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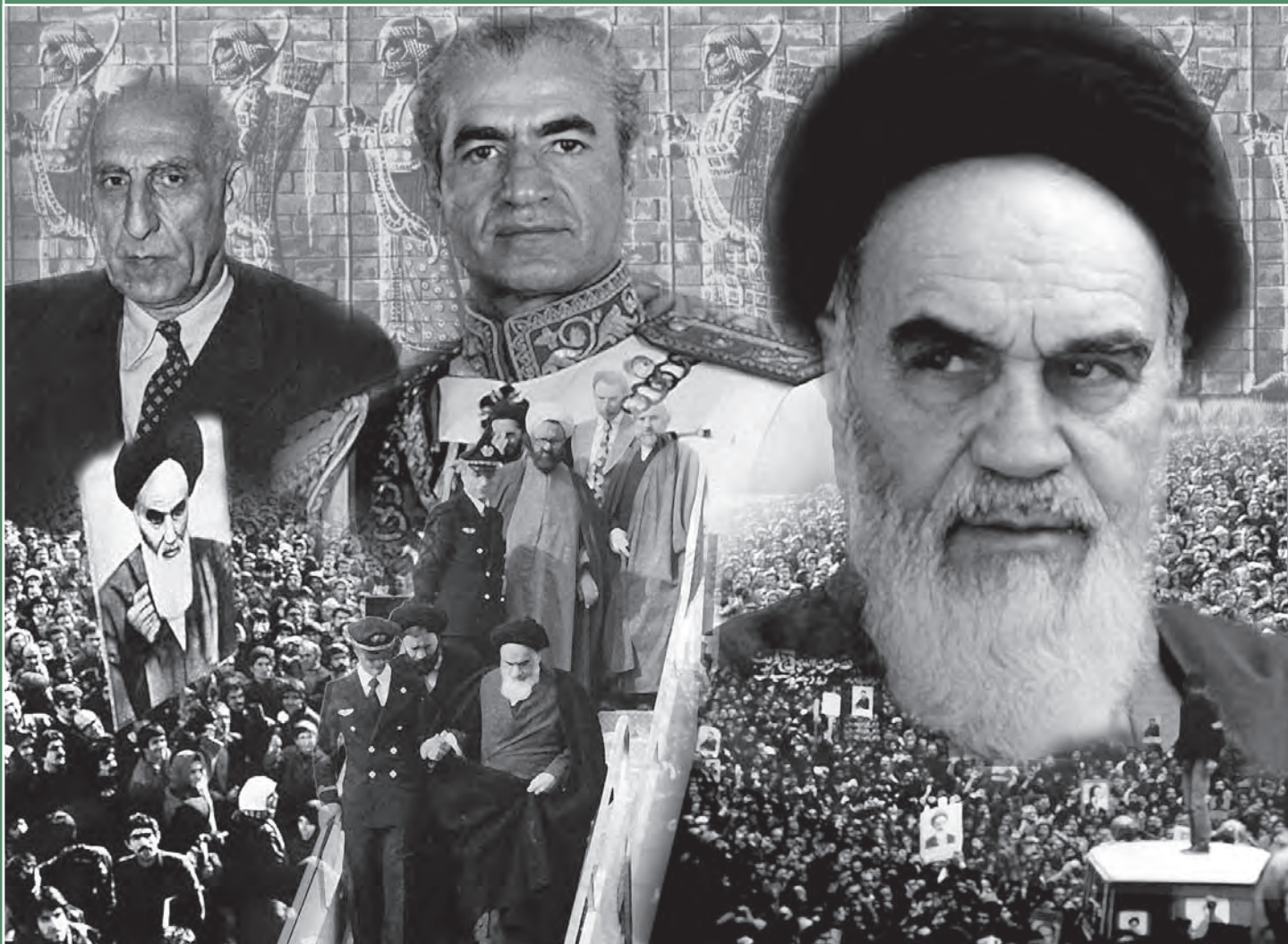
Explore the Past... Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

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Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution



THE **CHOICES** PROGRAM

Explore the Past... Shape the Future

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CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Iran Today



A Note on Terms

At the urging of scholars we have used Shi'i to refer to one of the branches of Islam in these readings. Shi'a is the plural form that refers to Shi'is collectively.

Introduction: The End of an Era

On January 16 1979, the shah [king] of Iran boarded a plane and left the country that he had ruled for thirty-eight years. The shah claimed he was going on an extended vacation. Iran was in the midst of a revolution and in truth, the shah knew his days as Iran's monarch were over. The fact that he carried a container of Iranian soil in his pocket suggested that he knew he would never return. At the time of his departure, most Iranians saw the shah as a corrupt and repressive leader who was a puppet of the United States.

Iranians were ready to replace the unjust and corrupt monarchy, but just what kind of government Iranians would choose remained unsettled. While most Iranians agreed it was time for the shah to go, his departure marked the beginning of a fierce debate about Iran's future. Many Iranians imagined an Iran with a parliamentary system and laws modeled on Western nations. Others hoped for a government based on Islam. Still others imagined a socialist future for Iran. Although a struggle for the future of Iran was about to begin, anger against the shah's monarchy had, for the moment, unified the Iranian people.

“This great movement was born of the struggle for freedom and its success would mean the freedom of all people. This movement has not been brought about by any single individual, group or ideology.... Our nation is at this critical stage in its history and destiny is not after any ideology. It is fighting for freedom. It is concerned lest it is dealt another blow and another despot comes into power. This is what I am worried about most. I request you unify behind a single goal and a single

slogan. Fight for people's freedom and struggle against imperialism and exploitation.”

—Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleqani, Leading Shi'i Cleric, January 18, 1979

This unity would not last. The Iranian Revolution would quickly become more than a fight for freedom from the shah. It would become the scene of ideological conflict and uncertainty as Iranians struggled to define the future of Iran.

The Iranian people were no strangers to political uncertainty. In the twentieth century alone, Iranians lived through three revolutions, two coups d'état, and three abdications. Its geographic location and oil resources made it highly desirable to Russia, Great Britain, and the United States, who wished to control and influence its politics.

As you read in the coming days, try to consider the following questions. Why was there so much upheaval and change in Iran? What were the events that led to anger against the shah and eventually to revolution? How did Iranians determine what sort of government they would have? Why is it important to understand the Iranian Revolution today?

In these readings and the activities that accompany them, you will explore the culture and history of Iran. You will examine the role of Islam and legacy of Persian culture, as well as the role other countries played in trying to shape Iran. You will then be asked to recreate the debate among the Iranian people as they pondered their future after the departure of the shah. Finally, at the end of the reading, you will consider how Iran has changed since the Revolution and Iran's role in international politics.

Part I: From Cyrus to Reza Shah

Iran's history and culture played an important role in the Iranian Revolution of 1979. The beliefs and values of Iranians helped shape the Revolution. These values have their origins in the Iranian people's understanding of their long history and society.

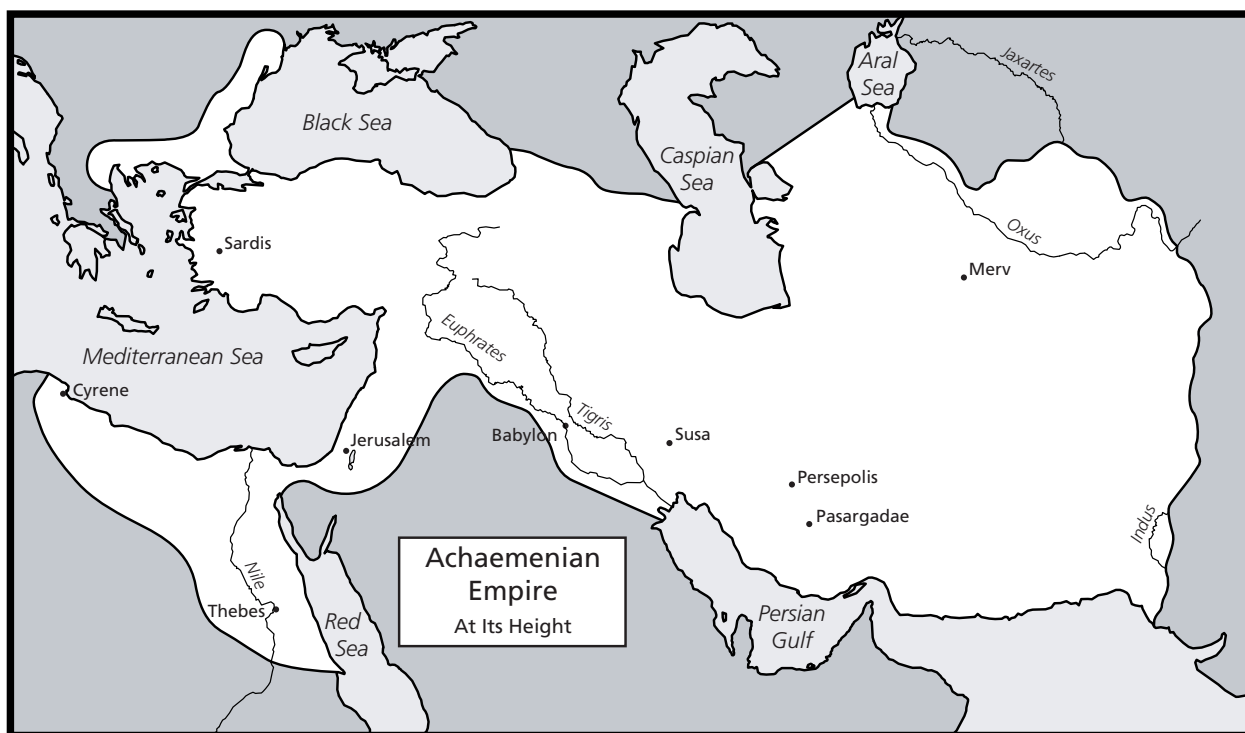
To help you understand what led to the revolution of 1979, Part I of your reading traces several thousand years of Iranian history. You will read about the origins of the values of social and economic justice that shaped Iranian political life. You will see how Shi'i Islam and political life in Iran became entwined. Finally, you will examine how an often ineffective and corrupt monarchy led to exploitation by foreign imperial powers and anger among Iranians, who wanted a better government.

Early Iran

Iran is an arid and mountainous country. The center of Iran is a large desert plateau bordered by high mountains. For many years, the lands of Iran were known as Persia. The

lands were named by the ancient Greeks for a nomadic tribe called the Parsa that moved into the region in about 1000 BCE. In addition to the Parsa, there were other tribes in the region who spoke different languages and who were of different ethnic origins. The tribes, based on extended family ties, were the organizing principle for ordinary Iranians. Tribal affiliations, in fact, were more important to Iranians than national or ethnic affiliations until the late twentieth century. As the many tribes gradually began to settle the region and to rely on agriculture for survival, they learned to adapt to the difficult terrain and the climate.

The scarcity of water forced the Parsa and other tribes to develop ways to distribute this essential resource fairly. This desire for fair and equitable distribution contributed to two developments that would have a lasting influence on the emerging society. The first was the development of a religion that emphasized justice and fairness. The second was the development of an effective government able to implement the rules that governed society.



What was Zoroastrianism?

The challenging geographical conditions contributed to the birth of a religion that would form the cornerstone of Iranian society for one thousand years. Born sometime between the tenth and seventh centuries BCE, the prophet Zoroaster traveled the Iranian plateau teaching about the nature of humanity and the responsibilities of human beings. Zoroaster's teachings helped establish one of the world's first systems of theology, known as Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrianism emphasized order, social justice, the idea that men and women were on earth to improve the world, and ultimate accountability before a single God. Zoroastrianism influenced all aspects of life in early Iran, including politics and government.

What were the contributions of the Achaemenian Empire?

At about the same time, another important development in Iranian history took place. In an effort to increase their security and wealth by acquiring more land and water, the Parsa and their leader Cyrus began a series of wars that conquered neighboring tribes. Cyrus called himself the King of Persia and was the first in a dynasty called the Achaemenian Empire. The empire became the largest the world had yet seen. It had an absolute monarch (a king or queen with sole governmental control) and centralized rule. Cities and towns grew during this period. The dynasty developed a postal system and built roads that were the most extensive in the region. Cyrus's successor Darius established a legal system, a system of taxation, and a government so efficient that the Romans later used it as a model for their own government.

The Achaemenian Empire ended after approximately two hundred years with the invasion of Alexander the Great in 330 BCE. Alexander, who came from Greece, ransacked and burned the Achaemenian city of Persepolis and used ten thousand horses and five thousand camels to carry away the empire's wealth.

After 130 years of Greek rule, a nomadic



An aerial view of the remnants of Ardeshir's palace.

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tribe overthrew the Greeks. Much of the population of Iran was made up of nomadic tribes. There were a series of wars among tribes until about 220 CE, when a man named Ardeshir began to reestablish central rule and authority over the tribes. The era was known as the Sassanian Dynasty, and it lasted until 637 CE. (The name Sassanian came from Ardeshir's grandfather.)

What were the important developments of the Sassanian dynasty?

One of the primary goals of the Sassanian dynasty was to unify the empire and to create political stability. Arts, architecture, and other elements of Persian culture flourished during the Sassanian era. Although Zoroastrianism beliefs encouraged the king to rule with a sense of social justice, Sassanian rulers emphasized establishing and maintaining social control and power.

Rigid class structures developed with the king at the top of the hierarchy. Priests and aristocratic landholders, whose positions were hereditary like the king's, also ranked near the top. The Sassanians prohibited intermarriage between classes and did not allow the lower classes to obtain property. The barriers between classes were sharp and insurmountable.

The establishment of these social rules in Iranian society marked the beginning of a political order and hierarchy that many viewed as oppressive and unjust. On the other hand, the people's opposition to this rigid social

hierarchy helped set the stage for the arrival of Islam, which had strong elements of social justice and equality as part of its message.

Islam and the Safavids

The arrival of Islam in the lands of Iran had a profound effect on Iranians and their history. Islam arrived when the Arabs conquered Iran between 637 and 651 CE. The Islamic message of justice and fairness appealed to the many Iranians who resented Sassanian rule. In addition, Islam shared some common ideas with Zoroastrianism, such as monotheism and the idea of good and evil. These similarities made it easier for Islam to take root in Iran. By the tenth century most Iranians had adopted the religion of Islam, but the achievements and culture of the pre-Islamic period continued to influence society. The language of Islam and the Koran was Arabic, but Persian remained the primary language in Iran.

Who was the Prophet Mohammad?

According to the Islamic religion, in 610 CE, a man named Mohammad, who lived in the city of Mecca on the Arabian Peninsula had a revelation from the angel Gabriel. He began to preach a message that had wide appeal extolling the values of generosity, solidarity, and courage. Mohammad saw himself as a successor of all the prophets of the Old and New Testaments, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. He called upon people to accept one eternal God who had created the universe.

Mohammad's teachings extended to social issues. Mohammad said that greed was bad and that the poor had the right to share the wealth of the rich. This idea appealed to the many impoverished people of the era.

By the time of his death in 632 CE, Mohammad had established a religion with clear guidelines for personal conduct and social order. He had also established a state that governed based on religious principles. Following his death, armies of Mohammad's followers set out to conquer and bring others into the faith. In four hundred years, the Arabic language

and Islam had spread from the Arabian peninsula to form a vast region.

About one hundred years after Mohammad's death, a controversy arose about his successor (see box). Islam divided into two branches, Shi'i and Sunni, who disagreed about who the rightful successor should be. One group, called Sunni, believed the election of Abu Bakr, Mohammad's first successor, to be rightful. The other, the Shi'a believed that only Mohammad's descendants, starting with his son-in-law and cousin Ali, were the legitimate successors.

What happened to Iran after the introduction of Islam?

After the Arab conquest, foreigners ruled Iran until about 1500 CE. Invasions from the east and the north brought vast destruction. Although this was a period of political disarray, violence, and rule by foreigners, Persian culture, particularly poetry and art, continued to flourish.

How did the Safavid dynasty begin?

After centuries of political upheaval and foreign rule, a new dynasty emerged. The Safavid Dynasty formed a powerful, highly organized state that endured for more than two hundred years. The dynasty began when a young man named Isma'il convinced many tribes that he was a descendant of Imam Ali. Isma'il and these tribes conquered the lands of Iran. He declared himself the shah [king] and proclaimed Shi'ism to be the mandatory faith of his kingdom.

During the Safavid Dynasty, Shi'i Islam became an integral part of Iranian political life. In turn, the Safavid rulers provided financial and political support that allowed Shi'i Islam to grow and flourish in Iran.

How did the role of Islamic clergy increase in Safavid Iran?

The Safavid shahs sponsored Shi'i clergy and established religious schools for educating theologians. They also recruited Shi'i theologians from neighboring Arab lands. These

theologians were known by the Arabic word *ulama*. The Safavids gave power to the *ulama*, who played an increasingly important role in Iranian society. Initially they were financially

dependent on the shah, but over time they became more independent as financial contributions and donations of property provided money for the Shi'i clergy and their educa-

Shi'ism

The life and times of the Prophet Mohammad, whose revelations from God became the basis of Islam, are very important to Muslims. After the death of the Prophet, Muslims disagreed about who would be Mohammad's successor. This disagreement led to the creation of the Shi'i sect of Islam. In the coming centuries Shi'ism would become the form of Islam most practiced in Iran.

Following the death of the Prophet in 632, Muslims elected a successor of the Prophet to lead them, called a caliph. The first four caliphs were elected, but only the fourth, Ali, was related by blood to the Prophet Mohammad. When Ali was killed, a man named Mu'awiya from a rival tribe took over as caliph.

According to the Shi'a, Ali was the only legitimate caliph of the first four because he was the only one related to the Prophet, which endowed him with special spiritual qualities that were essential for the leader of Islam to have. The word Shi'a literally means the partisans or followers of Ali. The Shi'a perceive the reign of Ali from 656 to 661 to exemplify a reign of justice and virtue. Stories of Ali's simplicity, his compassion for the poor, and his strength and just rule passed down through generations of Shi'a and provided for many the model of a political leader.

“You must be just, and the serving of the common man must be one of your prime objectives; the gratification of the aristocracy is insignificant and can be ignored in the face of the happiness of the masses.... Look after the deprived and dispossessed who need food and shelter. They deserve your help.... The people will obey their ruler if they are immune from his abuse.”

—Imam Ali, 661 CE

Those who were followers of Ali's leadership regarded Mu'awiya's and his successor's leadership as unjust and tyrannical. They urged Ali's son Hossein to challenge for the position of caliph. Hossein and all of his family, except for an infant son, were killed during that challenge. The Shi'a believe that Hossein's son and his successors were the true leaders of Islam, because they were descendants of the Prophet.

In later years, the Shi'a themselves split into two main groups as a result of another succession conflict. One group is called the Twelvers because they recognize a series of twelve *Imams* (leaders) after Ali. Twelvers believe that the twelfth Imam, Mohammad al-Mahdi, disappeared, but did not die in 871 CE. They believe that he is still alive and present on earth but remains concealed by God. They believe that he will someday reappear as the *Mahdi*, which means “divinely guided one,” before the day of judgement and fill the earth with justice. Another group of the Shi'a is called Seveners or Isma'ilis because they recognize the seventh leader, whose name was Isma'il. Most Iranians today are Twelvers.

The legacies of Imam Ali and his son Hossein remain important symbols for the Shi'a and have affected their understanding of their history and their relationship to the world. The importance that the Shi'a place on the reign of Ali have led them to emphasize equity, social justice, and the dignity of the individual. The death of Hossein has also led the Shi'a to see their history as one of persecution and martyrdom at the hands of outsiders and false leaders.

tional institutions. By the end of the Safavid dynasty in 1722, most Iranians identified with Shi'ism.

What was economic life like during the Safavid Dynasty?

The nomadic tribes, which had helped Shah Isma'il (1502-1524) conquer lands, were also an obstacle to Isma'il's ability to establish a stable, urban-based state. To gain control, Isma'il granted tribal leaders vast tracts of land in return for payments and taxes. To collect taxes, the shah built an organized and effective government.

Villages were the center of rural life, with peasants working the land controlled by landlords in return for a share of the harvest. The tribes raised cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Trade, crafts, and mining for minerals and precious metals also contributed to the wealth of the shah.

During the Safavid era, trade between Iran and other countries grew. The Safavids built roads, and exported silk and other textiles as well as ceramics to European countries. To encourage trade, Safavid rulers tolerated the religions of foreigners. The most famous Safavid ruler, Shah Abbas (1587-1629) encouraged the construction of Roman Catholic convents, supported Armenian trade networks, and existed peacefully with Jews within the Safavid kingdom.

European nations, anxious about the Ottoman Empire which bordered Iran, established diplomatic relations with the Safavids. By claiming large portions of land as the property of the crown, and systematically encouraging trade and production of crafts, Shah Abbas raised huge amounts of money in trade and taxes. He used the revenues to finance a giant army to protect Iran against the neighboring Ottoman Empire and to establish the capital city of Isfahan. At the time of Abbas's death, the population of Isfahan was approximately 400,000.

At the same time, Abbas ruled with an iron hand and did not hesitate to eliminate those who he thought opposed him, including

members of his own family. The authority of the shah under the Safavids was absolute and largely unchecked.

