative body of the Tehran chamber thus could influence the allocation of shares in the private import trade and the grant of import licenses (*jawāz-e wāredāt*). Many merchants from provincial cities therefore immigrated to Tehran in order to share in these commercial privileges, a process that encouraged further centralization of commercial affairs in the capital (Ḳarrāzī, in *Majālla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī-e Tehrān*, 1 Tīr 1336 Š./22 June 1957, pp. 1-4). The concentration of such power in the hands of a small group of prosperous merchants who supported the regime and thus enjoyed special relations with government officials caused widespread discontent among middle-class *bāzārīs*.

Oṭāq-e bāzargānī, 1321-32 Š./1942-53. After the fall of Reżā Shah in 1320 Š./1941 many *bāzārīs* who had been excluded from privileges granted by the government to the representatives of the Tehran chamber called for the closing of the *bāzār* as an act of protest against the chamber's representative body and its powerful president, Nīkpūr. Their principal demand was that the election of the representative body of the chamber should be performed in one stage in order to prevent the government from intervening. The leaders of the opposition to the board of the Tehran chamber were Moḥammad Reżā-Ḳarrāzī, a former officer of the bureau of commerce who came from an old influential merchant family, and Ḥājj Shaikh Aḥmad Sīgārī, a popular *bāzārī* leader (Ḥ. Farhūdī and N. Awlīā' Šīrāzī, personal interviews). In response to these demands in 1321 Š./1942 a new law provided for direct election to the chamber, the name of which was changed to Oṭāq-e bāzargānī (*Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī* . . . , pp. 12-16). Moḥammad-Reżā Ḳarrāzī won the largest number of votes in the first election under this law, but a compromise was effected between two rival factions, under which Nīkpūr remained as president, with Ḳarrāzī as vice president. These two men presided jointly over the chamber's board for the next two decades. Nīkpūr had begun his political career as a member of the constitutional assembly (*majles-e mo'assesān*), which ratified transfer of the monarchy from the Qajars to the Pahlavis in 1304 Š./1925, and later served six terms in the Majles as deputy and two as senator; he collaborated with such strong prime ministers as Aḥmad Qawām



(Qawām-al-Salṭana, 1324-26 Š./1945-47), Hājī-‘Alī Razmārā (1329-30 Š./1950-51), and Fażl-Allāh Zāhedī (1332-34 Š./1953-55). He emerged as a patron for many *bāzārīs*, on whose behalf he frequently intervened with the authorities, thus further enhancing his political position. He also stage-managed the formation and control of the boards of two *bāzārī* political associations, the merchants’ union (Etteḥādīya-ye bāzargānān), which had been formed in Esfand 1322 Š./February-March 1924 and which later joined the Tehran chamber in 1328 Š./1949, and the union of guilds in the Tehran *bāzār* (Etteḥādīya-ye aṣnāf-e bāzār-e Tehrān), which was established in 1326 Š./1947 to fight against the pro-Soviet Tudeh (Tūda) party (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-a bāzargānī-e Tehrān* 48-49, 1328 Š./1949, pp. 15-22; 55, pp. 25-27).

Taking advantage of their relations with government officials, the board members and representatives of the Tehran chamber continued the profitable practice of acquiring import and monopoly permits (*jawāz-e wāredāt*) for themselves. The middle class *bāzārīs* and their emerging popular political leader Moḥammad Moṣaddeq often objected to this favoritism, which led to open confrontation between the two parties. Thus, for example, when Moṣaddeq criticized the ministry of finance in the 14th Majles (late 1324 Š./early 1946) for granting the state monopoly on textile materials to a number of influential merchants, the chamber board began to defend the government action while attacking Moṣaddeq in a number of articles published in newspapers. On the other hand, the nationalist middle-class traders and *bāzārīs* came to support Moṣaddeq in this controversy (Keyostovān, II, pp. 192-203). In 1328 Š./1949 the National Front (Jabha-ya mellī) emerged as a strong opposition party under the leadership of Moḥammad Moṣaddeq and with the support of many *bāzārīs*, primarily younger, mid-level merchants and master artisans who were dissatisfied with Nīkpūr’s policies. They organized the society of merchants, guilds, and artisans (Jāme‘a-ye bāzargānān wa aṣnāf wa pīšavarān; see [chamber of guilds](#)). They soon came into conflict with leaders of the chamber, who supported the shah in his clashes with Moṣaddeq during the latter’s tenure as prime minister in 1330-32 Š./1951-53. At the close of the chamber’s fourth session, in early 1330 Š./1951, Moṣaddeq’s government declined to hold elections for the next session (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī-e Tehrān*, 31 Farvardīn 1334 Š./21 April 1955, pp. 1, 4). The next year, using his plenary power, Moṣaddeq passed a bill enlarging the representative body of the Tehran chamber from fifteen to thirty members, who were to include representatives of guild unions, industry, transportation firms, insurance companies, and such government agencies as the national bank (Bānk-e mellī-e