The shahs who came after Abbas were not as effective. The well-organized government of the Safavid state remained, but the standing army Isma'il and Abbas had built withered. In 1722, a tribal chief named Nadir Shah from what is today Afghanistan conquered Isfahan, bringing the Safavid Dynasty to an end in 1736.

The Qajar Dynasty (1779-1925)

After Nadir Shah's death in 1737, various tribal and regional confederations tried to establish control over Iran. In 1779, Agha Mohammad Khan, a chieftain of the Qajar tribe from northeastern Iran, consolidated power and established the Qajar dynasty.

What role did the clergy have in Qajar Iran?

The Qajars did not have the religious or political prestige of the Safavids. This situation enhanced the autonomy of the clergy, whose influence on Iranians exceeded that of the shah in certain respects. For example, Iranians increasingly attached themselves to a *mujtahid*: a member of the clergy who was recognized by other clergy as especially learned and able to render independent judgment about religion and law. The Shi'i religious establishment's say on the policies of the shahs would become more and more important in Iranian political life.

What role did nomadic tribes play in Qajar Iran?

In the early nineteenth century, nomadic tribes made up between one third and one half of the population of Iran. These various tribes governed themselves and often ruled the villages in their territory, and possessed the most powerful armed groups. The shahs often appointed tribal leaders as regional leaders or governors. The shahs also kept the power of these tribes in check by holding family members of tribal leaders as hostages, and by encouraging rivalries between the tribes.

What was daily life like under the Qajars?

Life in Qajar Iran was hierarchical and corrupt. Peasants and the poorer classes had no protection from exploitation and land seizure. Many poorer Iranians came to resent the shah.

During the Qajar Dynasty, taxes went to providing for a life of luxury for the shah. Little money went to things that might improve the lives of average Iranians, such as building roads or railways, or maintaining an army that would protect Iran. Iran was stuck in a system of patronage, where power and positions could be purchased from the shah. The economy lacked the infrastructure to grow.

Economic stagnation under the Qajars made Iran susceptible to interventions by powerful countries seeking to expand their wealth. During the nineteenth century, Britain and Russia began to play an active role in Iran.

How did Russia and Britain compete over Iran?

During the nineteenth century, both the British and Russian Empires sought to extend their influence into Iran. Russia was anxious to expand southward and obtain warm water ports on the Persian Gulf. Britain saw Russia's ambitions as a threat to the British colony of India. Iran fought two wars with Russia in 1813 and 1828, and lost a great deal of its territory in the north.

After the 1828 war, Russia forced Iran to accept the Treaty of Turkomanchai, which placed the Iranian government in heavy financial debt to Russia. The treaty also gave Russian merchants special privileges and favorable tariff rates in Iran (tariffs are taxes on imported goods).

Alarmed by Russia's expansion into Iranian territory, Britain informed the Russian government that it would not tolerate further Russian expansion in Iran. Neither country wanted to fight a war over Iran, so they agreed to let Iran serve as a buffer state between their empires. Nevertheless, both empires competed for influence in the Iranian government.

Britain negotiated a treaty of its own in 1857, which gave British merchants rights similar to those of the Russians. The powerful European economies began to export raw materials from Iran, while Iran imported manufactured goods from Europe.

What were concessions?

During the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896), British and Russian merchants sought to participate directly in Iran's economy. The shah's desire for money to finance his lifestyle as well as Iran's development led him to grant "concessions" to foreign merchants. The concessions gave foreigners the right to develop parts of Iran's economy. In 1863, for instance, the shah allowed a British company

Highlights of Major Iranian Dynasties

Society	Dates	Great Achievements
Achame-nian	530 to 330 BCE	Largest empire world had yet seen, built postal system, roads, legal system, and system of taxation; served as model for Rome
Sassanian	220 CE to 647 CE	Arts and culture flourished, established rigid social hierarchies; fell after Arab conquest
Safavid	1501-1736	Made Shi'i Islam official faith of the kingdom, organized an efficient government that built roads and traded with other countries, built the city of Isfahan
Qajar	1779-1925	Power of shah decreased, shahs used power to collect and dispense wealth, granted concessions to foreigners

to build the telegraph system in Iran. He gave Russian companies other concessions to balance what he had given to the British.

In 1872, the shah awarded a massive concession to a British baron, Julius de Reuter. Reuter was going to build railways, dams, and canals, and develop vast agricultural and mining areas in return for being able to operate them as monopolies. This concession created such a political firestorm within Iran and with the Russian government that the shah was forced to withdraw the concession a year later.

British and Russian squabbles over these concessions slowed the development of infrastructure that Iran needed to modernize its economy. The consequences were significant. For example, by the dawn of the twentieth century, Iran had only twenty miles of railroads.

Foreigners would continue to affect Iran throughout the twentieth century. Their presence and wealth, and the widespread perception that they were plundering Iran led to increased distrust of Europeans and other outsiders. This mistrust played a powerful role in Iranian politics.

Why did the shah's policies anger Iranians?

Although these concessions benefitted the Russians and the British and made the shah wealthy, his economic policies did little to develop the economy of Iran. Economic hardship and suffering, the giving of Iran's resources to foreigners, and pervasive inefficiency and corruption heightened public anger and resentment among Iranians.

Some Iranians who had contact with Europeans or who had studied abroad worried that they had fallen behind Europe, which was changing rapidly because of the Industrial Revolution, colonialism, and the Enlightenment. The states of Europe had developed new systems of law, economics, and education that had led to the growth of powerful nation-states. For these Iranians, the weak and ineffective Qajar government stood in stark contrast.

“The Westerners have conquered the world, not because of their belief in Jesus or Mary, but because of their capacity to build railroads, to create the telegraph system. We have lost, because we have become prisoners of our own superstitions and ignorance.”

—Jamal al-Din Afghani,
Cleric and Reformer

Some Iranians who had a chance to study in Europe, the neighboring Ottoman Empire, or in a few new schools in Iran, viewed Western science and technology as the key to building Iranian national power and wealth. Western liberal political ideas like democracy, representative government, and civil legal codes also influenced Iranian intellectuals. The intellectuals promoted their ideas and tried to initiate reforms. In response, Nasir al-Din Shah resorted to repressive measures.

What was the Tobacco Protest?

In 1890, for the relatively small fee of £15,000 pounds (approximately \$1.7 million in today's dollars) per year, the shah granted a British company the exclusive right to produce, sell, and export tobacco. Tobacco was widely consumed and popular in Iran. Iranians wondered why this right should be taken out of the hands of Iranians and given to foreigners as a monopoly. Iranians from all areas of society were outraged. Men and women participated in widespread protests against the concession and against the shah.

Two important sectors of Iranian society helped organize the protests and a boycott of tobacco. The first were the intellectuals. The second were the ulama, who supported the boycott because they believed that foreign encroachment presented a danger to Shi'i Islam. The cooperation of these two groups to end an injustice created a powerful political alliance, and rallied Iranians to the cause. After twenty-two days, the protests forced the shah to rescind the concession. Leaders of the clergy ruled that Iranians could use tobacco again.

Why was the D'Arcy oil concession important?

In 1901, Mozaffar al-Din Shah, the son of Nasir al-Din, granted another concession which would have a far-reaching effect on Iran. In exchange for 16 percent of the profits, the shah awarded an Englishman named William D'Arcy the right to the oil in most of Iran. When large quantities of oil were discovered in the coming years, the British government stepped in and became the largest shareholder in the company.

The Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911

Dissatisfaction among Iranians increased with the D'Arcy oil concession. Some Iranian intellectuals, merchants, and clergy formed secret societies where they discussed their unhappiness with the shah and with the status of Iran. Some intellectuals imagined an Iran without the absolute and corrupt monarchy of the shah. Members of the merchant class hoped for an economic system that would operate more fairly and efficiently. Some members of the clergy hoped to strengthen the role Shi'i Islam played in Iranian government and society.

While intellectuals brought ideas about political reform back with them from abroad, it was the clergy who mobilized and communicated to the masses. Some clergy remained loyal to the shah. But others believed that the influx of foreigners, the shah's corruption, and economic hardship threatened the well-being of Iranians.

How did protests lead to a parliament and constitution?

In 1905, protests against the shah broke into the open. Aggravated by years of mismanagement and corruption, concessions to foreigners, and a series of droughts and food shortages, resentment boiled over. The public demands for change led to the Constitutional Revolution.

Protestors demanded a constitution and a parliament (the Persian word for parliament

is Majlis). The shah, who was mortally ill and hoped to preserve the monarchy, agreed. In 1906, Iran's first elections for the parliament were held. The shah died shortly after the election. One of the first tasks of the Majlis was to write a constitution.

“We have not demanded anything from the government but justice. Our aim is to establish an assembly by which we may find out how much our helpless people suffer from the oppressive provincial government. We want justice, the execution of Islamic laws, and an assembly in which the king and the poor may be treated according to the law.”

—Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Tabatabai

How did the constitution change Iranian politics?

The constitution introduced new legal and political practices and redistributed authority in Iran. The elected Majlis received authority over treaties, loans, budgets, and concessions. It was also given the power to appoint and dismiss cabinet ministers. In addition, the constitution defined the rights of Iranian citizens.

The new constitution changed not only the laws of Iran but also the way that Iranians thought about government. Iranians had become citizens, not just subjects of the monarch. Members of the Majlis debated each other in public and had to answer to their constituents.

The constitution designated Twelver Shi'ism (one of the two main branches of Shi'i Islam) as the official religion of Iran and gave a committee of learned clerics the power to review legislation to ensure that it did not contradict the fundamental principles of Shi'ism. The ulama, which had rallied support for the constitution, ensured that the new Iranian government's most important goal would be to protect and support Shi'i Islamic features of Iranian society.

Although the Constitutional Revolution had unified Iranian society against the au-

thority of the shah, there were disagreements among and within the factions. For example, some members of the ulama did not support freedom of the press or freedom of speech, which they thought could undermine religion. They also argued that non-Muslims should not be treated as the equals of Muslims before the law.

How did Britain's and Russia's roles in Iran help the shah weaken the new constitution?

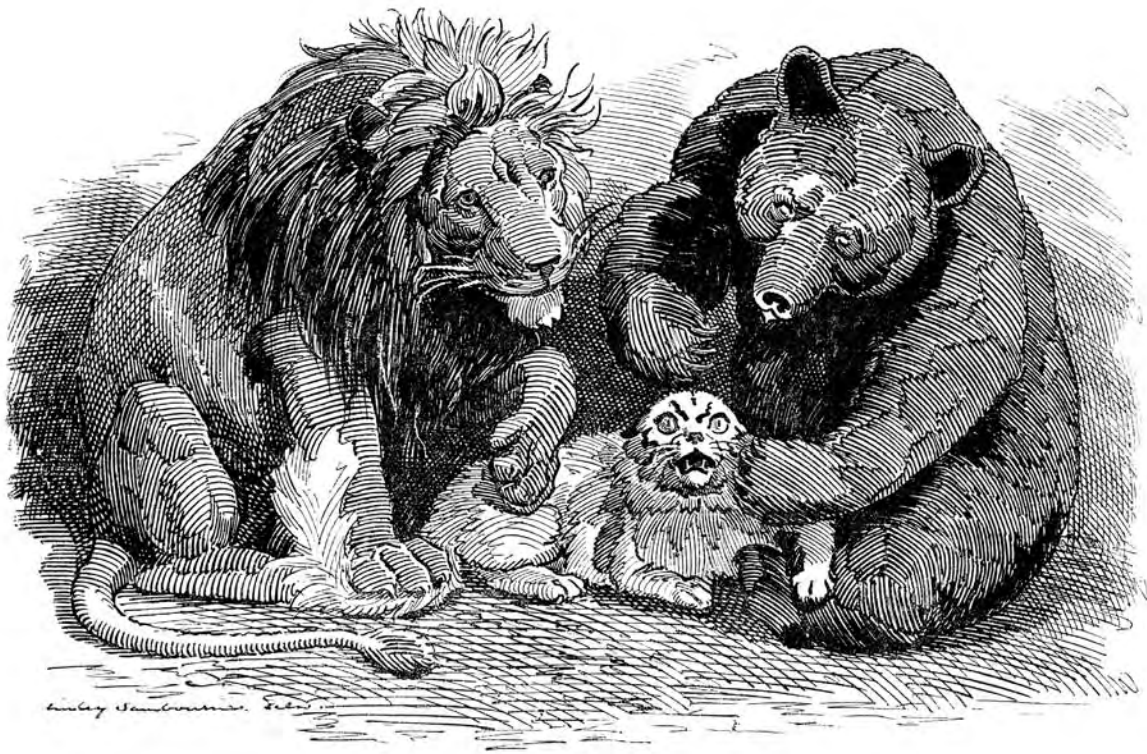
The new shah, Muhammad Ali, was not ready to relinquish all the power of the monarchy so easily. Domestic economic problems and the continuing role of Britain and Russia created public discontent and helped him challenge the new constitutional form of government.

In 1907, Russia and Britain signed a treaty in which they agreed to settle their differences in the region. Consequently, Russia would

claim northern Iran as falling within its sphere of influence and Britain would claim the southeast. They agreed that there would be a neutral zone in the middle.

Muhammad Ali Shah argued that the new constitutional form of government was even less successful than the old government in protecting Iran from foreign interference. High prices and inflation contributed to public dissatisfaction. The Russians encouraged the shah to order the army to attack the Majlis's building in Tehran. The shah also had the leaders of the constitutional movement arrested and then executed.

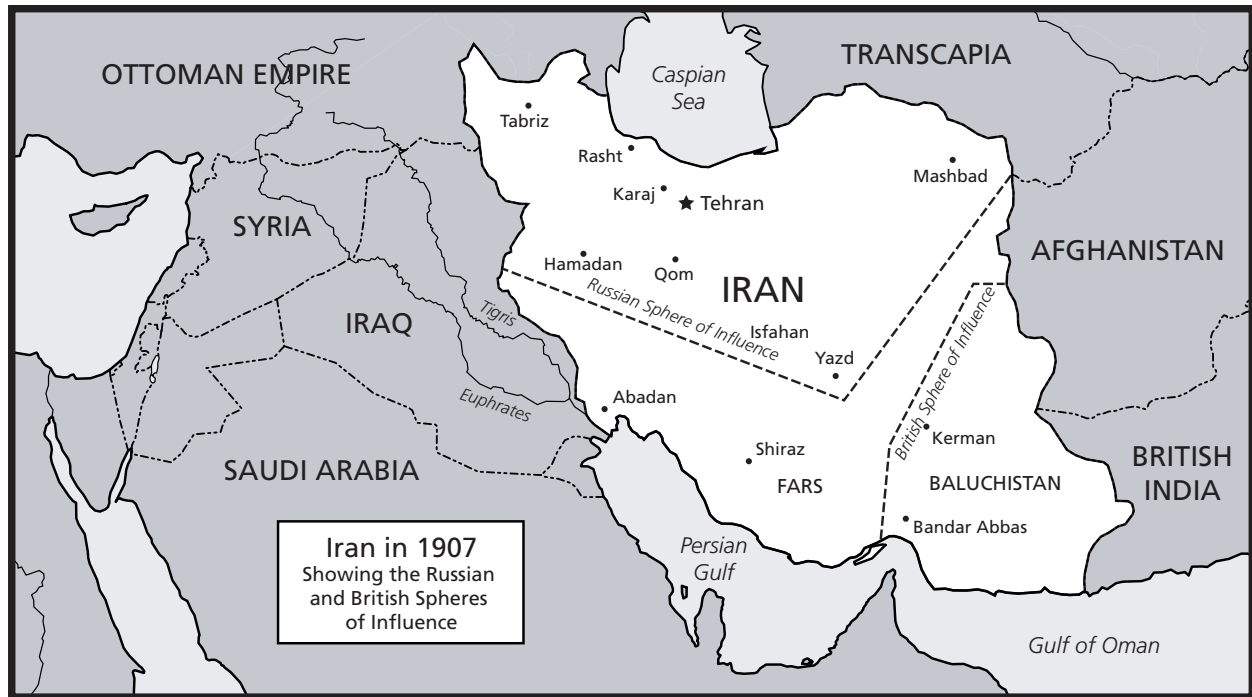
The coalition of clergy, intellectuals, and merchants, which had united against the shah in 1906, split over disagreements about the relationship between the state and religion and what kinds of social and political reforms should be prioritized.



THE HARMLESS NECESSARY CAT.

BRITISH LION (to Russian Bear). "LOOK HERE! YOU CAN PLAY WITH HIS HEAD, AND I CAN PLAY WITH HIS TAIL, AND WE CAN BOTH STROKE THE SMALL OF HIS BACK."

PERSIAN CAT. "I DON'T REMEMBER HAVING BEEN CONSULTED ABOUT THIS!"



With Iranian society divided and the central government weakened, fighting broke out and tribal groups again asserted their power. In 1909, pro-constitution tribesmen and militias entered Tehran, deposed the shah, and replaced him with his nine-year-old son.

How did Russia and Britain respond to war in Iran?

In 1911, Britain landed troops in the south to protect the newly discovered oil fields there. Russian troops pushed into the north and threatened to occupy Tehran unless the government dismissed a recently appointed American financial advisor whose actions threatened Russian and British interests. When the Majlis refused, the Iranian cabinet dissolved the Majlis and gave in to Russian and British demands.

Although Iran still had a constitution and a limited monarch, both Britain and Russia controlled their sections of the country and dealt with tribal leaders in these areas, not the central government in Tehran. The occupation heightened resentment of the British and the Russians whom Iranians saw as helping the shah end the Constitutional Revolution. Elec-

tions for the Majlis did not take place again until 1914.

How did World War I affect Iran?

When World War I began in 1914, Iran remained neutral. Nevertheless, the war had a devastating impact on Iran. Iran's economy shrunk by 25 percent. (Germany's decreased by 25 percent and France's by 11 percent.) Parts of Iran were occupied by the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Great Britain. The presence of these armies severely limited any authority that the shah or the government in Tehran could exert. Iran considered itself an unwilling victim of the war, and petitioned for redress at the Paris Peace Conference at the end of the war. While U.S. President Woodrow Wilson was sympathetic, the British government, with plans of its own for Iran's future, showed no interest.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 led to the withdrawal of Russian troops from the north of Iran. Britain then became the dominant foreign power in Iran. During World War I, Iranian oil had helped fuel the British fleet. After the war, Britain took steps to ensure it would maintain access to oil and that Iran would serve as a

buffer against now-socialist Russia.

“If it should be asked why we should undertake the task at all, and why Persia should not be left to herself and allowed to rot into picturesque decay, the answer is that her geographical position, the magnitude of our interests in the country, and the future safety of our Eastern Empire render it impossible for us now—just as it would have been impossible for us any time in the last fifty years—to disinherit ourselves from what happens in Persia.... if Persia were to be alone, there is every reason to fear that she would be overrun by Bolshevik influence from the north. Lastly, we possess in the southwestern corner of Persia great assets in the shape of oil fields, which are worked for the British navy and which give us a commanding interest in that part of the world.”

—Lord Curzon, British Foreign Secretary, 1919

The Iranian prime minister decided to embrace British involvement in Iran with the hope that it would provide the financial and institutional support that Iran needed to strengthen the central government. He negotiated the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, which would have made Iran a British protectorate. For the many Iranians who had been angered by the meddling of foreign powers for years and years, this was not a popular position. Unrest and protests ensued. Ultimately, the Majlis refused to ratify the agreement.

Reza Shah (1925-1941) Pahlavi Dynasty

In 1921, an ambitious colonel named Reza Khan, tired of the weak Iranian government, took three thousand soldiers into Tehran, arrested some leading politicians, and asked the shah to appoint a new prime minister. By 1923 Reza Khan had become prime minister

himself, expanded the armed forces, and purchased weapons. With a strengthened military, he reduced the power of the tribes and asserted control over the country. In 1925, the Majlis voted to abolish the Qajar dynasty and appointed him the shah. He announced that his family's ruling name would be Pahlavi, after the name for the Persian language spoken before the Muslim conquest of Iran.

What did Reza Shah hope to change in Iran?

Reza Shah hoped to build Iran into a modern state and modern economy like the western states of Europe. He worked to strengthen the role of the central government and to concentrate power in his hands. Reza Shah ordered the construction of new roads, railroads, factories, hospitals, and ports. He expanded public education at all levels for boys and for girls.

He sent the army into tribal areas, limited the tribes' movements, and forced them to disarm. Tribal rebellions were ruthlessly put down. These policies impoverished and weakened the tribes. Thousands died at the hands of the army and from starvation. One of the results of Reza Shah's policies was that Iranians moved from rural areas into cities.

How did Reza Shah try to reduce the power of the ulama?

Some of the changes Reza Shah mandated brought him into conflict with the ulama. Reza Shah believed that the clergy's power prevented Iran's modernization. In fact, many of the policies he enacted were designed to weaken the power of the clergy and make Iran a more secular society. For example, he took funds from the money-generating land endowments that the Shi'i clergy had held since the Safavid era. His expansion of public education also reduced the ulama's role in education.

A central component of Reza Shah's reforms included significant changes in the legal system. During the 1920s and 1930s, Iran adopted a legal system similar to that of France. The new legal system wrenched the ultimate authority of Iranian law from the hands of the

clergy. New laws required men to dress in a western style and prohibited *hijab* (veiling) for women, which Reza Shah saw as standing in the way of modernizing Iran. His policy was to unveil women with force.

Although many Iranians embraced Reza Shah's plans for modernization of Iran, his efforts to reduce the role of Islam in public life contributed significantly to his unpopularity with ordinary Iranians. He tolerated no dissent and enforced his policies with violence, terror, and fear. For example, in 1935 when religious leaders organized a protest in a mosque against the forced unveiling of women, he had the army massacre more than one hundred of the protesters. He also ordered newspapers censored. Opposition leaders were killed, arrested, or forced into exile. In addition, Reza Shah suspended elections and hand picked members of the Majlis, who in turn appointed a cabinet and prime minister.

How did the lives of women change during the reign of Reza Shah?

The lives of women changed during the reign of Reza Shah. The Shah encouraged the education of women, though three times as many boys as girls received a formal education. An unintended consequence of the shah's policy of banning hijab was that many families who were religiously observant kept their girls out of school. Although women did not have political, social, or economic equality, women did begin to have more opportunities for work. Women were admitted to the University of Tehran. Most of these changes only affected women in middle and upper classes and did little to change traditional assumptions about the subjugation of women to men.

How did Reza Shah attempt to limit the influence of foreign powers in Iran?

Reza Shah intended to create a strong national identity in Iran. He had marginalized the role of the tribes and oppressed different ethnic groups, including Kurds and Arabs. To build national pride, the shah cited periods of national greatness prior to the arrival of Islam in his speeches. He extolled the achievements of the ancient Persian kings, Cyrus and Darius, and the Safavid Dynasty. Reza Shah also changed the name of the country used in foreign communications from Persia, the name that foreign powers used, to Iran, the name used by Iranians themselves. He even ordered that foreign mail that included the word Persia on it be returned to its sender.

Reza Shah attempted to reduce the role of foreign powers in Iran—particularly Great Britain. The shah prohibited the sale of property to foreigners, refused to take loans from foreign countries to fund his building projects, and ended a concession that had given the British-owned Imperial Bank of Iran the sole right to manage Iranian currency. Nevertheless, Britain retained its monopolistic control of Iranian oil. There were more workers in the British owned oil fields than in all other Ira-



Reza Shah signs his own abdication while his son Mohammad Reza looks on.

Roger Viollet Collection. Getty Images. Used with permission.

nian industries combined, although very few Iranians held important technical and administrative jobs.

How did the German presence in Iran led to the shah's abdication?

During the 1930s, the shah allowed Nazi Germany to play an increasing role in Iran. Between 1939 and 1941, Germany became Iran's leading trading partner. Reza Shah had a deep distrust of the British and hoped a German presence would balance the power of the British. Hundreds of German agents operated in Iran, using it as a base of operations against British interests throughout the region during World War II.

With the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Allied leaders worried that Nazi Germany would use Iran as a base for military operations against the Soviet Union. The British and Soviet governments sent a note to Reza Shah demanding the expulsion of all Germans from Iran. The shah did not give in, and in late August 1941, Soviet forces moved in from the north, British from the south.

“We have decided that the Germans must go, and if Iran will not deport them, then the English and the Russians will.”

—leaflet dropped from British planes over Tehran, August 1941

Under pressure from the Allies, Reza Shah relinquished the throne to his son, Mohammad Reza, in September 1941. Deported from Iran, he died in 1944.

“I cannot be the nominal head of an occupied land, to be dictated to by a minor English or Russian officer.”

—Reza Shah's resignation statement, September 16, 1941

During the occupation, both the Soviet Union and Great Britain worked to influence Iranian politicians and interest groups. Britain,

which had allowed the young and inexperienced Mohammad Reza to succeed his father, saw the new shah as someone whom they could influence. For his part, Mohammad Reza Shah knew that he owed his position and his power to British officials.

How did the occupation of Iran during World War II affect Iran's politics?

During World War II, neither Mohammad Reza Shah nor the Majlis had final control over policy in Iran. The occupation of Iran reduced the power of the central government and led to the rise of factions in Iranian political life, each vying for influence.

With a weak shah and government, conditions were right for the growth of competing political groups and ideas. Newspapers flourished and called for economic and political change. New political parties began to emerge, including the “Tudeh” (masses), an anti-monarchist party. Initially moderate and liberal, the Tudeh party increasingly came to reflect the policies and wishes of the Soviet Union. It grew strongest in the north, the Soviet zone in Iran.

“When the Allies deposed Reza Shah....

We were really free; you could say anything you felt like saying, write almost anything you felt like writing and wear almost anything you felt like wearing. Women such as my aunt, who hadn't left her house since Reza Shah's forced unveiling of women, felt as if they had been released from prison, because they could appear in the streets in their chadors. But what could we do with our freedom? Watch the British, American, and Russian soldiers who protected goods going from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian?.. Because when Reza Shah went, it was really clear how weak and poor we really were.”

—Jalal-al-e Ahmad, Iranian Writer

In addition, another emerging world power began to gain a foothold in Iran. The United States sent financial advisors to assist the Iranian government and military officers who trained the Iranian police and army. U.S. policy makers were quick to realize that the United States would want a share of Iran's oil after the war. Both the Americans and the Soviets began negotiating for oil concessions in Iran like the one the British already possessed.

“I was informed...that the United States after the war was to play a large role in that region with respect to oil, commerce, and air transport, and that a big program was under way.”

—Dr. A.C. Millsaugh, American
Administrator General of Iranian Finances

How did World War II affect Iran's economy?

The occupation and the presence of foreign troops strained the economy of Iran. The wartime allies commandeered use of Iran's transportation facilities like the railroad to send supplies to the Soviet Union. This made internal trade in Iran more difficult. Prices rose for basic goods, including food supplies. Many Iranians suffered from famine after a bad harvest in 1942. In addition, there was little money for the government to invest in infrastructure or programs to develop Iran's economy. Between 1930 and 1941, approximately 35 percent of government expenditures had gone to state industries or economic projects. By 1945, the share of economic development in government expenditures was only 7 percent. At the conclusion of World War II, Iran was an economically destroyed country, still subject to foreign interference, and ruled by a weak shah.

In Part I of your reading, you have explored several thousand years of Iranian history. You have seen how the values of Zoroastrianism and Islam took root and affected Iranian political life. In particular, the Safavid Dynasty's (1501-1722) declaration that Shi'i Islam was the religion of the state and its support of the clergy strengthened the role of Islam in Iran. In addition, you have read how Iran's rulers often struggled to centralize control and assert their power. You have also seen that foreign concessions increased Iranian anger at the shah and resentment of outsiders. The concessions violated many Iranians' sense of economic justice and fairness, and reminded them of their own national weakness. Many also saw the presence of Westerners as a threat to Iran's religion and culture. As you read Part II, try to keep these themes in mind. They will help you understand the reasons behind the next dramatic events in Iran.



An American engine in Iran transporting Allied aid for the Soviet Union during the Second World War.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-USW3-028145-E.

Part II: Mossadegh to Khomeini

At the end of the Second World War, Iran stood at a crossroads. Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States had agreed to withdraw their occupation forces six months after the end of the war. Each would have to reassess its own position and role in Iran.

The question of how Iranians would govern their country assumed new importance. The constitution of 1906 remained in place, and with the departure of the dictatorial Reza Shah, the Majlis and prime minister assumed increasingly important roles in Iranian politics.

Why did Iran become more open politically during the occupation?

During the occupation of Iran throughout the Second World War, the young and inexperienced Mohammad Reza Shah was unable to exercise the political power that his father had. This meant that those whose political ideas had been suppressed during his father's reign found themselves able to participate in politics. A free press flourished. With elections for the Majlis every two years, and the introduction of new political ideas, Iran began to develop a more democratic political process.

At the same time, struggles for power among the branches of government led to frequent change. For example, between 1941 and 1951, the prime minister and the cabinet changed, on average, every eight months.

How did the shah attempt to strengthen his power?

Following an assassination attempt in 1949, Mohammad Reza Shah drew on public sympathy to back his efforts to increase his power. He put pressure on the Majlis to accept a new law that would allow him to dissolve the Majlis and then call for new elections. He also demanded and received the right to appoint the prime minister, previously the prerogative of the Majlis.

Many voices and interest groups in Iranian

politics had developed by this time. For the lower classes, basic economic issues were a concern. Unemployment was high and approximately 60 percent of Iranians who lived in towns and cities lived in slums. Those in the upper classes wished for a government that would be more efficient, free from foreign control, and that would promote economic growth and stability. University graduates, frustrated by their lack of opportunities for employment that utilized their education, joined and led social protest movements. The ulama, whose influence had been suppressed during Reza Shah's reign, pushed for a reassertion of Islamic law. Many women returned to wearing *chadors*, a traditional Persian Islamic dress. Increased political freedom and widespread economic hardship led to social unrest and calls for change and reform.

Why did resentment of foreign powers unite Iranians?

While Iranians had differing views of politics, most were united by the desire to see the end of foreign involvement in Iran. Iranians had a long list of grievances. High on the list were the concessions to foreigners. The list also included the repeated British and Russian incursions into Iranian lands since the nineteenth century. Finally, the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) became a focus of resentment and represented to Iranians the exploitation and weakness of Iran.

“All of Iran’s misery, wretchedness, lawlessness, and corruption during the last fifty years has been caused by oil and the extortions of the oil company.”

—Radio Tehran, June 1, 1951

Mohammad Mossadegh and Oil Nationalization

Britain's role in Iran's oil industry had its origins in 1901, when Mozaffar al-Din Shah granted William D'Arcy a concession for oil

in southern Iran. With the discovery of oil, the British government stepped in and became the majority shareholder of the company. The terms of the arrangements with Iran were extremely favorable for the British. Even though Iran negotiated the terms again in 1933, the British had secured rights to oil through 1993 and at a fixed rate of royalty payments to Iran. Increasing profits and rising prices brought more and more profit to the AIOC, but no more to the Iranian government. In addition, the royalties were paid only on the unrefined crude oil. Iranians received nothing for AIOC's profitable refining and distribution operations.

By the late 1940s, Iran had become the world's fourth largest oil exporter, and produced 90 percent of Europe's oil. The AIOC excluded Iranians from skilled jobs and gave Iran no say in the running of the company. Iranians were not permitted to examine the company's financial records to ensure they were being treated fairly.

Other factors contributed to Iranian resentment of the AIOC. Working conditions at the refinery in the city of Abadan were atrocious. Iranian workers lived in rat-infested slums without running water or electricity. These workers made about fifty cents a day and were not entitled to vacations or sick days. British managers ran the company and lived in the British section of Abadan with swimming pools, clubs, and tennis courts. When riots broke out in Abadan in 1946, the Iranian public demanded that their government renegotiate the terms of the arrangement with the AIOC.

What were the results of negotiations between the AIOC and the Iranian government?

When the Iranians demanded a renegotiation of the oil agreement, Britain was not anxious to accommodate Iranian demands. For more than two centuries, Britain had built its empire by extracting resources from its colonies and protectorates on terms greatly advantageous to Britain. Accommodation of local interests had never been a priority. Disagreements were settled through the threat or use



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The AIOC oil refinery at Abadan in 1951.

of force. Britain manipulated local politicians behind the scenes with bribes or coercion if necessary to ensure policies favorable to the British Empire. In Iran, British officials had the ear of the shah.

In addition, Britain was in the midst of post-war financial hardship and relied on Iranian oil to fuel its economy. Nevertheless, Iranian threats to revoke the concession altogether and continuing violence at Abadan forced the British to the negotiation table. They offered to train more Iranians for high-level positions and promised that royalty payments would not drop below £4 million pounds per year (about \$134 million in today's dollars). They did not offer Iran any say in the running of the AIOC or the right to examine the financial records to ensure Iran received its fair share of royalties.

Why did the shah want to support the Supplemental Agreement with Britain?

In Iran, British officials had advised and groomed Mohammad Reza Shah to serve their interests. Indeed, it had been British officials who had allowed Mohammad Reza to succeed his father in 1941. He knew he owed his position to the British and calculated that he could strengthen his power by supporting them in their quest for a modified agreement,

even though it was a deal tilted in favor of the British. Mohammad Reza Shah was anxious that these new terms, known as the Supplemental Agreement, be accepted. In July 1949, the shah ordered cabinet members to accept them, which they did. Much to the shah's frustration the Majlis refused to support the Supplemental Agreement.

Why did the Majlis refuse to support the Supplemental Agreement with Britain?

The constitution required the Majlis to ratify the agreement for it to become law. Members of the Majlis were aware that public opinion was strongly against accepting the terms dictated by the British, yet they were also afraid to anger the shah. Debate began, but was interrupted by elections for the next session of the Majlis. Anxious to pass the supplemental agreement, the shah resorted to bribes and electoral fraud to place his supporters in the Majlis. Outraged by the shah's attempts to hijack the vote, a prominent politician named Mohammad Mossadegh led protests in Tehran in October 1949 for new and fair elections for the Majlis. There were protests in other cities as well. Ultimately, the shah gave in.

Mossadegh formed a coalition of political parties into the "National Front," which wanted to free Iran from foreign influence. The National Front included secular groups, who were opposed to foreign influence and hoped to build an Iranian democracy, and members of the ulama, led by the Ayatollah Kashani. The pro-Soviet Tudeh party also supported the goals of the National Front. Though these groups held dramatically different political viewpoints, they were unified by the desire to nationalize Iran's oil resources, which meant returning control of these resources to Iran.



Members of the Tudeh Party demonstrating for nationalization of the AIOC.

“Islamic doctrines apply to social life, patriotism, administration of justice and opposition to tyranny and despotism. Islam warns its adherents not to submit to a foreign yoke.”

—Ayatollah Kashani, 1951

How did the shah respond to the demands of the National Front?

Mossadegh and the National Front called for the end of the oil concession to the British. In February 1951, Mossadegh proposed full nationalization of the AIOC. This had widespread appeal throughout Iran.

The prime minister, newly appointed by the Shah, rejected the proposal. On March 7, a member of the Fedaian-e Islam, a group that had links to Ayatollah Kashani, assassinated the prime minister. Iranians demonstrated in support of nationalization of the oil industry throughout the country. On March 15, the Majlis passed a bill nationalizing the AIOC. The Majlis requested that the shah appoint Mossadegh as the new prime minister. Under intense domestic political pressure, the shah appointed Mossadegh as prime minister and signed the nationalization bill.

Photo by Dmitri Kessel. ©Time Life Pictures/Getty Images. Used with permission.

How did Britain respond to the nationalization?

Britain's response was rapid. Britain depended on the revenues from the AIOC as well as the oil itself. Britain increased its military forces in the region, filed a complaint with the International Court of Justice, and asked the United Nations (UN) Security Council to intervene. Mossadegh went to the UN in New York to argue Iran's case.

“My countrymen lack the bare necessities of existence. Their standard of living is probably one of the lowest in the world. Our greatest national asset is oil. This should be the source of work and food for the population of Iran. Its exploitation should properly be our national industry, and the revenue from it should go to improve our conditions of life. As now organized, however, the petroleum industry has contributed practically nothing to the well being of the people or to the technical progress or industrial development of my country.”

—Mohammad Mossadegh, speech to the UN, October 15, 1951

Britain refused to accept the nationalization of the AIOC and even considered invading Iran, a possibility that alarmed U.S. officials. U.S. President Truman (1945-1953) urged both sides to reach a compromise. The United States, now deep in the Cold War, worried that a continuing crisis in Iran could lead to increased Soviet influence or even control of Iran. Britain led an international boycott of Iranian oil. Oil revenues that were needed to fuel the Iranian economy dried up. Iran and the Mossadegh-led government faced a severe financial crisis.

“Persian oil is of vital importance to our economy, and we regard it as essential to do everything possible to prevent the Persians from getting away with a breach of their contractual obligations.”

—British Prime Minister
Clement Atlee, 1951

British intelligence officials in Iran began working behind the scenes to engineer a coup against Mossadegh. This confirmed for Mossadegh that the British were untrustworthy negotiating partners. In October 1952, Mossadegh broke diplomatic relations with Britain and expelled all British officials from Iran.

International Events and Iran

Events beyond Iran's borders had a profound impact on events in Iran. Almost immediately after World War II ended, tensions increased between the former wartime allies, the Soviet Union and the United States. The confrontation, known as the Cold War, would shape the relations of the United States and Iran for the next thirty-five years. One of the earliest confrontations of the Cold War was the presence of the Soviet military in northern Iran, which the United States and Britain demanded be withdrawn.

Another development was the decline of the British Empire. World War II had nearly bankrupted Britain, and Britain's postwar leaders saw their enormous empire as a financial burden because of the costs of defending against growing local resistance. Britain, which had been the leading imperial power in the Middle East since the 1840s, told American officials in 1947 that Britain could no longer maintain its presence in the Middle East. Britain urged the administration of President Harry Truman to fill the vacuum in the Middle East ahead of the Soviets. Britain's declining power and U.S. fear of Soviet expansion would have profound effects on Iran. These effects would include the U.S. sponsorship of Mossadegh's overthrow and the nearly unqualified support of the shah for the next twenty-five years.

Plotting for the coup came to a halt for the time being.

What other reforms did Mossadegh attempt to enact in Iran?

Mohammad Mossadegh was a strong nationalist who hoped to rid Iran of what he saw as crippling and parasitic foreign influences. He was a strong advocate of the rule of law and for the constitution. He also worked to reduce the power of the shah and the size of the army. In 1952, he convinced the Majlis to take control of the army out of the hands of the shah and place it under the control of the Majlis and prime minister. Finally, he hoped to enact land reforms, which would reduce the power of wealthy landowners and allow peasants to own their own land. These proposed land reforms alienated the powerful landowners who dominated the Majlis.

By 1953, economic hardships due to high prices led to public dissatisfaction with the Mossadegh-led government. The Tudeh party led demonstrations in cities. In addition, some of the ulama saw Mossadegh's programs and ideas as too secular.

What role did the United States play in Iran?

Initially, the United States hoped that Great Britain and AIOC would come to some sort of compromise with Mossadegh. The Truman administration worried that Britain's failure to compromise, and any efforts to get rid of Mossadegh might result in Iran turning to the Soviets.

“...the British are so obstructive and determined on a rule-or-ruin policy in Iran that we must strike out on an independent policy or run the risk of having Iran disappear behind the Iron Curtain.”

—Dean Acheson, secretary of state for President Harry S. Truman, 1951

How did the British and the Americans overthrow Mossadegh?

The U.S. emphasis on compromise

changed with the election of President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961). New U.S. officials also worried about Iran falling into the Soviet orbit, but they were willing to take steps that the Truman administration had not taken.

American and British officials saw the shah as key to their goals in Iran. Both countries wanted an oil-producing Iran firmly aligned against the Soviet Union. They aimed to rid Iran of the Mossadegh government, and increase the power of the shah, whom they were convinced would do their bidding. The shah, who was also anxious to increase his power, approved of the coup in advance.

The United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) came up with a plan to overthrow Mossadegh. Although British diplomats and spies were no longer in Iran, they had a well-established network of Iranians



Photo by James Whitmore. ©Time Life Pictures/Getty Images. Used with permission.

The CIA paid thugs to roam the streets and intimidate those opposed to the shah during the 1953 coup. Here a famous wrestler known as Shaban “the Brainless” Jafari attacks two anti-shah demonstrators.

who worked for them. This included members of the clergy and the military, many of whom saw Mossadegh's reforms as a threat to their ideas and their power.

The plan was to convince the Iranian people that Mossadegh was corrupt, an enemy of Islam, and pro-communist. CIA agents bribed newspapers and religious leaders to spread these ideas. The CIA also paid for physical attacks on religious leaders and made it appear as if the attacks had been organized by Mossadegh supporters. The CIA bribed members of the military so that they would help carry out the coup and paid protesters to demonstrate against the government. U.S. involvement turned Iran into a hotbed of instability, rioting, and chaos.

Although the shah fled to Rome when it appeared that the coup might fail, the CIA convinced its Iranian allies to press on. On August 19, 1953, they captured Mohammad Mossadegh. Members of the Majlis, who had been bribed by the CIA or who were weary of Mossadegh's land-reform project, voted to dismiss Mossadegh as prime minister. General Fazlollah Zahedi announced that the shah had appointed him as prime minister. The shah, believing incorrectly that he was returning to widespread adoration and support, boarded a plane and flew back to Tehran.

“I knew it! I knew it! They love me!”

—Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi,
August 19, 1953

Royal Dictatorship

Anxious to avoid a repeat of the threats to his power and throne, the shah took steps to ensure that these events would not occur again. More experienced than he was when he took the throne in 1941, the shah was also anxious to modernize Iran and make it a more powerful country. He had the support of the United States and Britain, who wanted a stable, oil-producing Iran as an ally against the Soviet Union.

What steps did the shah take to consolidate his power?

To secure the support of Britain and the United States to which he owed his position, the shah moved quickly to settle the oil dispute that had sparked Mossadegh's rise to power. Terms were renegotiated so that Iran would receive 50 percent of oil revenues, an arrangement similar to other deals that the United States had in the region. The shah disbanded the National Front and tried and imprisoned its leaders, including Mohammad Mossadegh.