Īrān), the national insurance company (*Šerkat-e saḥāmī-e bīma-ye mellī-e Īrān*), and the ministry of the economy (*Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī . . .*, pp. 17-27). The former leaders of the chamber and other wealthy merchants (e.g., Nīkpūr, Ḳarrāzī, and the Rašīdīān brothers, Qodrat-Allāh, Asad-Allāh, and Sayf-Allāh) supported the overthrow of Moṣaddeq engineered by the British MI6 and the [American Central Intelligence Agency](#) (Najāṭī, p. 328; personal interviews). The new cabinet banned the society of merchants, guilds, and artisans and established a new merchants' union (*Etteḥādīya-ye bāzargānān*); its representative body, elected in Āḍar 1332 Š./December 1953, comprised such leading merchants as Nīkpūr and Ḳarrāzī, formerly the dominant figures on the board of the Tehran chamber, Abu'l-Ḥasan Ṣādeqī and 'Alī Wakīlī, who later served as presidents of the Tehran chamber, Ḥājj Āqā Bozorg Abū Ḥosayn, an influential Azeri-speaking *bāzārī* patron, Ḥājj 'Abd-Allāh Moqaddam, the owner of two major textile factories (Moqaddam and Momtāz), Mahdī Namāzī, a noted merchant and industrialist, who came from the old merchant family of Shiraz, and Solaymān Wahhābzāda, a well known Azeri-speaking international trader (*Eṭṭelā'āt*, 12 Āḍar 1332 Š./3 December 1953).

On 7 Dey 1333 Š./28 December 1954 the Majles passed a new law affecting chambers of commerce (*Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī . . .*, pp. 28-32); elections to the Tehran chamber were held almost immediately, and the biweekly journal *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī-e Tehrān* resumed publication. With Nīkpūr as president and Ḳarrāzī as vice president the old group reasserted its control of the chamber's board. In 1337 Š./1958 the chamber issued 3,211 commercial identity cards for full members and 1,812 cards for associate members from four guilds including the tea, sugar, and spice sellers' guild (*Etteḥādīya-ye šenfī-e 'aṭṭār wa saqaṭforūš*, 1,598 members), the carpet sellers' guild (*Etteḥādīya-ye šenfī-e faršforūš*, 130 members), the brokers' guild (*Etteḥādīya-ye šenfī-e dallāl*, 69 members), and the agricultural machinery dealers' guild (*Etteḥādīya-ye šenfī-e forūšandagān-e māšīnālāt-e kešāvarzī*, 15 members; *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī-e Tehrān*, Ordībehešt 1338 Š./May 1959, Appendix, p. 4).

Nīkpūr and Namāzī were elected to the senate and Ḳarrāzī to the Majles; they were thus able to make use of the parliament to further the interests of the prosperous merchant class and to challenge the authority of the government and state managers (see, e.g., Nīkpūr's speeches in the Senate and Ḳarrāzī's speeches in the Majles, *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī-e Tehrān*, 16 Ordībehešt



1334 Š./7 May 1955, pp. 3-8; 6 Kordād/28 May, pp. 4-15; 31 Tīr/22 July, pp. 3-11; 19 Kordād 1335 Š./9 June 1956, pp. 1-5; and 1 Tīr 1336 Š./22 June 1957, pp. 1-4). In this way the chamber came to function as an almost autonomous organization of wealthy merchants who participated actively in formulating economic policy. After the dismissal of the powerful prime minister Zāhedī in 1334 Š./1955, however, the regime's autocratic policies led to a confrontation with the Tehran chamber. In Esfand 1335 Š./March 1957 Nikpūr relinquished the presidency to his ally Abu'l-Ḥasan Šādeqī, who, however, died the next year; in Bahman 1336 Š./February 1958 'Alī Wakīlī, who was obedient to the authorities, became chairman, serving two terms until his death in 1343 Š./1964. Because of the relative weakness of the government in this period, however, the chamber retained some of its prerogatives and functioned successfully as a pressure group, especially through the turbulent years of economic recession and political strife in 1339-42 Š./1959-63 (see, e.g., *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī*, Farvardīn 1340 Š./April 1961, p. 1; Kordād/June, pp. 11-12; Mordād/August, pp. 7-16; Mehr/October, pp. 33-34; Šahrivar-Mehr 1341 Š./September-October 1962, pp. 19-30). Nevertheless, once Moḥammad-Rezā Shah's so-called White Revolution (Enqelāb-e safīd, q.v.; the shah's program of modernization, including land reform) had been launched in Bahman 1341 Š./January 1963 and state power had been consolidated in his hands, all previously autonomous civil organizations were brought under control. With the support of the government Moḥammad Kōsrowšāhī was elected president of the Tehran chamber and served two terms (1343-48 Š./1964-70). Not long afterward the national federation of chambers of commerce (Federāšion-e oṭāqhā-ye bāzargānī-e kešvar) was created under the initiative of the ministry of economy to coordinate the activities of the local chambers and to organize national conferences; Kōsrowšāhī was named president and 'Abd-Allāh K'vō'ī secretary-general (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī*, Kordād 1347 Š./May-June 1968, pp. 7-44; *Iran Almanac 1969*, p. 563).