“My only crime is that I nationalized the Iranian oil industry and removed from this land the network of colonialism and the political and economic influence of the greatest empire on earth.”

—Mohammad Mossadegh, at his 1953 trial

The shah also banned the pro-Soviet Tudeh party. With the help of the United States and Israel he formed SAVAK (in Persian, SAVAK stood for Intelligence and Security Organization of the Country), a secret police organization, which he used to hunt down Tudeh members and other opponents. SAVAK became known for its mistreatment, torture, and execution of the shah's opponents. The shah's actions severely limited the public expression of political ideas and effective public opposition.

During the 1950s, the United States provided more than \$500 million in military aid to the shah. The shah, in turn, followed a strongly pro-American foreign policy that many Iranians didn't support. Memories of the U.S. role in the coup of 1953 persisted.

With an increasingly powerful military and SAVAK at his disposal, the shah had more power in his hands. While elections to the Majlis continued, the shah allowed only two political parties to exist. Iranians jokingly called them the “Yes” and “Yes, sir” parties.

The White Revolution: “Plagued by the West”

In the early 1960s, an economic downturn in Iran coincided with U.S. pressure on the shah to ease restrictions on political expression as a condition for ongoing financial and military aid. When the shah allowed the National Front to reconstitute, it criticized his policies. As political repression eased, unrest and discontent simmered again in Iranian cities.

In 1963, a cleric named Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini began to criticize the regime in his sermons and articles. Khomeini opposed the shah’s close relations with the United States, Iran’s sale of oil to Israel, the corruption of the regime, and Iran’s failure to help its masses of poor people. Other Iranians bemoaned Iran’s dependence on the West in general and on the United States in particular.

“Today we stand under that [Western] banner, a people alienated from ourselves; in our clothing, shelter, food, literature, and press. And more dangerous than all, in our culture. We educate pseudo-Westerners and we try to find solutions to every problem like pseudo-Westerners.”

—Jalal-al-e Ahmad,
“Plagued by the West,” 1962

What was the “White Revolution”?

The White Revolution was not a revolution at all. Rather, it was the name given to reforms the shah adopted to reduce growing unrest and dissatisfaction. The most important reforms included redistributing land to peasant farmers and sharecroppers, giving women the right to vote, and creating the Literacy Corps.

The Literacy Corps was part of the shah’s drive to modernize Iran by increasing education. Elementary school enrollment increased from 1.6 million in 1963 to more than 4 million in 1977.

Land reform had profound consequences. Designed to give Iran’s two million peasants ownership of the land that they farmed,



Village farmers clutching certificates to newly-acquired land formerly owned by absentee landlords.

Photo by Ralph Crane. ©Time Life Pictures/Getty Images. Used with permission.

the reforms took away land from wealthy landowners as well as the ulama who used the land to support religious schools and mosques. Still, 75 percent of the peasants did not receive enough land to even reach a level of subsistence. Dissatisfied, frustrated, and still impoverished, many migrated to Iran’s growing cities.

Other changes contributed to the growth of Iran’s cities as well. Improvement in access to health care lowered infant mortality rates and contributed to a rapid population growth. In 1966, the population was twenty-six million; ten years later it was approaching thirty-four million.

How did the shah change the status of women?

The shah, in an effort to make Iran more like the powerful Western countries that he admired, somewhat reluctantly gave women the right to vote and increased educational and employment opportunities for them. He also introduced laws that gave women more rights in marriage. Polygamy was still permitted, but

now the husband had to obtain the permission of his current wife before taking another. These reforms were a source of resentment among some of the ulama because they challenged their interpretations of Islamic law and replaced them with what religious leaders saw as Western values and norms.

Although some supported the shah's efforts to modernize, he angered many segments of society for other reasons. His family took millions of dollars of Iranian government revenues for its own use. Corruption was common and benefited those with close connections to the shah.

Why were relations with the United States a sore point for many Iranians?

The close relationship of the shah with the United States was also a sore point for Iranians. The shah spent hundreds of millions of dollars on U.S. weapons, at first with money loaned from the United States. The United States was happy to supply most of its advanced weapons to an ally in the U.S. struggle against the Soviet Union. With the weapons came American advisors, trainers, and businessmen. When the Majlis approved a law that made all Americans residing in Iran exempt from Iranian laws and taxation, the Ayatollah Khomeini spoke out, risking the wrath of the shah. Khomeini urged all Iranians to protest these laws, also called "capitulations," because he argued it would "...turn Iran into an American colony."

"They have reduced the Iranian people to a level lower than that of an American dog. Even if the shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the shah, the head of state, no one will have the right to interfere with him."

—Ayatollah Khomeini, October 27, 1964

Khomeini believed the shah and his reforms were an assault on Islam and the role

of the clergy in Iranian society. He demanded that Article 2 of the Constitution of 1906, which gave the ulama final say over the laws of the Majlis, be enforced. He proposed canceling all laws that he considered un-Islamic, including the one giving women the right to vote, banning "corrupt content" from television and radio programs, and prohibiting alcohol. Khomeini considered the shah to be an enemy of Islam and a ruler who was unconcerned about the welfare of the Iranian people.

Why did Khomeini's message appeal to so many Iranians?

Khomeini's ideas struck a chord with Iranians of many classes and ideologies. Some Iranians began to protest and demonstrate. When the shah's soldiers killed protesting theology students, Khomeini compared the shah to the man who had ordered the killing of Iman Hussein, a central figure in Shi'i Islam, some hundreds of years before. The students were seen as Shi'i martyrs. Although not all Iranians agreed with Khomeini's religious ideology or his interpretation of Islam, they were pleased to have someone speak out against the shah.

"We have not been allowed to form political parties. We have no newspapers of our own. But the religious leaders have a built-in communications system. They easily reach the masses through their weekly sermons in the mosques and their network of mullahs throughout the nation. That is why so many non-religious elements cloak their opposition in the mantle of religion."

—Anonymous Iranian lawyer, 1963

What important idea did Khomeini develop in exile?

The shah ordered Khomeini arrested and exiled. Demonstrations broke out; government forces killed hundreds. Khomeini was exiled to the city of Najaf in Iraq. Najaf was a Shi'i shrine visited frequently by Iranian pilgrims. After Khomeini was exiled, these pilgrims

would smuggle pamphlets and cassette recordings made by Khomeini back into Iran.

While he was in exile, Khomeini developed a religious and political framework for Iran's future. The framework was called *Velayat-e Faqih*, which translates as the Guardianship of the Jurist. In it, Khomeini attributed injustice in Iran to the cultural and political influences of Western countries. Khomeini introduced the concept that clergy should be the ultimate conscience of the state. Khomeini argued that an Islamic government needed to replace the corrupt influence of kings, which he believed were illegitimate rulers.

How did the shah respond to Khomeini?

In response to Khomeini's call for change in Iran, the shah used SAVAK to suppress and weaken the religious leadership in Iran. SAVAK tortured and killed religious leaders, and the shah prevented large religious gatherings from taking place.

The shah hoped to reduce the influence of Islam by replacing it with Iranian nationalism and by emphasizing monarchy as the lynchpin of the Iranian nation. The shah saw himself as a successor to the ancient Persian kings and cited the greatness of Darius and Cyrus the Great. In 1971, he ordered a celebration of 2,500 years of the Iranian monarchy. The shah, whose opinion of himself was quite high, called himself the king of kings and the bringer of light to the Aryans (Aryan is an ethnic designation for the race of the group of tribes who inhabited ancient Iran.)

In 1971, more than 100 million dollars (almost 500 million in today's dollars) was spent for a celebration at Persopolis, the seat of the ancient Achaemenian Empire. The Shah ordered luxurious accommodations built, and drew up a guest list of mostly foreign dignitaries. Only a few wealthy or powerful Iranians were invited. Ironically, in a celebration of Iranian culture, more than a hundred French chefs flew in from Paris to prepare French food. Guests drank more than five thousand bottles of French champagne. The Shah held

an elaborate ceremony in Persepolis that celebrated the glory of Iran and Mohammad Reza Shah's connection to the tradition of the pre-Islamic Iranian kings.

Iranian leftists and intellectuals found this comparison absurd, as the Achaemenian and Sassanian dynasties had lasted for centuries while the Pahlavis had been in power for only fifty years. For many, one hundred million dollars spent on a banquet while Iranians remained mired in poverty illustrated the shah's lack of compassion and judgement.

How did opposition begin to grow?

From exile in Iraq, Ayatollah Khomeini preached that the Shah's celebration was against Islam and the Iranian people. Inside Iran, the ulama quietly spread the word that the shah's celebration of the Persian kings showed his disrespect for Islam.

“The title king of kings...is the most hated of all titles in the sight of God. Islam is fundamentally opposed to the whole notion of monarchy.”

—Ayatollah Khomeini

Anger against the shah grew. The shah repressed political dissent, but small groups met in secret. These groups did not all share Khomeini's vision for an Islamic state. Many, including members of the illegal Tudeh party, hoped for a reorganization of society along socialist lines. Others, who could be considered the political descendants of Mohammad Mossadegh's National Front, wished for an Iran with an effective parliamentary system of government, ruled with checks and balances.

Political dissatisfaction with the shah continued to grow throughout the 1970s. SAVAK fiercely repressed dissent through arrests, torture, and executions. In 1975, as part of his efforts to tighten control the shah decreed that Iran would have a single political party. He labelled all who refused to join as traitors and communists.

“Those who do not wish to enter into this political organization have two alternatives: they either belong to an illegal political party, like the Tudeh, in which case they should be jailed. Or with gratitude and without asking them to pay for a foreign exit visa, they may have their passport and go anywhere they would like.”

—Mohammad Reza Shah, 1975

Although Iranian dissatisfaction with the shah was widespread during the 1970s, he was able to remain in power for three reasons: the brutal suppression of his opponents and political dissent, nearly unconditional support from the United States and Britain, and the vast amounts of money brought into Iran through oil revenues.

How did the rising price of oil affect Iran?

Events in the early 1970s led to a dramatic increase in Iranian oil revenue. The 1973 Arab-Israeli War led Arab nations to impose an oil boycott on nations that supported Israel. Oil prices doubled worldwide, and the shah pushed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to double the prices again. Huge sums of money from the sale of oil flowed into the Iranian economy.

The shah, who believed that Iran was about to become one of the five great powers of the world, devoted new oil revenue to large-scale industry and agriculture. He also spent billions of dollars on the most advanced American and British armaments. The United States continued to see Iran as an ally against the Soviet Union and was willing to overlook the abuses of the shah to preserve that alliance.

The huge amounts of money that flowed into the Iranian economy were not all beneficial. The new large-scale agricultural businesses failed to produce more food. Shortages led to price increases that outpaced growth in wages. Thousands streamed into the cities to find work. The cities were plagued by inadequate housing, slums, unemployment, and hardship.

How did international criticism of Iran’s human rights record affect Iran?

Iran began to receive international criticism for its poor human rights record. An organization called Amnesty International had drawn attention to Iran in 1975 for its terrible record on human rights. The shah, anxious to restore his international image as well as preserve the support of the United States, loosened press censorship and promised to allow more political participation. International attention to human rights in Iran curtailed the shah’s ability to use brutality and force against those who dared to oppose him publicly. The political opposition saw an opportunity to push for change.

“Today in Iran, a break is in sight: take advantage of this opportunity.... Today, the writers of political parties criticize; they voice their opposition; and they write letters. You, too, should write.... Write about the difficulties and declare to the world the crimes of the shah.”

—Letter to the ulama from the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini, September, 1977

In this climate, the Tudeh party dared to voice its opposition to the shah. Other parties also began to organize. In 1977, the National Front sent a public letter to the shah criticizing his economic policies. The letter also pointed out the human rights abuses of the shah’s government, and called for the 1906 Constitution to be followed. They also demanded freedom of the press and fair elections. The universities became centers of discontent and the sites of protests by students. Workers’ protests also became more common in Iran’s crowded cities.

When Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) became president of the United States, he wanted to elevate the importance of human rights in American foreign policy. Nevertheless, he continued the U.S. government’s nearly unqualified support for the shah.

Hulton Archive. Getty Images. Used with permission.



Shah Reza, President Jimmy Carter, Empress Farah, and First Lady Rosalyn Carter at the White House in 1977.

“Iran, under the great leadership of the shah, is an island of stability in one of the more troubled regions of the world.”

—President Jimmy Carter, 1977

How did the shah’s efforts to discredit Khomeini backfire?

In January 1978, a government newspaper published an article attacking the Ayatollah Khomeini in an effort to discredit him. Theology students protested in the city of Qom and were brutally put down by the army. Several students were killed.

Leading members of the clergy who opposed the shah called for Iranians to protest and then to attend their mosques forty days after the deaths of the students. This was in accordance with the Islamic tradition of mourning for forty days and then gathering to remember the dead. Protests were peaceful, except in the city of Tabriz where the

government sent in tanks to control the demonstrations, and killed more than one hundred protestors. After the period of mourning, protests were held again forty days later. The crowds attacked buildings that they considered symbols of the West, like banks, liquor stores, and movie theaters. The government realized that if it tried to outlaw the traditional mourning rituals, it risked losing all control that it held.

Iran was teetering on the verge of revolution. The shah, whose health was failing in a battle with cancer, was losing his iron grip on Iran. He was also losing his grip on reality. His aides told him, and he believed them, that the demonstrators represented a small minority who had been misled by a group of activists. The shah clung to the idea that he could regain his popularity and continue as a great modernizer of Iran.



Image by Patrick Chauvel. ©Sygma/Corbis. Used with permission.

Protestors call for death to America and the shah in January, 1979.

1979: Iranians Debate Their Future

In the summer of 1978 the shah's government imposed a new economic policy. Intended to help the Iranian economy, it only added to his unpopularity. The new policy froze wages and led to a sharp increase in unemployment. As a consequence, more and more working-class Iranians joined the protests, which were still interspersed with forty-day cycles of mourning. The protests had moved beyond demanding the restoration of the constitution to demanding the death of the shah. In response, the shah banned demonstrations and imposed martial law. Nevertheless, protests continued.

On September 8, 1978 soldiers with tanks put down a massive protest in Tehran with tanks and helicopters. Hundreds of Iranians died on a day that would become known as Black Friday. Protests spread to include strikes throughout Iran, including in the oil industry. The largest protests were held during the traditional period of mourning for Iman Hossein. In early December, on the days that marked the martyrdom of Iman Hossein, more than two million people took to the streets of Tehran.

Many soldiers, especially those who had been drafted into the army, refused to fire on unarmed demonstrators. Some joined the protests against the shah. Without the full backing of the military, the shah's hold on power disintegrated. A politically moderate prime minister, Shapour Bahktiar, negotiated a departure for the shah. On January 16 1979, the shah boarded a plane to leave on "an extended vacation." The streets of Iran's cities were filled with people who sang, danced, and hugged each other in celebration of the shah's departure.

“The shah has fled, SAVAK is fatherless.”

—Slogan shouted by Iranian demonstrators

After the departure of the shah, Ayatollah Khomeini announced that he would return from exile. He arrived in Iran on February 1, 1979. Millions lined the streets to greet him.



Image by Patrick Chauvel. © Sygma/Corbis. Used with permission.

December 11, 1978. Millions of Iranians marched to protest the shah.

Because the shah's security forces had eliminated most of the leaders of political resistance over the years, most Iranians saw Khomeini as the leader who had ended the tyranny of the shah.

Prime Minister Bahktiar's hold on power was shaky. Many Iranians saw Bahktiar as a puppet of the United States and a traitor because the shah had appointed him prime minister. Bahktiar vowed to review foreign contracts, to eliminate SAVAK, and to cut back on military expenditures. He also decided to declare martial law. Nevertheless, violence continued.

On the day that he returned, Khomeini declared that he had appointed a man named Mehdi Bazargan as the actual prime minister. After a tense ten-day standoff and additional

violence, Bahktiar resigned and Prime Minister Bazargan formed a coalition government.

In March 1979, a referendum was held. Khomeini worked behind the scenes to engineer the wording of the referendum: Iranians could only vote for or against forming an Islamic republic. Khomeini did not have the support of all the religious leaders in Iran, but he had enough.

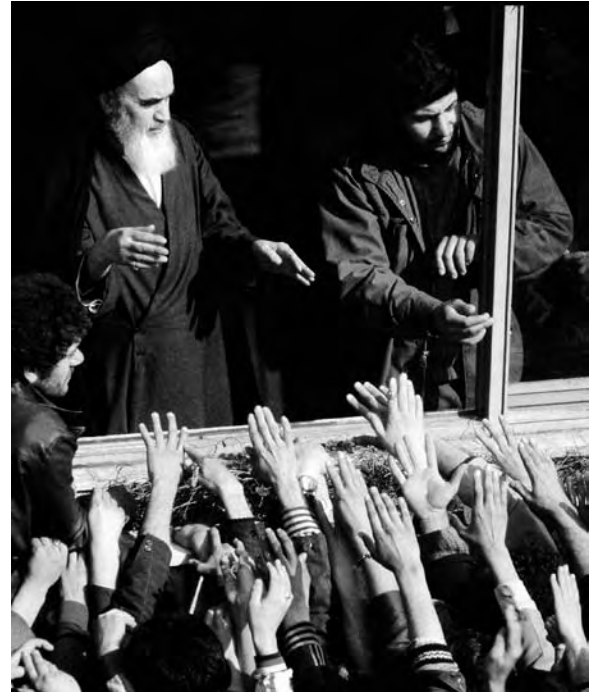
“We must ask them what kind of government they want instead of asking people to say yes or no to an Islamic republic.”

—Ayatollah Shariatmadari, March 13, 1979

Ninety-eight percent of twenty million Iranians voted for an Islamic Republic. At this point, Iranians began a months-long debate about exactly what the phrase “Islamic Republic” meant. A process of drafting a new constitution began.



Prime Minister Shahpour Bahktiar.



February 2, 1979. Ayatollah Khomeini is greeted by his supporters after returning from exile.

“All this happened in the hopes of having an Islamic republic, but what exactly will this republic be?”

—former Prime Minister Bahktiar,
March 25, 1979

Iran was a country in turmoil: groups from all points of the political spectrum attempted to assert that their vision for the future of Iran was the correct one. Some shared Khomeini’s vision for an Islamic state. Some hoped for a reorganization of society along socialist lines. Others wished for an Iran with an effective parliamentary system of government, ruled with checks and balances. The unity Iranians had used to overthrow the shah was dissolving.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to recreate this debate with your classmates. As you do, keep in mind what you have discovered in the reading. You should strive to put yourselves in the shoes of Iranians in early 1979 by considering how history may have shaped their outlook and politics.

Options in Brief

Option 1: Develop a Social Democracy

For more than one hundred years, Iran has been edging towards social democracy. Today we must put these noble ideas into practice and reform our government. After years of suffering the tyranny of the shah, the Iranian people are ready for democracy. We do not need radical clerics or socialists to lead us; we will not find the liberty we desire with them. We must change Iran. Let us reform the government so that it is just, so that human rights are respected, and so that the economic needs of all the Iranian people are addressed. We must shake off the legacies of colonialism and ongoing foreign efforts to control Iran. The shah, who was the puppet of the Americans, is gone. The Iranian people are ready for an end of tyranny and corruption.

Option 2: Build a Socialist Future

Iran's socialists have led the large-scale opposition to the shah for much of the twentieth century. We have drawn our inspiration and guidance from the writings of Karl Marx, our Soviet comrades in Moscow, and other socialist revolutions around the world. The shah is gone; we are at a turning point. We must destroy the remnants of the shah's oppressive political system, write a new constitution, and elect a new government. We must end the

influence of the United States in Iran. Until we amass the power we need to build a socialist Iran, we must be willing to cooperate with clerics like Khomeini to protect the revolution. We will no longer be a pawn of the United States in their Cold War struggle against our socialist comrades. We are ready to remake our society.

Option 3: The Guardianship of the Jurist

Iran has been adrift under the immoral and unjust leadership of the shah, but we can set Iran on a path of righteousness. We can build a just government for all Iranians based on the principles developed by the great religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini. He understands what Iran needs. Forget the democratic dreamers in love with the imperialist West, and the wild-eyed Marxists trapped in a web woven by Moscow. Iran can find a just and moral path for its future right here at home. It is time to end our reliance on Western ideas about government and build an Iran led by a just, religious leader. Only in this way can Iran cast off the chains of the imperialists, bring justice to the criminals who have led us for decades, help the poor, and rebuild our economy. We must build the Islamic republic around the principle of the Guardianship of the Jurist.

Option 1: Develop a Social Democracy

For more than one hundred years, Iran has been edging towards social democracy. During this time, emerging political movements have taught Iranians dissent towards our autocratic rulers. The ideas of constitutionalism and democracy have grown to become important parts of these political movements. Today we must put these noble ideas into practice and reform our government.

Our growing desire for a social democracy can be traced to the early years of the twentieth century. Indeed, in 1906 Iran paved the way and became a pioneer in the region when it forced the absolutist shah to agree to a constitution. In the early 1950s, Mohammad Mossadegh led a popular movement supporting the nationalization of the oil industry and once again demanding sovereign rights of autonomy. Mossadegh wanted to build a democratic Iran free of the meddling of the imperial powers; we, who follow in his footsteps, can succeed at this momentous task. After years of suffering the tyranny of the shah, the Iranian people are ready for democracy. We do not need radical clerics or socialists to lead us; we will not find the liberty we desire with them. We must change Iran. Let us continue the legacy of Mossadegh and the National Front. Let us reform the government so that it is just, so that human rights are respected, and so that the economic needs of all Iranians are addressed. We must shake off the legacies of colonialism and end foreigners' efforts to control Iran as part of their Cold War struggle. The shah, who was the puppet of the Americans, is gone. The Iranian people are ready for an end to tyranny and corruption. The Iranian people are ready to reform their government, protect their sovereignty, and create a democracy. Let all of their voices be heard.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Option 1:

1. Social democracy as a political system is understood by the populace. The leadership of such a movement can be trusted to take all the necessary steps to ensure its application.
2. The superpowers that control Iran economically and ideologically would permit this transition to take place and will not pose an obstacle either directly or indirectly.
3. The Shi'i clergy would accept this transition and would not see it as a threat to its religious authority.

Supporting Arguments for Option 1:

1. Social democracy is the only political system that could limit the power of the ruler and empower the people, thus making laws that better reflect the needs of the majority.
2. Social democracy would be an acceptable model for the United States because it: a) resembles the U.S. system of government and b) because it represents reform and not revolution. This would minimize the danger of a repeat of a CIA-led coup d'état.
3. Iran is ready for social democracy: there is a growing middle class that is educated and eager to enter the political scene.
4. Social democracy would ensure a secular modern Iran, where human rights would be respected; this would include respect for private property, women's rights, etc.

From the Historical Record

Ahmad Faroughy, Iranian Journalist, March 16, 1975

“The struggle for freedom of expression in Iran should...be seen as a struggle to uphold the nation’s cultural identity, the outcome of which will determine the country’s national sovereignty, and economic independence.”

Letter to the shah, author unknown, 1977

“...the only way...to reestablish national cooperation, and to escape from the problems that threaten Iran’s future, is to abandon authoritarian rule, to submit completely to constitutional principles, to revive people’s rights, to respect the constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to abandon the single-party system, to permit freedom of the press and freedom of association, and to establish a popularly elected government based on the majority will.”

Prime Minister Bakhtiar, January 1979

“Martyrs who recently fell in Iran did not die so that one rotten dictatorship would be replaced by another as a new repression.”

Prime Minister Bakhtiar, January 1979

“But one mullah is not a government. It’s not the job of one mullah to direct a government.”

Karim Sanjabi, leader of the National Front, January 10, 1979

“What the people want is a fundamental change in the apparatus of power. For once and for all they want to be involved in shaping their political destiny and to prevent outside interference.”

Abdel Karim Lahidji, founding member of the Human Rights Committee, January 17, 1979

“...after 25 years of dictatorship, what a chance for democracy and freedom.

“I’m waiting for tomorrow when the real struggle starts for democracy—tolerance for ourselves, prevention of anarchy, the start of a democratic life under the rule of law.”

Prime Minister Bakhtiar, January 1979

“...some people have become accustomed to dictatorship. They accepted Mohammad Reza Shah’s dictatorship and maybe another future dictatorship would be to their satisfaction too. However, I am in favour of freedom and liberty in this country and nothing else.”

Prime Minister Bakhtiar, February 3, 1979

“Any change in the form of government of Iran should be through free elections and not through demonstrations by an emotional crowd in the streets.”

Ayatollah Taleqani, February 5, 1979

“We, the Islamic leaders, do not have a claim on government.”

Prime Minister Bakhtiar, in address to Parliament, February 5, 1979

“The Iranian nation and Iranian state are indivisible entities: one country, one government, one constitution, or nothing else.... We will tolerate this thing about anybody forming its own government until it is a joke and in words only, but if they take actions in this regard, we shall reply with our own actions.... If blood is spilled and if aggression is committed against the people, I will expose the aggressors without regard to their name or position right here [in parliament].... I shall remain in the position of the legitimate prime minister of this country until future free elections are held.... Whoever enjoys a majority, shall then govern.”

Ali Shayegan, February 24, 1979

“No dictatorship of any kind must be established by any side. People of any ideology must be free to express their views.”

Anonymous Iranian professor, April 15, 1979

“I only hope the present and future government will let people be free to think and say what they like. Right now there are signs that give you hope and signs that make you fear.”

Option 2: Build a Socialist Future

Iran's socialists have led the large-scale opposition to the shah for much of the twentieth century. We have drawn our inspiration and guidance from the writings of Karl Marx, our Soviet comrades in Moscow, and other socialist revolutions around the world. The shah is gone; we are at a turning point. We must destroy the remnants of the shah's oppressive political and economic system, write a new constitution, and elect a new government. We must end the influence of the United States in Iran. Until we amass the power we need to build a socialist Iran, we must be willing to form a united front with clerics like Khomeini to protect the revolution against a counter revolution led by the United States.

Our history suggests we are ready to lead Iran. Iran's Communist Party was formed in 1920 and reborn as the Tudeh party in 1941. Socialist groups have played an important role in Iranian politics ever since. For example, many Iranian militants were instrumental in spreading the communist revolution in the north. In the 1950s during the oil nationalization movement, socialist groups grew to a position of prominence in the Iranian political scene. Our ranks have grown in recent years. With the help of students and workers we can put tens of thousands of protesters on the streets. Socialist student groups, influenced by the success of the Cuban and the Chinese revolutions, know that Iran is ripe for such a transition. We are ready to expel the imperialists and capitalists who plunder Iran and who keep the masses impoverished. We will no longer be a pawn of the United States in its Cold War struggle against our socialist comrades. We are ready to remake our society.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Option 2:

1. Opposition to the shah comes as a result of unfair distribution of the country's wealth and the absence of freedom. Since the Constitutional Revolution, the social democratic model has proven itself incapable of empowering the people and giving them control of their own future. These things can only be achieved through socialism.
2. Iran can follow the revolutionary models of China, Vietnam, and Cuba. We are ready for the transition to socialism.
3. In the past, attempts to introduce change in Iran failed as a result of foreign intervention. This time, the massive presence of people on the streets offers a perfect revolutionary situation. We must seize this moment to bring about real revolution.

Supporting Arguments for Option 2:

1. A socialist model is the only model that would ensure Iran's economic and political independence from the United States.
2. A socialist model is the only model that can ensure the redistribution of wealth and a decent standard of living for all.
3. A socialist model is the only model that can restore the Iranian people's national pride through self-sufficiency and independence.

From the Historical Record

Ali Shariati, Iranian intellectual, 1976

“God looks more favorably on a ‘materialist man’ who does not pray to God, yet, having realized his social responsibility, serves the people, than a believer in God, who prays, yet, not sensing his social responsibility, does not serve the people.”

Tudeh Party statement, February 1979

“The Iranian society needs a fundamental change—a revolution which should change all the different aspects of life for the benefit of the masses. The only way to achieve the popular and democratic revolution is by the participation of the masses in the struggle and not by the heroic actions of either individuals or a single political group and party.”

Twenty-six-year-old Iranian architect, February 1979

“It’s inevitable that in four or five months there will be a fight between the communists and the government. The government is moving toward some sort of fascism.”

Tudeh Party supporter, February 1979

“I’m not opposed to Khomeini, but I’m afraid he will be trapped in the bourgeoisie and the struggle of the people will be ruined.”

Tudeh Party statement, February 1979

“The history of true revolutions shows that reaction and economic domination by imperialism can not be overcome by only achieving political independence and dismissing some of the most criminal officials of the old regime. The untouched economic position of imperialism and reaction poses serious threats to the future of the revolution. The undisputable demands of millions of deprived working people can only be fulfilled by crushing and destroying these positions....”

Tudeh Party Statement, February 1979

“Tudeh Party of Iran calls on all the forces participating in the people’s struggle to agree to form a united front on the basis of a joint programme which reflects the demands and aspirations of millions of working people and middle strata of our society as soon as possible. Our Party also emphasizes that this programme has to be the basis of a joint and united action in our future struggle for the compilation of a new constitution, election of the people’s assembly and the adoption of the constitution and election of members of parliament and national government.”

Tudeh Party statement, February 1979

“The content of the revolution is to eliminate the domination of imperialism’s monopolies from the economic and natural resources of our country, to secure total economic and political independence, to remove all the remnants of the pre-capitalist social system and adopt the socialist orientation of development, to democratize the political and cultural life in the country. At this stage, the necessary condition for revolutionary development in Iran is the overthrow of the old monarchist regime, to break down the reactionary machinery of the government, to end the rule of the big capitalists and landowners and transfer power from these classes.”

Tudeh Party statement, May 1979

“You must attack the Yankee imperialists because this is the only language they understand.”

Mardom, Tudeh Party Newspaper, May 11, 1979

“[Prime Minister] Bazargan’s tone is conciliatory toward the rich and angry toward the masses.”

Option 3: The Guardianship of the Jurist

Iran has been adrift under the immoral and unjust leadership of the shah, but we can set Iran on a path of righteousness. We can build a just government for all Iranians based on the principles developed by the great religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini. He understands what Iran needs. Forget the democratic dreamers in love with the imperialist West, and the wild-eyed socialists trapped in a web woven by Moscow. Iran can find a just and moral path for its future right here at home.

For more than a decade, one man, Ayatollah Khomeini, has spoken more clearly than others against the excesses of the shah. The shah's regime systematically exploited our people, poisoned them with foolish ideas from the West, and ruthlessly oppressed us. It is time to end our reliance on Western ideas about government and build an Iran led by a just, religious leader. Only this way can Iran cast off the chains of the imperialists, bring justice to the criminals who have led us for decades, help the poor, and rebuild our economy. Since the Safavid era, Shi'i Islam has been a major moral force in Iran. Now it is time to become a political force. Throughout the twentieth century, groups of clergy have played a prominent role in social and political movements such as the Constitutional Revolution and the nationalization of the oil industry. Our time has come again. We must build the Islamic republic around the principle of the Guardianship of the Jurist, a learned, moral figure, who will have final say over all matters in Iran.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Option 3:

1. Iranian politicians have proven untrustworthy. We can trust our religious leaders to build a just and incorruptible government.
2. The shah's policies undermined Iran's Islamic heritage and forced cultural, political, and economic dependence on the West. An Islamic Republic is the only model that can restore pride.
3. Shi'i Islam reflects Iran's identity. It is an Iranian model; it imitates neither the West nor the East.
4. Shi'i Islam is progressive and modern. The Islamic republic will respect the sovereignty of the people and will base itself on a constitution.

Supporting Arguments for Option 3:

1. The Islamic republic will respect the sovereignty of the people. It will defend private property; it will release the political prisoners; it will punish the perpetrators of repression.
2. The Islamic republic will release Iran from its dependence on the West. Islam offers a social as well as an economic model that would safeguard Iran's autonomy.
3. Islam will pose as an obstacle to all forms of materialism, be it the Western social democratic model or the Eastern socialist model. With Islam, the Iranians are saying: neither East nor West.

From the Historical Record

Ayatollah Khomeini, Veleyat-e Faqih 1970

“The administration of the country, the issuing of judicial decrees, and the approving of legislative programs, should actually be entrusted to religious scholars who are guardians of the rights of God and knowledgeable about God’s ordinances concerning what is permitted and what is forbidden.”

Ayatollah Khomeini, December 1978

“...our religion associates politics with social problems and prayers.... From the beginning, [Islam] represented a political power, not limiting itself to problems of religious practice. In fact, if one refers to the books of Sunna [the practices of Mohammad], which are the main Muslim texts, one sees that they deal as much with politics, government, the struggle against tyrants, as with prayers.”

Ayatollah Khomeini, December 1978

“We want to exploit the country’s riches—mines, farming, petroleum—and to devote the revenues to the general interest. Our plan is not to protect the rich. We will work to help the poor and to oversee the fortunes of the rich class in order to balance social differences.”

Ayatollah Khomeini, December 1978

“We are for an Islamic system, that is to say a democratic regime founded on popular consensus and Islamic law. Western democracy is incomplete. Our democracy will resemble it but be perfected. ...[A]ll citizens of such an Islamic democracy, from the leaders to those at the bottom of the social ladder, are equals before the law. They are equals. There are no legal differences among them. Thus it is a democracy based on divine law which should be applied to humanity. It is really perfect. It is not a sham democracy or a dictatorship in practice, as are some other governments.”

Ayatollah Khomeini, February 1, 1979

“We will not let the United States bring the shah back. This is what the shah wants. Wake up. Watch out. They want the country to go back to what it was previously.”

Ayatollah Khomeini, February 1, 1979

“I must tell you that Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, that evil traitor, has gone. He fled and plundered everything. He destroyed our country and filled our cemeteries. He ruined our country’s economy. Even the projects he carried out in the name of progress, pushed the country towards decadence. He suppressed our culture, annihilated people and destroyed all our manpower resources. We are saying this man, his government, his Majlis are all illegal. If they were to continue to stay in power, we would treat them as criminals and would try them as criminals. I shall appoint my own government. I shall slap this government in the mouth. I shall determine the government with the backing of this nation, because this nation accepts me.”

Ayatollah Khomeini, December 1978

“All rights given to men are given to women. They shall have the right to vote. They shall be allowed to run for office. They shall be able to own their own goods. All those rights will be the same for men as for women. If there are things forbidden for men, they will also be forbidden for women. For example, the law on corruption will be the same for all. As for woman, anything that damages her decency and her honor is forbidden. Islam has insisted on protecting woman so that she would not become an object in the hands of men. The propaganda that Islam is hard on women, that they are mistreated in comparison to men, is false propaganda. Such lies are not accidental. They are deliberately spread by persons who find advantage in doing so.”

Epilogue: The Islamic Republic

Prime Minister Bazargan's provisional government faced many obstacles as it attempted to create order amidst ongoing strikes and demonstrations. One of the challenges came from the Ayatollah Khomeini, whose vision for the future of Iran was of an Islamic state led by a spiritual leader who had final say in major political matters. Bazargan favored the restoration of Islamic cultural values in combination with secular and democratic governing institutions.

Khomeini formed the Council of the Islamic Revolution. Composed largely of the ulama and guided by Khomeini, it claimed the power to veto policies of Bazargan's provisional government.

In addition, various revolutionary organizations made claims to power. Some groups retained weapons. Throughout 1979, there were many individuals and groups contesting each other for power and control in Iran.

The debate about the future of Iran among Iranians was highly charged, particularly about the nature of Iran's new constitution. In the early spring of 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini and his supporters took steps to strengthen their position.

How did Khomeini begin to consolidate his power and weaken other political groups?

Khomeini's supporters organized three new groups that changed the political balance in Iran and challenged the authority of Bazargan's government. The first were the "Committees." They were essentially vigilante groups organized by local mosques, students, and workers. They were determined to prevent a counter-revolution and to enforce their own idea of Islam on others. They arrested men, women, and children, often arbitrarily. It was not unusual for them to invade private homes and destroy Western music recordings and alcohol.

A second development was the decision of the Council of the Islamic Revolution to

form the Revolutionary Guard (*Pasdaran*) after a leftist group assassinated a powerful cleric in May 1979. The Revolutionary Guard's task was to protect the Council from the army and militant leftist groups. Drawing from the ranks of the poor, the Revolutionary Guard became an army of the clergy loyal to Khomeini.

Finally, Khomeini and his supporters formed revolutionary tribunals to try and execute, most often without a fair trial, former members of the shah's government, the army, and SAVAK.

Iran's New Constitution

Prime Minister Bazargan's government revealed the draft of a new constitution in June 1979. It was similar to the constitution of 1906, but did not include a monarch. Neither did it give the clergy any special administrative powers. The cabinet and the Council of the Islamic Revolution approved the draft, as did the Ayatollah Khomeini after he added language that prohibited women from becoming judges or the president of Iran. Khomeini's support for this draft was probably a short-term tactic designed to give him time to influence the final draft of the constitution,

The Iranian people had elected an assembly of experts to produce a final draft of the constitution. The group was dominated by clerics who supported Khomeini's idea that the new constitution must be completely based on his idea of *Velayat-e Faqih* [The Guardianship of the Jurist], which gave supreme authority over the state to Khomeini as the guardian jurist and his advisory committee of twelve judges. (Six were experts in Islamic law and six were experts in the civil legal code.)

Tensions about the future of Iran were high, with many holding doubts about Khomeini's vision for the future. Khomeini, a masterful politician, used an important event to influence the debate in Iran. That event was the American embassy hostage crisis.

The crisis, which began in November 1979 and would last for more than a year, played a significant role in Khomeini's efforts to shape Iran's future.

What was the U.S. hostage crisis?

In November 1979, a group of Iranian students led by militant clerics seized the American embassy in Tehran. The students were worried that the United States was plotting another coup in Iran to overturn the revolution. The shah's recent admission to the United States for cancer treatment, and a meeting between Prime Minister Bazargan and high-level U.S. officials fueled fears that the United States was planning to return the shah to power. The students demanded that the shah be returned to Iran for trial. The students also demanded that the United States apologize for its role in the coup against Mohammad Mossadegh in 1953.

Although Khomeini had not ordered the embassy seized, he realized that it was an important political event that could be used to strengthen his hold on power. Khomeini used Iranian resentment of the U.S. role in Iranian history to rally popular support to strengthen his control over the government. What began as the action of a few students became an international incident. Khomeini rallied the masses against "The Great Satan," which is what he called the United States. Memories of the U.S. role in the coup of 1953 fueled Iranian anger. Khomeini also released selected documents captured from the embassy that showed that his political opponents had met with the U.S. government.

American officials pleaded with Prime Minister Bazargan and his government to intervene. When the students ignored his order to evacuate the embassy, Prime Minister

Bazargan's government resigned. Only the Revolutionary Council was left to govern Iran.

What was included in the final draft of the constitution?

The constitution in its final form included the principle of "The Guardianship of the Jurist" that Khomeini had espoused for years. Khomeini was given the new position of Supreme Islamic Jurist with final say over all political and religious matters. Khomeini's decision to allow active participation of clergy in political institutions and decision-making marked the beginning of a new era in Shi'i Islam in Iran. Never before had the clergy played this sort of a political role.

A Council of Guardians, made up of appointed Islamic jurists and other lawyers, had the power to review all the legislation of the Majlis. It also gave the Iranian people the power to elect a president, a Majlis, and municipal councils. In December 1979, fourteen million Iranians participated in a referendum on the constitution, and 99.5 percent voted in favor. The American hostages, after being held for 444 days, were released in January 1981.

What political opposition remained in Iran?

Not all of Iran's clerics agreed with



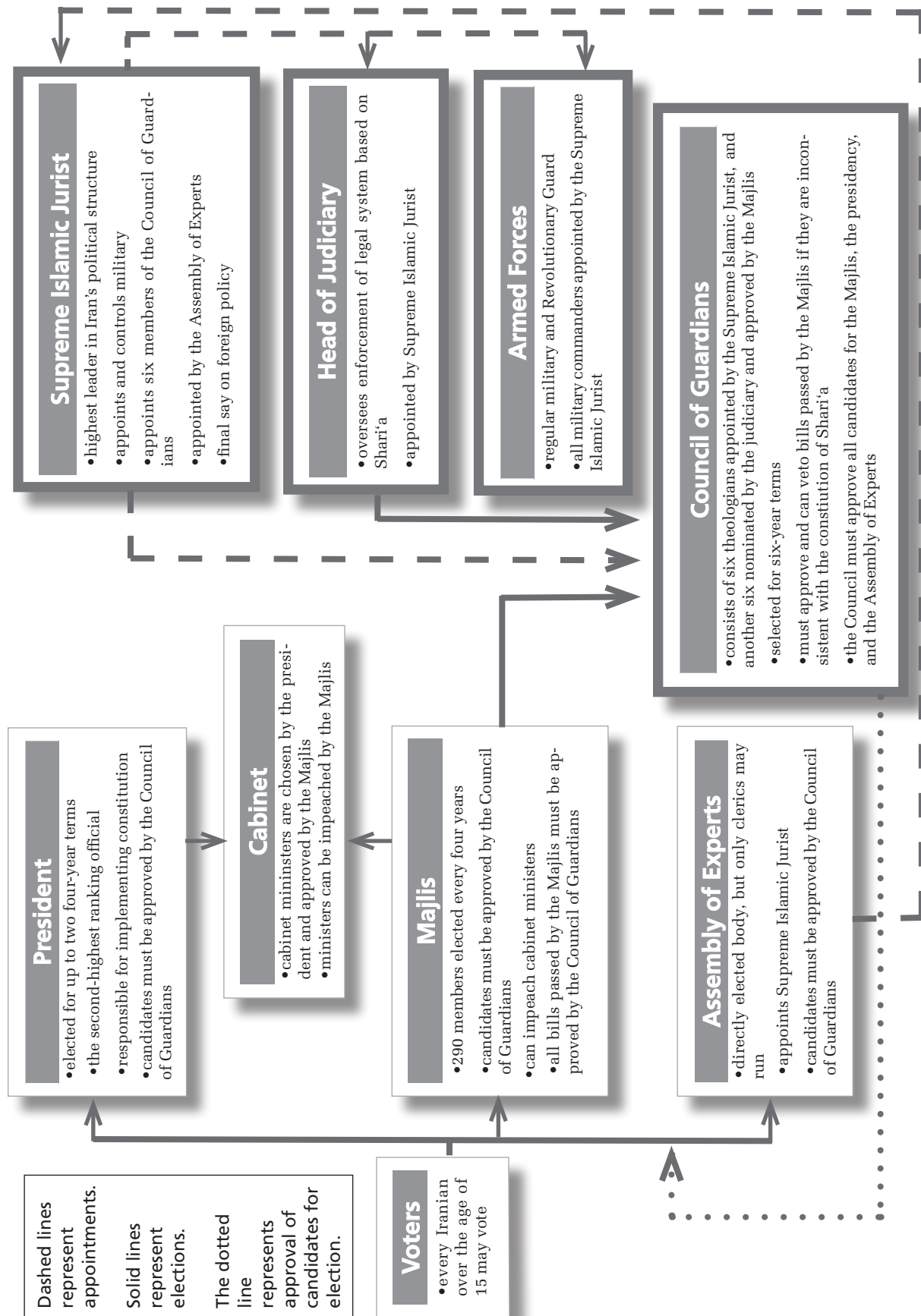
Iranians climbing the gate at the U.S. embassy in Tehran, November 1979.