The chamber of industries and mines of Persia (Oṭāq-e šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān), 1341-489 Š./1962-70. Throughout the latter half of the 1330s Š./1950s, Ja'far Šarīf-Emāmī, head (1336-39 Š./1957-60) of the ministry of industries and mines (Wezārat-e šanāye' wa ma'āden, founded 1334 Š./1955), and his deputy, Ṭāher Žiā'ī had been pressing for a chamber of industries and mines. In 1336 Š./1957 Šarīf-Emāmī submitted to the Majles a draft proposal for a chamber of industries and mines, but approval was blocked by Senator Nīkpūr and his allies, who wanted to prevent the weakening of the Tehran chamber. In 1340 Š./1961 a group of industrialists petitioned Prime Minister 'Alī Amīnī for



establishment of such a chamber, and in Mehr/September-October, they founded the union of the owners of industrial enterprises (Ettēhādīya-ye šāḥebān-e šanāye') to further their demands. Finally, Zīā'i, by then minister of industries and mines in the cabinet of Asad-Allāh 'Alam (1341-42 Š./1962-63), obtained cabinet approval in Mehr 1341 Š./September 1962; in Ābān 1341 Š./October 1962 the national chamber of industries and mines of Persia was formed by thirty leading representatives of industrialists and mine owners of the country. Šarīf-Emāmī was elected president at the first meeting of the representative body (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī*, Ābān 1340 Š./November 1961, pp. 17-22; Ābān 1341 Š./November 1962, pp. 36-42), and a secretariat was organized; operational costs were covered by an allocation of two-fifths of the 1.5 percent tax on merchants (see above) and industrial enterprises. In 1342 Š./1963 it began publishing the bimonthly *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān*, which soon developed into an economic journal with a broader audience and as such did not serve the collective interests of the industrial entrepreneurs. In 1343 Š./1964 the Majles ratified the law authorizing the formation of the chamber of industries and mines of Persia (*Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī . . .*, pp. 34-45). Šarīf-Emāmī resigned in 1346 Š./1967, and Zīā'i, by then a senator, succeeded him (*Eṭṭelā'āt-e sālāna*, 1347 Š./1968, pp. 372-73).

Among the representative body of the chamber of industries and mines of Iran were such leading industrialists as Qāsem Lājavardī representing the Behšahr industrial group (Gorūh-e šaṇ'atī-e Behšahr), Ḥājj Moḥammad-Taqī Bark'ordār, the owner of Pars electric, Toshiba, Kermān cement factory, etc., 'Alī and Kāzem Ḳosrowšāhī, the owners of Mīnū industrial group (Gorūh-e šaṇ'atī-e Mīnū), and K.B.S. chemical Industrial group, respectively, Ḥājj 'Abd-Allāh Moqaddam, the owner of large textile factories, the Ḳayyāmī brothers (Aḥmad and Maḥmūd), who owned the Iran National Industrial Group (Gorūh-e šaṇ'atī-e Īrān nāšionāl), the Industrial Bank of Iran (Bānk-e šanāye'-e Īrān), Asia Insurance Co. (Bīma-ye Āsīā), the Reżā'i brothers ('Alī and Maḥmūd), who owned the Šahrīār Industrial Group (Gorūh-e šaṇ'atī-e Šahrīār) and several mines, and Raḥīm Mottaqī Īravānī, the owner of Mellī industrial group (Gorūh-e šaṇ'atī-e mellī; Bricault, pp. 26, 98, 116, 123, 141, 164-66, 184, 194).