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The Constitution of 1979: Structure of Iranian Government

Elected Government Bodies

Unelected Government Bodies



Khomeini's idea of the Guardianship of the Jurist or his interpretation of Shi'i Islam. Many of them worried that political power would have a corrupting influence on whomever held that position. They also worried that it would undermine the legitimacy of religious leaders.

“May God forbid autocracy under the cover of religion. Let us join our voices with the people and the suffering masses.”

—Ayatollah Taleqani, September 9, 1979

The first election for the presidency of Iran was held in January 1980. Khomeini forbade clerics to run in this first election for the position of president of Iran.

Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who wanted an economy that distributed resources more fairly and an Iran free of foreign influence, was elected. Bani-Sadr embraced Iran's Islamic identity and culture, but was a supporter of a secular government. Ultimately, his vision for Iran would conflict with Khomeini's.

Why did violence continue in Iran?

Various groups used political violence to try to achieve their goals. For example, Khomeini and his followers began to rely more and more on violence and intimidation to eliminate political opposition. When American military helicopters crashed in a failed attempt to rescue the embassy hostages in April 1980, Khomeini stated that God had intervened to protect the Islamic Republic. Inspired by Khomeini's rhetoric, his followers launched attacks throughout Iran on any organization or group that opposed his idea of an Islamic state.

In 1981, a leftist group known as Mujahadeen-e-Khalq began a terrorist campaign to assassinate religious and political leaders. Historians have characterized the government response to this campaign as a “reign of terror.” The security forces arrested and executed thousands. Civil servants were forced to undergo loyalty tests. Universities were closed and coursework changed so as to emphasize

Islamic values. Only students who could demonstrate they were loyal to the principles of Islam were admitted to universities.

“For years we protested against the Shah's SAVAK for abducting people in broad daylight and subjecting them to beatings and torture during interrogation in isolated quarters. And now, in the name of Islam and the Islamic Republic, SAVAK and its apparatus of suppression, repression, violence, and intimidation is being reintroduced on a far more extensive scale. If a blind, crude, and violent fascism is rising to replace Pahlavi fascism, of what use would it be if it calls itself by a different name and hides itself under an ‘Islamic’ cover?”

—Ali Javadi, Iranian Writer

The changes that Khomeini wanted were cultural as well as political. Women were forced to comply to the code of hijab (veiling). In the 1930s, Reza Shah's police had forced women to remove their veils; Khomeini's police forced women to don them again. The press was prohibited from criticizing Islam. References to pre-Islamic Persian culture were discouraged. At one point a group of Khomeini supporters set out to bulldoze the remnants of the ancient city of Persepolis, but were convinced to stop.

War with Iraq

The new Iranian constitution included the goal of spreading Iran's Islamist revolution beyond Iran. The thought of millions taking to the streets, as they had in Iran, created anxiety within the authoritarian governments that neighbored Iran.

“...the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps are to be organized in conformity with this goal, and they will be responsible not only for guarding and preserving the frontiers

The United States during the Iran-Iraq War

The administration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) remained officially neutral during the war but did not want a victory by Iran's government, which was clearly hostile to the United States. The United States gave Iraq military intelligence for use against Iranian targets and financial credit to buy advanced American weapons. In 1986, when Iran stepped up attacks against Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf. Washington permitted Kuwaiti ships to sail under the American flag and provided them military escorts. In July 1988, an American navy ship in Iranian territorial waters, believing it was about to be attacked, shot down an Iranian airliner killing 290 civilian passengers and crew. The United States paid Iran \$133 million in damages.

During the Iran-Iraq War, the United States led an international arms embargo against Iran. However, in a contradiction of this public policy, the Reagan Administration secretly sold thousands of anti-tank missiles and military spare parts to Iran. The administration hoped this would improve relations with Iran enough so that Iran would help to free American hostages held in Lebanon. This goal was only partially met; some hostages were freed, but others were taken. The secret arms deals, which supported Iran with one hand while supporting Iraq with the other, damaged the credibility of the United States in the region and beyond. Money from the sales of weapons to Iran was sent to support the anti-communist *Contra* guerillas in Nicaragua. This violated a U.S. Congressional ban on support to the *Contras*. These events became known as "Iran-Contra" in the United States and forced President Reagan to admit he had known of the effort to bypass the Congress.

of the country, but also for fulfilling the ideological mission of jihad in God's way; that is, extending the sovereignty of God's law throughout the world..."

—From the Preamble to the Iranian Constitution of 1979

In neighboring Iraq, a secular government led by Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq's Shi'i majority. Saddam Hussein imagined that he would become the leader that would unify the Arab world and that Iraq would become the dominant power in the oil-rich Persian Gulf. Hussein imagined that Iran and its vast oil resources, weakened by revolution, could be easily conquered. This proved to be a miscalculation.

Saddam Hussein hoped to take advantage of an Iranian army in turmoil, and invaded Iran in September 1980. Hussein also hoped the invasion would prevent the spread of Shi'i Iran's Islamist revolution to Iraq. Hussein aimed to win quickly by concentrating on Iran's oil facilities. Instead, Iraq's invasion stalled.

Iran counter-attacked but lacked the strength to defeat Hussein's military. For the next eight years, the war see-sawed back and forth. Iraq had an advantage in air power, missiles, and chemical weapons that it received in arms shipments from the United States, France, West Germany, and the United Kingdom. Saddam Hussein also benefited from the financial backing of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Arab oil producers, who feared the Islamic revolution could spread to their countries as well.

How did the war against Iraq affect politics inside Iran?

The war helped Khomeini rally support for his vision of the Islamic Republic. Khomeini channeled the strong feelings of patriotism and nationalism that the Iraqi invasion provoked into support for his regime. He cast the conflict as a defense of Islam against Saddam Hussein's secular regime. Iran's forces swelled with millions of dedicated volunteer soldiers. Tens of thousands were killed charging Iraqi positions in human-wave assaults. Iranian soldiers often had plastic keys, which they were told would



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This 1994 photograph shows a farmer working in his field on the site of a battle during the Iran-Iraq War. Millions of landmines and unexploded ordnance still litter the former front line of the Iran-Iraq war.

open the gates to heaven, dangling from their necks.

Iraq's invasion increased nationalism and religious fervor in Iran. The remaining few who hoped for a secular Iranian government were forced from power. President Bani-Sadr, supported by secular middle-class reformers, saw war with Iraq and the direction of Khomeini's Islamic Republic Party as bad for Iran. Thousands of Bani-Sadr's supporters demonstrated in Tehran and other Iranian cities, but were met with counter-demonstrations that were often violent. With encouragement from Khomeini, the Majlis impeached Bani-Sadr and he fled Iran into exile in June 1981.

By the time Iraq and Iran agreed to a ceasefire in 1988, the war had claimed more than one million lives. Millions more were injured

or became refugees in huge battles of a scale not seen since the Second World War. The war cost each country approximately \$500 million. Iraq had gained the upper hand on the battlefield in the final months of the conflict, in part through the use of chemical weapons, but neither side could claim victory.

How did Iranian society change during the 1980s?

Throughout the 1980s, a process of "Islamization" of Iranian society occurred. In 1982, Khomeini decreed that all of Iran's courts and judges had to implement Islamic laws based on the Shar'ia. (The Shar'ia is a wide body of literature that lays out legal principles and norms but is not a legal code or single document.) Judges had to know Islamic legal theory.

School textbooks purged references to pre-Islamic Iranian history and instead focused on Islam and the Revolution. Women lost the right to attend school if married. On the streets of Iran, a Morals Police kept a watchful eye making sure that men and women who were not of the same family did not touch and that women were properly veiled. In addition to these social changes, Khomeini hoped to address issues of economic inequality.

Two of the principal goals of the revolution were social justice and an equitable distribution of wealth. To accomplish these goals, Khomeini's government increased its role in the economy, and began to take control of industry and banks. In the countryside, properties were taken from wealthy landowners and given to villagers and small farmers. This process did not go smoothly. There were sharp disagreements about how much control the state should take. With the government spending huge sums to pay for the Iraq war, it had less money to help reduce economic hardship and shortages of food. Housing shortages in the cities hurt the poor, many of whom had no choice but to live in shantytowns.

Between 1978 and 1988, Iran's gross domestic product fell by 1.5 percent per year. In 1988, unemployment reached 30 percent

and crime had become a significant problem. When the war with Iraq ended in 1988, the government faced an economic crisis.

Iran after Khomeini

One factor in Iran's economic crisis was its population growth rate of nearly 4 percent per year. Iran's population was growing while its economy was shrinking. Those who suffered most were Iran's poor and lower middle classes. These groups had formed the basis of support for the revolution. For them, the revolution had not fulfilled its economic promises.

The economic crisis was compounded by the death of Ayatollah Khomeini at age eighty-seven in 1989. The new Supreme Jurist, Ayatollah Khamenei, faced these challenging domestic issues.

He also faced significant international challenges. When Khamenei assumed power, Iran was isolated internationally. His predecessor's belief in exporting the revolution had worried and angered Iran's neighbors in the Middle East. Beyond the region, Iran was also isolated. Khomeini had worked to eradicate the influence and power of the United States, which he referred to as the Great Satan. He also had no interest in working with the other superpower, the Soviet Union, which he referred to as the Little Satan.

A newly elected president, Ali Rafsanjani, (1989-1997), began efforts to integrate Iran more into the world economy. He encouraged other nations to invest in Iran. Debates in the Majlis were broadcast live on TV and provided the public the opportunity to hear disagreement and debate about political and social issues. Rafsanjani asserted that coop-



Protestors at Tehran University in 2002 demand freedom for political prisoners. They display a picture of Mohammad Mossadegh (center) and other reformers. Mossadegh, who died in 1967, remains a political hero for many.

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eration, not confrontation would guide Iran's international behavior. While Iran did work to decrease its international isolation, its support of Hamas and Hezbollah, groups labeled as terrorist organizations by the United States, was a source of friction and an obstacle to improving international relations.

What was significant about the election of Mohammad Khatami as president in 1997?

Khomeini's successor, Ayatollah Khamenei, retained the powerful position of Supreme Jurist, with final say over legislation and decisions about foreign policy. When the candidate for president supported by Khamenei lost to Mohammad Khatami, a senior moderate member of the ulama, it was clear that there was public enthusiasm for reforming the Islamic Revolution.

Khatami won for several reasons. First, Iran's population had changed dramatically. Between 65 and 70 percent of Iran's population were younger than twenty-five. Too young to remember the abuses of the shah, they had grown tired of the rules imposed in the name

of Islam. This included the prohibition of public contact between unrelated men and women and of listening to Western music or watching imported videos.

Khatami spoke out against “fanaticism” and for the rule of law. He signalled that he wanted to improve Iran’s international relations by calling for a “dialogue among civilizations.” Women and young people, hungry for a loosening of social restrictions and improved economic opportunity, ardently supported Khatami. Khatami proposed opening a dialogue with the United States, which had not had diplomatic relations with Iran since the hostage crisis of 1979-80.

Khatami’s reelection in 2001 with 60 percent of the vote signaled continued public support for his agenda. But the president’s authority was limited; the power remained in the hands of the Supreme Jurist and the Council of Guardians.

For example, in February 2004, the Council of Guardians disqualified many reform candidates from running for the Majlis. Many Iranians chose to boycott the election in protest of the Council’s action. Public demonstrations calling for reform and criticizing Iran’s clerics became more common.

“I would not be surprised if we see more of such protests in the future because the ground is ready. Our society now is like a room full of gas ready to ignite with a small spark.”

—Anonymous member of Iran’s Majlis,
June 2003

How has the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad affected Iran?

The presidential election of 2005 turned Iranian politics on its head once again. The election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a religious conservative who supports the system of ruling clerics, took the wind out of the sails of the reformers. Ahmadinejad ran on a platform that focused on stamping out corruption and providing aid to the poor. Khatami and other reformers acknowledged the need to address the economic hardships of many Iranians if

they wanted to broaden their appeal.

“We were the party of the intellectuals, so we must change this to develop ideas for the poor and workers. We will still talk about democracy and human rights, but we should explain to people how it will make their lives better.”

—Former President Mohammad Khatami,
July 2005

Why is Iran’s nuclear program a source of controversy and international tension?

In the midst of domestic political challenges, Iran’s international relations with the world remain tense. The Iranian government claims the right to develop nuclear materials for peaceful purposes. President Ahmadinejad has staunchly defended Iran’s right to a nuclear program. Meanwhile, his assertion that Israel should be “wiped off the map” has increased international anxiety about Iran’s intentions. The dilemma for the international community is that it is difficult to distinguish between “good atoms” for peaceful purposes like nuclear power and “bad atoms” for military purposes. In 2006 Iran restarted its uranium enrichment program in a move that has heightened concern around the world.

Although many Iranians have a positive view of the United States, the relations between the Iranian and U.S. governments are tense. Iranian officials see the presence of U.S. military forces in neighboring Iraq and Afghanistan as a threat to Iran. For its part, the United States is deeply concerned about Iran’s nuclear program and believes that Iran’s support of the Shi’a in Iraq fuels sectarian violence there. U.S. officials also condemn Iran’s support of Hamas and Hezbollah and are divided on how to deal with Iran.

Conclusion

Most Iranians are better off under the Islamic Republic than they were under the shah. Life expectancy in the country has risen from fifty-five years in the late 1970s to seventy years today. Remote villages, neglected by the



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A team at a soccer club for girls. Today in Iran, women and girls in public are required to wear a loose fitting cloak or coat and a headscarf that covers their hair. This is referred to as hijab and is required as a means of encouraging modesty and morality.

shah, now have schools, health clinics, roads, and safe drinking water. Nonetheless, economic hardship and widespread unemployment are ongoing problems.

Iranian politics have see-sawed between constructing a more participatory and open society and strengthening the power of the state. For example, in 2005 the Council of Guardians prohibited all but six of more than one thousand candidates from running for office.

For Iran's population, the majority of whom were born after 1979, the Islamic Revolution has lost its luster. Economic frustration continues to fuel debate and desire for political change. Repression of dissent through imprisonment and human right violations are common. Nevertheless, Iranians express themselves in protests at universities, on weblogs on the internet, and by secretly watching satellite TV broadcasts from the West.

Iran's ongoing struggle to incorporate

ideas about participation and democracy into its own cultural and religious heritage can be traced back over the past century. The political ideas that contribute to the continuous evolution of Iran have origins in the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911, the Mossadegh era of 1951-1953, and the Iranian Revolution of 1979. A desire for social and economic justice is as present today as it has been throughout Iranian history. The tensions between democratic participation, cultural values, and a strong government remain ever-present.

Iran is a country facing change, under pressure from both inside and outside, shaped by its rapidly growing young population and its relationship with the past and its religious heritage. Iran's future is uncertain. Yet its importance in the Middle East and the questions surrounding its nuclear program make understanding the history and values that shape Iran an urgent priority.

Chronology

ca. 1000 BCE	Parsa move into the region of Iran
ca. 600 BCE	Prophet Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism founded
530-330 BCE	Achaemenian Empire
220 CE	Sassanian Dynasty founded
637-651	Islam arrives when Arabs conquer Iran
1502-1722	Safavid Dynasty
1779	Qajar Dynasty founded
1813 and 1828	Iran fights wars with Russia and loses territory in the north
1857	Iran signs treaty with Britain giving British merchants trading rights
1872	Reuters Concession awarded and rescinded one year later
1891	Tobacco Protest
1901	D'Arcy Oil Concession awarded
1906	Constitutional Revolution begins
1907	British and Russian Empires divide Iran into spheres of influence
1909	Iran descends into civil war
1911	Britain lands troops in southern Iran to protect oil fields; Constitutional Revolution ends
1914-1918	World War I
1925	Pahlavi Dynasty begins
1941	Reza Shah abdicates, his son Mohammad assumes the throne
1941-1945	British, Soviet, and U.S. troops occupy Iran
1946	Riots at AIOC refinery at Abadan
1951	Mossadegh forms the National Front
1953	CIA sponsors coup against Prime Minister Mossadegh
1961	Shah imposes the White Revolution
1964	Ayatollah Khomeini exiled
1971	Shah celebrates "2,500 years" of Iranian Monarchy
1975	Amnesty International criticizes Iran's human rights record
1978	Large demonstrations against the shah begin
January 1979	Shah goes into exile
February 1979	Khomeini returns to Iran
March 1979	Iranians vote for an Islamic Republic
December 1979	Iranians approve new constitution that includes Veleyat-e Faqih
1980-1988	Iran-Iraq War
1989	Ayatollah Khomeini dies, Ayatollah Khomeini appointed as Supreme Jurist
1997	Mohammad Khatami elected president
2005	Mahmoud Ahmadianajad elected president

Supplementary Resources

World Wide Web

Blogs By Iranians: A listing of English language blogs by Iranians inside and outside of Iran. <<http://blogsbyiranians.com/>>

Iran Chamber Society: Extensive information on Iranian history, art, and culture. <<http://www.iranchamber.com/index.php>>

The Secret CIA History of the Iran Coup, 1953: Primary sources about the coup. Documents are near the bottom of the page. <<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB126/index.htm>>

Choices Program Resources on Iran: Powerpoint maps and additional resources. <www.choices.edu/iranmaterials>

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Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution

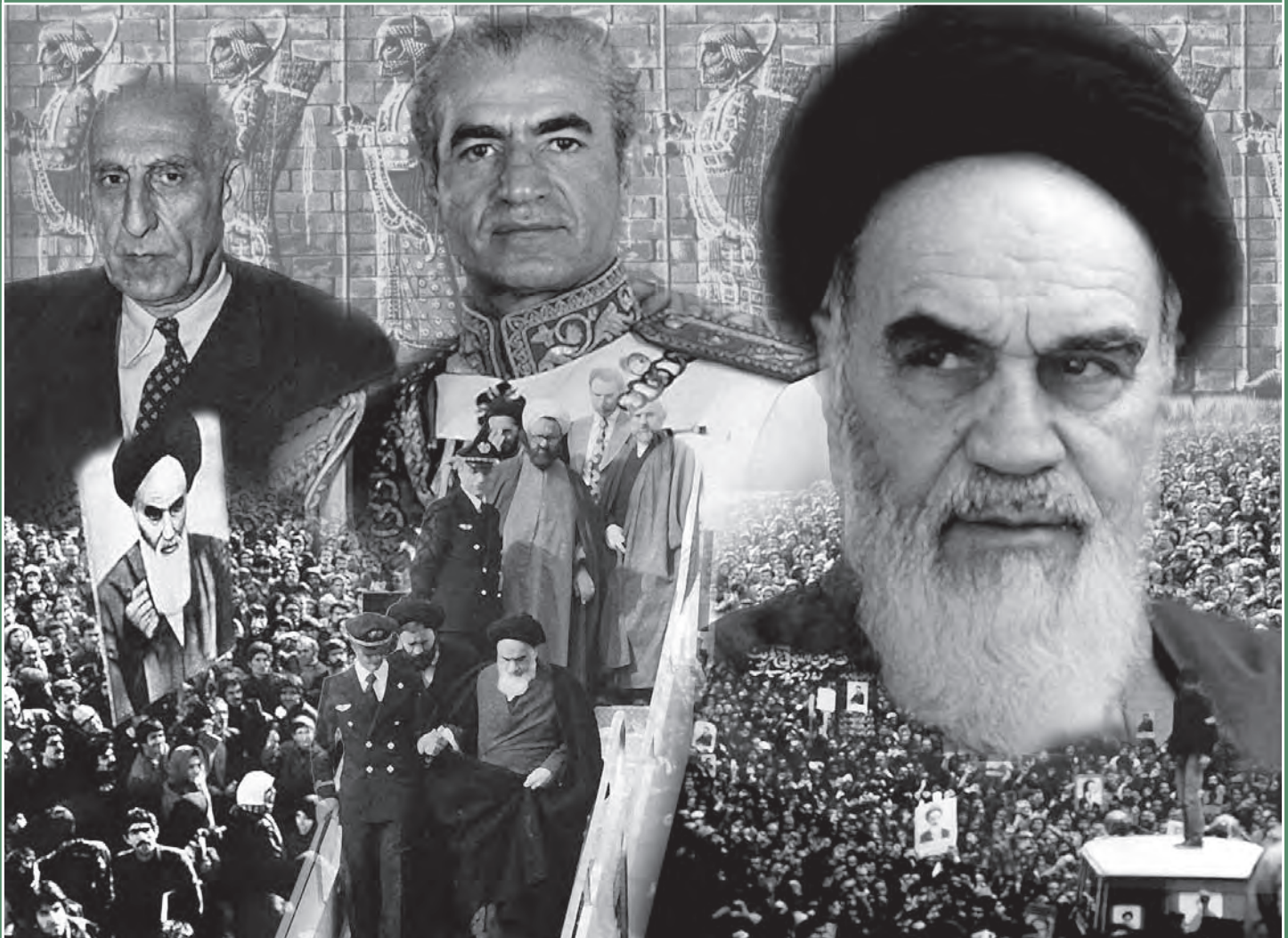
Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution traces the history of Iran from its early dynasties to the present. Readings and activities help students understand the political and cultural conditions that led to the 1979 Revolution and its aftermath.

Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Program
WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY, BOX 1948, PROVIDENCE, RI 02912
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Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution



THE CHOICES PROGRAM

Explore the Past... Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

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CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

January 2008

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

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Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on policy issues.



The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

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The Choices Approach to Historical Turning Points

Choices curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using a student-centered approach, Choices units develop critical thinking and an understanding of the significance of history in our lives today—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Teachers say the collaboration and interaction in Choices units are highly motivating for students. Studies consistently demonstrate that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material. Cooperative learning invites students to take pride in their own contributions and in the group product, enhancing students' confidence as learners. Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than those using a lecture-discussion format. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Choices units on historical turning points include student readings, a framework of policy options, primary sources, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- understand historical context
- recreate historical debate
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives at a turning point in history
- analyze primary sources that provide a grounded understanding of the moment
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- identify the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- develop and articulate original viewpoints
- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies.

Historical Understanding

Each Choices curriculum resource provides students with extensive information about an historical issue. By providing students only the information available at the time, Choices units help students to understand that historical events often involved competing and highly contested views. The Choices approach emphasizes that historical outcomes were hardly inevitable. This approach helps students to develop a more sophisticated understanding of history.

Each Choices unit presents the range of options that were considered at a turning point in history. Students understand and analyze these options through a role play activity.

In each unit the setting is the same as it was during the actual event. Students may be role playing a meeting of the National Security Council, a town gathering, or a Senate debate. Student groups defend their assigned policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates playing the role of "decisionmakers" at the time. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

The final reading in a Choices historical unit presents the outcome of the debate and reviews subsequent events. The final lesson encourages students to make connections between past and present.

Note To Teachers

In 1978, millions of Iranians risked their lives to protest against the shah. Marching in the streets, Iranians sought to end repressive rule, bring justice and opportunity, and rid Iran of the influence of foreign powers—particularly the United States. But Iranians were not unified about how to achieve these goals nor were they sure what kind of government they wanted. With the departure of the shah in January 1979, a tremendous struggle began for the future of Iran.

Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution traces the history of Iran to this period of debate and uncertainty. Students explore Iran's cultural history, its efforts to establish a representative democracy early in the twentieth century, and the role the great powers played in shaping events in Iran. A central activity helps students recreate the debate Iranians had about their own future in 1979. The reading concludes with a survey of the Islamic Republic of Iran since 1979.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with students examining documents and sources surrounding the Constitutional Revolution of 1906. A second lesson explores the points of view of the parties involved in the oil nationalization movement led by Mohammad Mossadegh. A supplement to this lesson asks students to consider classified U.S. documents on the 1953 coup. The third and fourth days feature a simulation in which students assume the roles of Iranians at Tehran University and debate their future. On the fifth day, students

chart Iran's swings between representative and authoritarian politics during the twentieth century. Alternatively, students consider human rights in Iran under the shah and today. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

• **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of reading has two distinct study guides. The standard study guide helps students harvest the information in the readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

• **Assessment:** A documents-based exercise (TRB 53-56) is provided to help teachers assess students' comprehension, analysis, evaluation, and synthesis of relevant sources. The assessment is modeled closely on one used by the International Baccalaureate Program. The assessment could also be used as a lesson.

• **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The reading addresses subjects that are complex. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them "Key Terms" on page TRB-57 before they begin. An "Islam and the Iranian Revolution Issues Toolbox" on TRB 58-59 provides additional information on the role of Islam.

• **Additional Resources:** More resources, including powerpoint maps, original documents, and video are available for download at <www.choices.edu/iranmaterials>.

The lesson plans offered here are provided as a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you tailor the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating this Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program can be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution* might fit into your curriculum.

World History: Studying the Iranian Revolution helps students gain a broader understanding of one of the revolutions that altered the course of history. Besides offering an overview of Iranian history, the unit focuses on the economic, political, and social conditions that led to revolution in 1979.

Iran's revolution, marked by violence, uncertainty, and ultimately a change of government, was fueled by the legacies of imperialism. Like the French and Russian Revolutions before it, its outcome has had a profound and lasting impact on the course of history that reverberates to this day.

Contemporary Issues and Religion: After the collapse of Soviet communism, some Western observers have elevated Islam to the status of a global menace. A few scholars, most notably Samuel Huntington, have suggested that the civilizations of the West and the Islamic world are locked in fundamental conflict. Political leaders on both sides of the cultural divide have fanned the flames of tensions. At the same time, moderate voices have stepped up their efforts to promote reconciliation and mutual understanding. *Iran*

Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution provides students a starting point for studying the growth of political Islam.

Political Science/Government: Why do transitions of government vary from case to case? Students will explore how Iran's historical traditions of governance and the legacies of imperialism affected its transition to an Islamic Republic.

Additionally, students will examine the role leadership plays in national stewardship. Iran's leaders—kings, clerics, socialists, and intellectuals—have had profound effects on their country. Why are some leaders more successful than others? What is the relationship between leadership and the citizenry?

International Politics: For the countries of the industrialized world, national security has long been synonymous with access to oil. Iran's relations with powerful foreign countries, particularly the United States and Great Britain, have been shaped by Iran's oil wealth. Today, Iran represents a challenge to American power and security interests in the Middle East. President George W. Bush called Iran a member of the "Axis of Evil." Iran's nuclear program is one of the significant items on the international agenda. This curriculum gives students an historical context for looking at today's challenges.

Reading Strategies and Suggestions

This unit covers a range of issues over a long period of time. Your students may find the readings complex. It might also be difficult for them to synthesize such a large amount of information. The following are suggestions to help your students better understand the readings.

Pre-reading strategies: Help students to prepare for the reading.

1. Be sure that students understand the purpose for their reading the text. Will you have a debate later and they need to know the information to formulate arguments? Will students communicate with students in Iran over the internet? Will they create a class podcast?

2. Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.

3. Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed in the back of the TRB with students.

4. Since studies show that most students are visual learners, use a visual introduction,

such as photographs or a short film clip to orient your students.

5. You might create a Know/Want to Know/Learned (K-W-L) worksheet for students to record what they already know about Iran and what they want to know. As they read they can fill out the “learned” section of the worksheet. Alternatively, brainstorm their current knowledge and then create visual maps in which students link the concepts and ideas they have about the topic.

Split up readings into smaller chunks:

Assign students readings over a longer period of time or divide readings among groups of students.

Graphic organizers: You may also wish to use graphic organizers to help your students better understand the information that they read. These organizers are located on TRB-8, TRB-9, and TRB-21. Students can complete them in class in groups or as part of their homework, or you can use them as reading checks or quizzes.

Iran's Constitutional Revolution: 1906-1911

Objectives:

Students will: Explore the events surrounding Iran's Constitutional Revolution.

Develop fact-gathering and reporting skills.

Examine, summarize, and interpret primary sources.

Work cooperatively within groups.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I in the student text (pages 1-15) and completed "Study Guide—Part I" (TRB 5-6) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-7).

Note:

A graphic organizer on the "Major Dynasties of Iran" can be found on TRB-8. A second organizer, "Foreign Interventions in Iran" is on TRB-9. Teachers should photocopy this single sheet as needed for the multiple dynasties and interventions. These can be used for Parts I and II of the reading.

Teachers may want to make more resources (internet, books, maps) available to students, or design their own materials (in addition to the handouts provided here) for students to report on.

Handouts:

"Reporting Iran's Constitutional Revolution 1906-1911 (TRB-10)

"The Tobacco Protest" (TRB-11)

"The Constitution of 1906" (TRB-12-13)

British and Russian Zones of Influence (TRB-14)

"The Case of Howard Baskerville" (TRB-15)

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—Write the question "What conditions are necessary for revolution?" on the board.

2. Forming Groups—Divide the class into groups of 3-4 students. Tell students that they are newspaper reporters who have been sent to Iran to report on events connected to the Constitutional Revolution. Each group represents a rival paper. Students will be visiting various stations in the classroom and constructing brief stories with a headline, graphic, and lead paragraph on each event. Some teachers may want to provide an example of a good headline, graphic, and lead paragraph to the class.

3. Reporting the Story—Designate different locations of your classroom as the home for several copies of the handouts. Tell students to follow directions on the handouts.

4. Sharing Conclusions—Ask groups to share some of their stories. What additional information would students like to have to report the story? Ask students to consider which story they thought was the most important.

Ask students to use their new knowledge to explain what conditions in Iran contributed to Iran's Constitutional Revolution. What conditions may have contributed to its end?

Although they have been playing the role of reporters, tell students they have done what historians often do: explore events using documents and accounts of participants. Ask students to consider how historians can describe events at which they are not present. What sources did they use here? Can students think of other sources they could use?

Homework:

Students should read Part II in the student text (pages 16-26) and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 17-18) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-19).

Name: _____

Study Guide—Introduction and Part I

1. In January 1979, Iranians began a debate about the form of their next government. What three models did they consider?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
2. Scarcity of water in Iran led to what two developments?
 - a.
 - b.
3. Why did Shi'i Islam become the mandatory faith of the Safavid Dynasty?
4. Explain how the role of the ulama increased in Qajar Iran.
5. What were concessions?
6. How did many Iranians regard the policies of Nasir al-Din Shah? Explain.

7. Which two groups organized the Tobacco Protest?
- a.
- b.
8. In 1907, Britain and Russia agreed to divide Iran into two spheres of influence. Mark these areas on the map below. Refer to your reading as needed.



9. Why was Britain determined to remain the dominant foreign power in Iran after World War I?
10. Reza Shah’s policies changed Iran. Below list his policies and his reasons for these policies.

Policy	Reasons for Policy

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I

1. What geographical and cultural factors influenced the development of early Iran?
2. How did Shi'i Islam become the primary religion of Iran?
3. Some historians have compared Iran's Tobacco Protest of 1891 to the Boston Tea Party in the United States. What similarities and differences do you see?
4. Why did Reza Shah try to reduce the role of Great Britain and other foreign powers in Iran?

Major Dynasties of Iran

Dynasty:

Founder:

Factors leading to rise to power:

Political Highlights:

Economic Highlights:



Cultural Highlights:

Social Highlights:

Reasons for decline/end of dynasty:

Dynasty:

Founder:

Factors leading to rise to power:

Political Highlights:

Economic Highlights:



Cultural Highlights:

Social Highlights:

Reasons for decline/end of dynasty:

Name: _____

Foreign Interventions in Iran

Reactions and/ or impact on Iranian people						
Role of Iranian rulers/government						
Incentive for foreign powers						
Type of Intervention						
Foreign Powers Involved						
Date						

Reporting Iran's Constitutional Revolution 1906-1911

Part I

Instructions: You and your group members are newspaper reporters who have been sent to Iran to report on events related to Iran's Constitutional Revolution. The other groups are also reporters, but they are from rival newspapers. As you move around your classroom, remember you are all reporting on the same stories. Your goal is to produce the most accurate, clear, and interesting reporting for your readers back home.

Examine the handouts your teacher gives you. Some of the handouts include background information and all include a source to help you construct your article. You may also wish to consult your readings or other sources for additional information. Be prepared to share your reporting with your classmates.

Each story you write should have a headline, an image, and a lead paragraph.

A Headline: Be sure that it grabs the reader's attention and reflects the content of your article.

An Image: Draw one or find one to use. Include a caption that describes the image.

The Lead Paragraph: Be sure you include the answers to who, what, where, when, and how in 3-5 short clear sentences.

Part II

If you had the opportunity, what other information would you gather if you could report each story more fully?

a. The Tobacco Protest:

b. The Constitution of 1906:

c. British and Russian Zones of Influence:

d. The Case of Howard Baskerville:

The Tobacco Protest

Background: In 1890, for the fee of £15,000 per year, the shah granted a British company the exclusive right to produce, sell, and export tobacco. Tobacco was popular in Iran. Iranians wondered why this right should be taken out of the hands of Iranians and given to foreigners as a monopoly. Iranians from all areas of society were outraged. Men and women participated in widespread protests against the concession and against the shah.

Two important sectors of Iranian society helped organize the protests and a boycott of tobacco. The first were the intellectuals. The second were the ulama, who supported the boycott because they believed that foreign encroachment presented a danger to Shi'i Islam.

Sources:

“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficent. Today the use of both varieties of tobacco, in whatever fashion, is reckoned war against the Imam of the Age [the Twelfth Imam]—may God hasten his advent.”

—Sheik Shirazi, Chief Mujtahid, December 1891

***“When the night was young, the shah contemplated plunder
At dawn, his body, head and crown were all asunder...”***

—Unknown Iranian Poet, around the time of the Tobacco Protest

“The shah is looked upon by many of his subjects, who have lived or travelled abroad, as the representative of the most stationary and selfish form of conservatism..”

—British Diplomat, around the time of the Tobacco Protest

“When every vermin infested priest...comes forth, should not some other scheme be thought of for getting out of our troubles, even if it comes at a great loss?”

—Nasir al-Din Shah, 1891

The Constitution of 1906

Background: In 1905, protests against the shah broke into the open. The protestors demanded a constitution and a parliament. The shah, who was ill and hoped to preserve the monarchy, agreed. In 1906, Iran's first elections for the parliament were held. One of the parliament's first tasks was to write a constitution.

Source: Excerpts from the Constitution

The Electoral Law of September 9, 1906

Rules governing the Elections.

ART. 1. The electors of the nation in the well-protected realms of Persia in the Provinces and Departments shall be of the following classes: (i) Princes and the Qájár tribe, (ii) Doctors of Divinity and Students, (iii) Nobles and Notables, (iv) Merchants, (v) Landed proprietors and peasants, (vi) Trade-guilds.

ART. 3. The persons who are entirely deprived of electoral rights are as follows: (i) women, (ii) persons not within years of discretion, and those who stand in need of a legal guardian, (iii) foreigners, (iv) persons whose age falls short of twenty-five years, (v) persons notorious for mischievous opinions, (vi) bankrupts who have failed to prove that they were not fraudulent, (vii) murderers, thieves, criminals, and persons who have undergone punishment according to the Islamic Law, as well as persons suspected of murder or theft, and the like, who have not legally exculpated themselves, (viii) persons actually serving in the land or sea forces.

The Fundamental Laws of December 30, 1906

ART. 2. The National Consultative Assembly represents the whole of the people of Persia, who [thus] participate in the economic and political affairs of the country.

ART. 7. On the opening of the debates, at least two thirds of the Members of the Assembly shall be present, and, when the vote is taken, at least three quarters. A majority shall be obtained only when more than half of those present in the Assembly record their votes.

ART. 13. The deliberations of the National Consultative Assembly, in order that effect may be given to their results, must be public. According to the Internal Regulations of the Assembly, journalists and spectators have the right to be present and listen, but not to speak. Newspapers may print and publish all the debates of the Assembly, provided they do not change or pervert their meaning, so that the public may be informed of the subjects of discussion and the detail of what takes place. Everyone, subject to his paying due regard to the public good, may discuss them in the public Press, so that no matter may be veiled or hidden from any person....

ART. 24. The conclusion of treaties and covenants, the granting of commercial, industrial, agricultural and other concessions, irrespective of whether they be to Persian or foreign subjects, shall be subject to the approval of the National Consultative Assembly, with the exception of treaties which, for reasons of State and the public advantage, must be kept secret.

The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7, 1907

ART. 1. The official religion of Persia is Islám, according to the orthodox Já'farí doctrine of the Ithna 'Ashariyya (Church of the Twelve Imáms), which faith the Sháh of Persia must profess and promote.

ART. 6. The lives and property of foreign subjects residing on Persian soil are guaranteed and protected, save in such contingencies as the laws of the land shall except.

ART. 8. The people of the Persian Empire are to enjoy equal rights before the Law.

ART. 9. All individuals are protected and safeguarded in respect to their lives, property, homes, and honor, from every kind of interference, and none shall molest them save in such case and in such way as the laws of the land shall determine.

ART. 10. No one can be summarily arrested, save flagrante delicto in the commission of some crime or misdemeanor, except on the written authority of the President of the Tribunal of Justice, given in conformity with the Law. Even in such case the accused must immediately, or at latest in the course of the next twenty-four hours, be informed and notified of the nature of his offence.

ART. 20. All publications, except heretical books and matters hurtful to the perspicuous religion [of Islam] are free, and are exempt from the censorship. If, however, anything should be discovered in them contrary to the Press law, the publisher or writer is liable to punishment according to that law. If the writer be known, and be resident in Persia, then the publisher, printer and distributor shall not be liable to prosecution.

ART. 21. Societies and associations which are not productive of mischief to Religion or the State, and are not injurious to good order, are free throughout the whole Empire, but members of such associations must not carry arms, and must obey the regulations laid down by the Law on this matter. Assemblies in the public thoroughfares and open spaces must likewise obey the police regulations.

ART. 22. Correspondence passing through the post is safeguarded and exempt from seizure or examination, save in such exceptional cases as the Law lays down.

Powers of the Realm.

ART. 26. The powers of the realm are all derived from the people; and the Fundamental Law regulates the employment of those powers.

ART. 27. The powers of the Realm are divided into three categories.

First, the legislative power, which is specially concerned with the making or amelioration of laws. This power is derived from His Imperial Majesty, the National Consultative Assembly, and the Senate, of which three sources each has the right to introduce laws, provided that the continuance thereof be dependent on their not being at variance with the standards of the ecclesiastical law, and on their approval by the Members of the two Assemblies, and the Royal ratification....

Second, the judicial power, by which is meant the determining of rights. This power belongs exclusively to the ecclesiastical tribunals in matters connected with the ecclesiastical law, and to the civil tribunals in matters connected with ordinary law.

Third, the executive power, which appertains to the King, that is to say, the laws and ordinances are carried out by the Ministers and State officials in the august name of His Imperial Majesty in such manner as the Law defines.

ART. 28. The three powers above mentioned shall ever remain distinct and separate from one another.

ART. 74. No tribunal can be constituted save by the authority of the Law.

ART. 76. All proceedings of tribunals shall be public, save in cases where such publicity would be injurious to public order or contrary to public morality.

ART. 79. In cases of political and press offences, a jury must be present in the tribunals.

ART. 94. No tax shall be established save in accordance with the Law.

ART. 105. The military expenditure shall be approved every year by the National Consultative Assembly.

British and Russian Zones of Influence

Background: In 1907, Russia and Britain signed a treaty in which Russia claimed northern Iran as falling within its sphere of influence and Britain claimed the southeast. They agreed that there would be a neutral zone in the middle. Anxious to reclaim the powers of previous shahs, Muhammad Ali Shah argued that the new constitutional form of government was even less successful than the old government in protecting Iran from foreign interference.

Source: Excerpt from the Anglo-Russia Accord of 1907

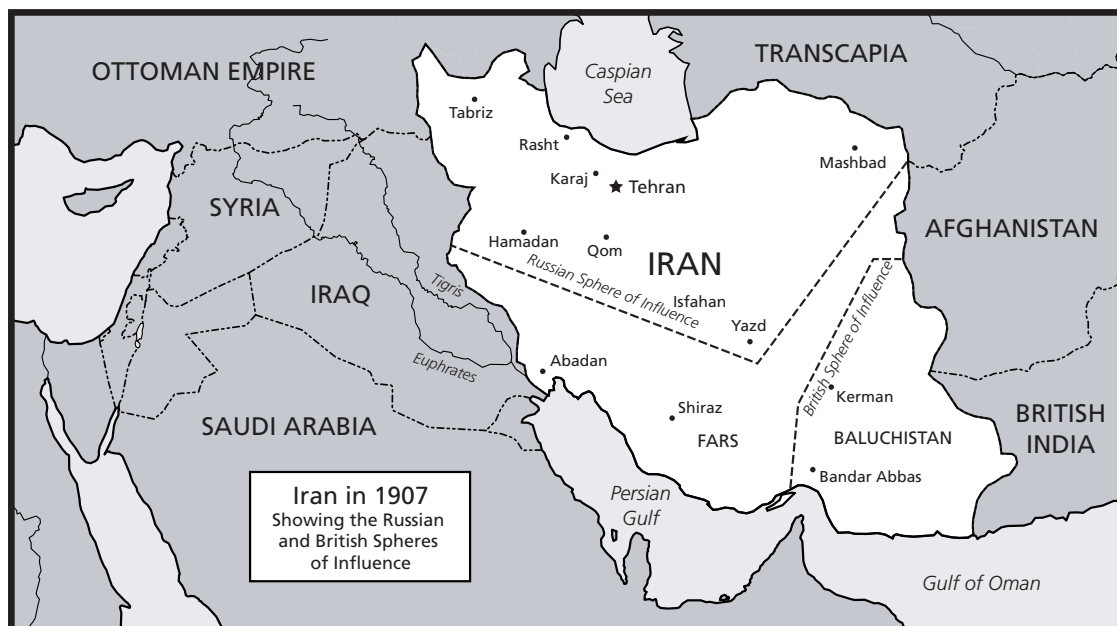
The Governments of Great Britain and Russia having mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and sincerely desiring the preservation of order throughout that country and its peaceful development, as well as the permanent establishment of equal advantages for the trade and industry of all other nations;

Considering that each of them has, for geographical and economic reasons, a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia adjoining, or in the neighborhood of, the Russian frontier on the one hand, and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the other hand; and being desirous of avoiding all cause of conflict between their respective interests in the above-mentioned provinces of Persia;

Have agreed on the following terms:

I. Great Britain engages not to seek for herself, and not to support in favour of British subjects, or in favour of the subjects of third Powers, any Concessions of a political or commercial nature..., and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar Concessions in this region which are supported by the Russian Government....