The chamber of commerce, industries, and mines of Persia (Oṭāq-e bāzargānī wa šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān), 1348-57 Š./1970-79. The new Chamber of commerce, industries, and mines of Persia, Oṭāq-e Īrān, was formed in Esfand 1348 Š./February 1970, when, at the initiative of Hūšang Anšārī, the powerful



minister of economy, the two chambers were merged with Senator Żīā'ī as president (*Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī . . .*, pp. 51-56). A fairly large secretariat was installed, and the bimonthly journal *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī wa šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān* began publication in Kordād 1349 Š./June 1970. In 1354 Š./1975, at the beginning of the second session, the total membership of the Oṭāq-e Īrān numbered 7,070 in Tehran and 1,825 in twenty branches in other major cities. Of the representative body of seventy-two members, who composed the chamber itself, thirty-five represented the Tehran branch, twenty represented other branches, and seventeen represented the twenty-five unions and syndicates of producers, exporters, and importers, the affiliated members of Oṭāq-e Īrān (*Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī wa šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān*, Bahman-Esfand 1353 Š./January-March 1975, pp. 82-94).

Having been dominated by the government, Oṭāq-e Īrān did not directly represent the interests of merchants and industrialist. Despite the rapid growth of commercial and industrial capital in the 1340s-50s Š./1960s-70s, Persian entrepreneurs became increasingly subject to the government interventionist policy, especially as oil, the main and rapidly increasing source of Persian revenue, was a state-owned resource (see, e.g., *Majalla-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī wa šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān*, Bahman-Esfand 1353 Š./January-March 1975, pp. 12-24).

After the Revolution of 1357 Š./1978-79. In the aftermath of the Revolution hundreds of industrial entrepreneurs, wealthy merchants, mine owners, bankers, and financiers, including most of the leading members of the representative body of Oṭāq-e Īrān, fled the country or were imprisoned and their property was confiscated. Major industries were incorporated into the public sector and came under the control of state managers, whose representatives soon came to dominate the chamber of commerce, industries, and mines. In 1359 Š./1980 the law ratified by the revolutionary council (*šūrā-ye enqelāb*), authorized the minister of industries and mines and the minister of commerce to appoint less than half of the board members (*Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī . . .*, p. 61). Thus, for example, twenty-two of the forty-five members of the representative body of the Tehran branch were selected from among state managers and twenty-three from the private sector. The latter group included both entrepreneurs who had survived the revolution (e.g., Moḥsen Kālīlī, owner of Būtān Gāz, and Rezā Taḥšīlī, owner of Pārs Metāl) and others who emerged after the revolution such as 'Alī-Naqī Kāmūšī, president



of the chamber's board, an engineer and bureaucrat, who came from a *bāzārī* family and served as head of the Bonyād-e Mostaẓ'afān (Foundation for the oppressed) and was deputy minister of commerce; they were instrumental in establishing the association of managers of Islamic industries (Anjoman-e modīrān-e ṣanāye'-e eslāmī; information received from the secretariat, Oṭāq-e Īrān, 28 Farvardīn 1367 Š./18 May 1988; and personal interviews).

The increasing domination of the civil society by the state has further undermined the political power of private businessmen. As a result, the chamber of commerce, industries, and mines and the association of managers have met with difficulties in dealing with the government and such powerful public organizations as the *Bonyād-e Šahīd* and the Bonyād-e Mostaẓ'afān, which have gained control of large enterprises and become rivals to private firms (personal interviews).

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Qānūn-e taškīl-e oṭāq-e bāzargānī wa šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān wa zamā'em-e ān, zamīma-ye Hafta-nāma-ye oṭāq-e bāzargānī wa šanāye' wa ma'āden-e Īrān 3, 1366 Š./1987, a useful compilation of all laws concerning the chamber of commerce from 1309 Š./1930 to 1365 Š./1986.

Interviews with Mūsā Amānat, merchant and industrialist, Nāšer Awlīā'-Šīrāzī, member of the representative body, chamber of commerce, industries, and mines of Iran; Ḥosayn Farhūdī, former chairman of the Tehran city council, and secretary general of the chamber of commerce (1334-39 Š./1955-61); Mošāfā Ḥosaynzāda, industrialist (owner of Kafš-e vīan); Akbar Lājavardīān, industrialist (Gorūh-e šana'tī-e Behšahr) and member of the representative body, the chamber of commerce, industries, and mines of Iran; Moḥammad-Ebrāhīm Nīkpūr, former President, Bānk-e Pārs, vice president, chamber of commerce, and member of the representative body, the chamber of commerce, industries, and mines of Iran.