II. Russia, on her part, engages not to seek for herself and not to support, in favour of Russian subjects, or in favour of the subjects of third Powers, any Concessions of a political or commercial nature ... and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar Concessions in this region which are supported by the British Government...



The Case of Howard Baskerville

Background: During the Constitutional Revolution there was fighting between forces loyal to the shah and those who supported the constitution. A young American missionary, Howard Baskerville, died fighting for those who supported the constitution on April 19, 1909. Below are excerpts of a letter written by the American missionary Annie Wilson to Baskerville's parents about his death.

Source: Letter to Dr. and Mrs. Baskerville

My Dear Dr. & Mrs. Baskerville,

You have heard long before this letter reaches you that your dear boy has laid down his life. It is almost three weeks since he resigned his position at the mission school, though he has come to see us six times since. The last time was last night. Just before starting to battle. He told us it was a desperate attempt to open the road and get food into this starving city. We had prayer together. Mr. Wilson praying only for his protection and commending him to God's care. Mr. Baskerville himself prayed only for others, "this city to be relieved," "the dear ones of the Mission to be kept in safety, and for peace to be obtained."—not a word of himself. In the night a soldier brought a note from him, "Dangerous rumor that the Europeans will be attacked to secure immediate intervention. Don't be on the streets today." The first Sunday after he joined the army he came to church and sat in his usual seat,—the second in front—and had quite an ovation afterward, the men pressing round him to shake hands. That afternoon he came to see us. I begged him not to be reckless, saying "You know you are not your own." "No," he answered, "I am Persia's."

[...]

The news was brought to us this morning by Khachadoor, one of the boys, who takes care of his horse and room, who had risen at four A.M. to go out and see the battle and especially to bring news of Mr. Baskerville, as he himself had asked him to do yesterday afternoon, saying he might fall and wished us to know at once. The boy came running in, tears streaming down his face.... They returned very quickly and the boys rushed to the gate to carry him in, all of us sobbing and lamenting. We carried him to our room and laid him on our own bed, and Mrs. Vannemen and I washed the dear body with the blood staining through his shirts and covering his breast and back. We found the bullet hole in front and back, having passed clear through, so small, so fatal. It had entered from the back and come out just above his heart, cutting a large artery, and Dr. V. says causing instant death. His face was bruised a little on one side, where he had fallen. We dressed him in his black suit, and when all the sad service was done, he looked beautiful and noble, his firm mouth set in a look of resolution and his whole face calm in repose.

I printed a kiss on his forehead for his mother's sake. A white carnation is in his buttonhole, and wreaths of flowers are being made. Our children made a cross and crown of the beautiful almond blossoms now in bloom. The Governor came at once, expressing great sorrow, saying, "He has written his name in our hearts and in our history." The Anjuman (national assembly) sent a letter, saying they wished a share in doing him honor, and asked that the funeral be put off till tomorrow....

Iranian Oil Nationalization

Objectives:

Students will: Understand the Oil Nationalization Movement from the perspectives of the National Front, the shah, Great Britain, and the United States.

Collaborate with classmates to develop a group presentation.

Assess the competing claims and interests of each group.

Note:

A documents-based lesson that examines the U.S. role in the coup is available on TRB 22-32.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II in the student text (pages 16-26) and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 17-18) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-19).

Handouts:

“Oil Nationalization—Organizing Your Presentation” (TRB-20)

“The Oil Nationalization Crisis” (TRB-21)

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question: Write the question “How should international disputes be settled?” on the board.

2. Defining Roles—Divide the class into four groups. Assign each group the responsibility of representing one of the four major players (the shah, Great Britain, Mossadegh and the National Front, the United States). Distribute the handouts to all four groups.

Explain that the groups will visit each other group and explain their perspective on the issue. Emphasize that each group must faithfully reflect the views of the perspective it has been assigned. Groups should not negotiate or debate, rather they should gather information about the other groups’ positions.

3. Comparing Perspectives—Once the groups have completed their preparations, call on groups to visit the other groups. Direct groups to exchange information about their positions and then move them on to another group until everyone has heard all perspectives.

4. Assessing Competing Claims—Encourage the groups to analyze other groups’ positions. For example, how does the perspective of the United States differ from that of Mossadegh and the National Front? How do domestic political factors influence the views of Mossadegh? What seems to be the primary concern of the United States? The shah? Great Britain?

What historical factors influence the perspectives?

When there are competing claims in international relations, on what basis do students think that claims should be resolved? What factors should be considered? For example, did Iran have a sovereign right to nationalize its oil industry? Or should it have honored its agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company?

Homework:

Students should read “1979: Iranians Debate Their Future” in the student text (page 27-28).

Study Guide—Part II

1. Why did Iran become more politically open during the first years of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign?
2. What groups made up the National Front?
 - a.
 - b.
3. What was the goal of oil nationalization?
4. List two ways the Cold War affected Iran.
 - a.
 - b.
5. The following picture was taken during during one of the shah's programs of reform. What reform program does the picture show? (Hint: Refer to your reading.) Did this reform succeed? Explain.



Photo by Ralph Crane. ©Time Life Pictures/Getty Images. Used with permission.

- C.

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Part II

1. How did Mohammad Mossadegh's ideas conflict with those of Great Britain and the United States?
2. Describe the role of the SAVAK under the shah.
3. How did political repression by the shah lead to the rise of importance of Ayatollah Khomeini?
4. Describe the political goals of Mohammad Reza Shah during his reign. Why do you think they met so much resistance among the Iranian people?

Oil Nationalization—Organizing Your Presentation

Instructions: Your group has been called on to represent one of four perspectives about the oil nationalization in Iran. Your group should prepare answers to the questions from the perspective of the position you were assigned. Review the reading to gain insight into your group's position. Answering the questions below will help you develop your presentation to the other groups. Use the handout "The Oil Nationalization Crisis" to record the perspectives of the other groups.

1. What is your position regarding oil nationalization?
2. What is at stake for your group?
3. What are the arguments in support of your claims?
4. How will the other groups perceive your claims?
5. What are your perceptions of the other groups?

Name: _____

The Oil Nationalization Crisis

Mohammed Reza Shah

1. What is his position on oil nationalization?
2. What is at stake for him?
3. What are the arguments in support of his claims?
4. How will the other groups perceive his claims?
5. What are his perceptions of the other groups?

United States Government

1. What is its position on oil nationalization?
2. What is at stake for this group?
3. What are the arguments in support of its claims?
4. How will the other groups perceive its claims?
5. What are its perceptions of the other groups?

The Iranian Oil Nationalization Crisis of 1950-1953

Mossadegh and the National Front

1. What is this group's position on oil nationalization?
2. What is at stake for this group?
3. What are the arguments in support of this group's claims?
4. How will the other groups perceive this group's claims?
5. What are this group's perceptions of the other groups?

British Government

1. What is its position on oil nationalization?
2. What is at stake for this group?
3. What are the arguments in support of its claims?
4. How will the other groups perceive its claims?
5. What are its perceptions of the other groups?

U.S. Documents of the 1953 Coup

Objectives:

Students will: Deepen their understanding of the coup of 1953.

Explore recently released secret U.S. documents and contemporary press accounts of the coup.

Consider the connections between perspective and contemporary politics.

Note:

Copies of the originals of many of these documents are available online at <www.choices.edu/iranmaterials>

Handouts:

“Document 1: National Security Council Assessment of the Situation in Iran” (TRB 23-24)

“Document 2: CIA Plan to Overthrow Mossadegh” (TRB 25-27)

“Document 3: CIA Intercept of Radio Tehran Broadcast of August 19, 1953” (TRB-28)

“Document 4: New York Times Article on the Return of the Shah to Iran” (TRB 29-30)

“Document 5: New York Times Article on the Fallout of the Coup” (TRB-31)

“Document 6: New York Times Article on the Trial of Mohammed Mossadegh” (TRB-32)

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—Write the following question on the board, “How does perspective affect interpretation of events?”

2. Overview—Tell students that they are going to analyze U.S. documents and contemporary newspaper accounts of the 1953 coup. Divide the class into groups and distribute the documents to each group. Assign the task of analyzing one of the documents to each group. (Note: the “CIA Plan to Overthrow Mossadegh” is the longest.) Tell students to follow the instructions on their document and to prepare

to summarize briefly their findings to their classmates.

3. Assessing the Importance of Information—After the groups have completed analyzing their documents, reassemble the class. Encourage each group to assess the significance of its document in a sentence or two. Ask groups to refer specifically to their documents to support their points. Which documents do the students think are most important to understand?

How do the policies proposed in Document 1 and Document 2 differ?

4. Exploring Perspective with Critical Eyes—Most of the documents refer to the threat to Iran and the United States from the Soviet Union. Ask students to list other international events shaping U.S. government perceptions of the Soviet threat in the early 1950s, e.g., the Korean War, the death of Stalin, mainland China’s communist takeover, crises in Berlin, the first Soviet nuclear test.

Now ask students to list Iranian perceptions of the events of this period, e.g., resentment of imperialism and occupation, economic hardships, and historical injustices and exploitation at the hands of the British.

Ask students if they can detect a point of view in the newspaper articles. For example, how does the author of Document 4 portray the shah? How is Mossadegh portrayed in Document 6? How is the shah portrayed? Do students believe that Documents 4 and 6 represent objective journalism? Why or why not?

Which of these U.S. documents give attention to Iranian concerns or public opinion? What documents would students want to examine if they wanted to understand more of the Iranian perspective on this time period?

Homework:

Students should read “1979: Iranians Debate Their Future” in the student text (pages 27-28).

Document 1: National Security Council Assessment of the Situation in Iran

Instructions: The National Security Council advises the U.S. President about foreign policy. Below is an excerpt prepared in the final days of the Truman Administration. Read the document, highlight or underline important sections, and answer the questions that follow. You should prepare to summarize your findings to your class.

Date: November 20, 1952

TOP SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

STATEMENT OF POLICY

Proposed by the

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

on

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAN

1. It is of critical importance to the United States that Iran remain an independent and sovereign nation, not dominated by the USSR. Because of its key strategic position, its petroleum resources, its vulnerability to intervention or armed attack by the USSR, and its vulnerability to political subversion, Iran must be regarded as a continuing objective of Soviet expansion. The loss of Iran by default or by Soviet intervention would:

- a. Be a major threat to the security of the entire Middle East, including Pakistan and India.
- b. Permit communist denial to the free world of access to Iranian oil and seriously threaten the loss of other Middle Eastern oil.
- c. Increase the Soviet Union's capability to threaten important United States-United Kingdom lines of communication.
- d. Damage United States prestige in nearby countries and with the exception of Turkey and possibly Pakistan, seriously weaken, if not destroy, their will to resist Communist pressures.
- e. Set off a series of military, political and economic developments, the consequences of which would seriously endanger the security interests of the United States.

2. Present trends in Iran are unfavorable to the maintenance of control by a non-communist regime for an extended period of time. In wresting the political initiative from the shah, the landlords, and other traditional holders of power, the National Front politicians now in power have at least temporarily eliminated every alternative to their own rule except the Communist Tudeh Party. However, the ability of the National Front to maintain control of the situation indefinitely is uncertain. The political upheaval which brought the nationalists to power has heightened popular desire for promised economic and social betterment and has increased social unrest. At the same time, nationalist failure to restore the oil industry to operation has led to near-exhaustion of the government's financial reserves and to deficit financing to meet current expenses, and is likely to produce a progressive deterioration of the economy at large.

3. ...It is clear that the United Kingdom no longer possesses the capability unilaterally to assure stability in the area. If present trends continue unchecked, Iran could be effectively lost to the free world in advance of an actual Communist takeover of the Iranian government. Failure to arrest present trends in Iran involves a serious risk to the national security of the United States.

4. For the reasons outlined above, the major United States policy objective with respect to Iran is to prevent the country from coming under communist control. The United States should, therefore, be prepared to pursue the policies which would be most effective in accomplishing this objective. In the light of the present situation the United States should adopt and pursue the following policies:

- a. Continue to assist in every practicable way to effect an early and equitable liquidation of the oil controversy.
- b. Be prepared to take the necessary measure to help Iran to start up her oil industry and to secure markets for her oil so that Iran may benefit from substantial oil revenues.
- c. Be prepared to provide prompt United States budgetary aid to Iran if, ending restoration of her oil industry and oil markets, such aid is necessary to halt a serious deterioration of the financial and political situation in Iran....
- d. Recognize the strength of Iranian nationalist feeling; try to direct it into constructive channels and be ready to exploit an opportunity to do so, bearing in mind the desirability of strengthening in Iran the ability to resist communist pressure.
- e. Continue present programs of military, economic and technical assistance to the extent they will help to restore stability and increase internal security, and be prepared to increase such assistance to support Iranian resistance to communist pressure.
- f. Encourage the adoption by the Iranian government of necessary financial, judicial and administrative and other reforms.
- g. Continue special political measures designed to assist in achieving the above purposes.
- h. Plan now for the eventual inclusion of Iran in any regional defense arrangement which may be developed in the Middle East if such inclusion should later prove feasible....

Questions:

1. When was the document written? Who was president of the United States at this time?
2. What is the primary concern of the United States regarding Iran?
3. What does the document conclude about the United Kingdom?
4. What steps are proposed to meet the U.S. goals in Iran?

Document 2: CIA Plan to Overthrow Mossadegh

Instructions: The text below is an excerpt from the CIA plan (known as TPAJAX) to overthrow Mohammed Mossadegh. (Note: SIS stands for Britain's Secret Intelligence Service.) Read the document, highlight or underline important sections, and answer the questions that follow. You should prepare to summarize your findings to your class. The document was still classified when it was published in *The New York Times* in 2000.

Initial Operational Plan for TPAJAX as Cabled from Nicosia to Headquarters on 1 June 1953

Summary of Preliminary Plan prepared by SIS and CIA Representatives in Cyprus

I. Preliminary Action

A. Interim Financing of Opposition

1. CIA will supply \$35,000 to Zahedi.
2. SIS will supply \$25,000 to Zahedi.
3. SIS indogenous channels Iran will be used to supply above funds to Zahedi.
4. CIA will attempt subsidize key military leaders if this is necessary.

B. Acquisition shah cooperation

1. Stage 1: Convince the shah that UK and US have joint aim and remove pathological fear of British intrigues against him.
 - a. Ambassador Henderson call on the shah to assure him of US-UK common aid and British supporting him not Mossadegh.
 - b. Henderson to say to the shah that special US representative will soon be introduced to him for presentation joint US-UK plan.
2. Stage 2: Special US representative will visit the shah and present following:
 - a. Presentation to the shah
 - (1) Both governments consider oil question secondary.
 - (2) Major issue is to maintain independence Iran and keep from the Soviet orbit. To do this Mossadegh must be removed.
 - (3) Present dynasty best bulwark national sovereignty.
 - (4) While Mossadegh in power no aid for Iran from United States.
 - (5) Mossadegh must go.
 - (6) US-UK financial aid will be forthcoming to successor government.
 - (7) Acceptable oil settlement will be offered but successor government will not be rushed into it.
 - b. Demands on the shah
 - (1) You must take leadership in overthrow Mossadegh.
 - (2) If not, you bear responsibility for collapse of country.
 - (3) If not, shah's dynasty will fall and US-UK backing of you will cease.
 - (4) Who do you want to head successor government? (Try and maneuver shah into naming Zahedi.)
 - (5) Warning not to discuss approach.

(6) Plan of operation with Zahedi will be discussed with you.

II. Arrangement with Zahedi

A. After agreement with shah per above, inform Zahedi he chosen to head successor government with US-UK support.

B. Agree on specific plan for action and timetable for action. There are two ways to put Zahedi in office.

1. Quasi-legally, whereby the shah names Zahedi Prime Minister by royal firman [decree].
2. Military coup.

Quasi-legal method to be tried first. If successful at least part of machinery for military coup will be brought into action. If it fails, military coup will follow in matter of hours.

III. Relations with Majlis

Important for quasi-legal effort. To prepare for such effort deputies must be purchased.

A. Basic aim is to secure 41 votes against Mossadegh and assure quorum for quasi-legal move by being able to depend on 53 deputies in Majlis. (SIS consider 20 deputies now not controlled, must be purchased.)

B. Approach to deputies to be done by SIS indigenous agent group. CIA will backstop where necessary by pressures on Majlis deputies and will provide part of the funds.

IV. Relations with Religious Leaders

Religious leaders should:

A. Spread word of their disapproval of Mossadegh.

B. As required, stage political demonstrations under religious cover.

C. Reinforce backbone of the shah.

D. Make strong assurances over radio and in mosques after coup that new government faithful Moslem principles.

Possibly as quid pro quo prominent cleric Borujerdi would be offered ministry without portfolio or consider implementing neglected article constitution providing body five mullas (religious leaders) to pass on orthodoxy of legislation.

E. [Redacted] should be encouraged to threaten direct action against pro-Mossadegh deputies.

V. Relations with Bazaar

Bazaar contacts to be used to spread anti-government rumors and possibly close bazaar as anti-government expression.

VI. Tudeh

Zahedi must expect violent reaction from Tudeh and be prepared to meet with superior violence.

A. Arrest at least 100 Party and Front Group leaders.

B. Seal off South Tehran to prevent influx Tudeh demonstrations.

C. Via black leaflets direct Tudeh members not to take any action.

VII. Press and Propaganda Program

A. Prior coup intensify anti-Mossadegh propaganda.

B. Zahedi should quickly appoint effective chief of government press and propaganda who will:

1. Brief all foreign correspondents.
2. Release advance prepared US and UK official statements.
3. Make maximum use Radio Tehran.

VIII. Relations with Tribes

- A. Coup will provoke no action from Bahktiari, Lurs, Kurds, Baluchi, Zolfaghair, Mamassani, Boer Amadi, and Khamseh tribal groups.
- B. Major problem is neutralization of Qashqa'i tribal leaders.

IX. Mechanics of Quasi-Legal Overthrow

A. At this moment the view with most favor is the so-called [redacted] whereby mass demonstrators seek religious refuge in Majlis grounds. Elements available to religious leaders would be joined by those supplied by bazaar merchants, up to 4,000 supplied by SIS controlled group and additional elements supplied through CIA.

B. Would be widely publicized that this refuge movement on basis two grounds popular dissatisfaction with Mossadegh government as follows:

1. Ground one that Mossadegh government basically anti-religious as most clearly demonstrated ties between Mossadegh and Tudeh; and Mossadegh and USSR. Just prior to movement CIA would give widest publicity to all fabricated documents proving secret agreement between Mossadegh and Tudeh.
2. Ground two that Mossadegh is leading the country into complete economic collapse through his unsympathetic dictatorship.

Just prior to movement CIA would give widest publicity to the evidence of illegally issued paper money. CIA might have capability to print masses excellent imitation currency which would be over-printed by this message.

C. Religious refuge to take place at the dawn of the coup day. Immediately followed by effort have Majlis pass a motion to censure the government. This is to be followed by the dismissal of Mossadegh and the appointment of Zahedi as successor. If successful, the coup would be completed by early afternoon. Failing success, the coup would be mounted later that evening.

Questions:

1. When was the document written? Who was president of the United States at this time?
2. What is the United States proposing to do in Iran?
3. What specific steps does the United States propose taking? List at least five.

Document 3: CIA Report of Intercept of Radio Tehran Broadcast of August 19, 1953

Instructions: The text below is a declassified excerpt from a 1998 CIA history of the 1953 coup. Read the document, highlight or underline important sections, and answer the questions that follow.

CIA Report

“The broadcast in the afternoon of 19 August was confused and chaotic, but there was no doubt that pro-Shah forces had captured and were controlling Radio Tehran.

“The first indication came when the announcer said, ‘The people of Tehran have risen today and occupied all the government offices, and I am able to talk to you all through the help of the armed forces. The government of Mossadegh is a government of rebellion and has fallen.’

“Seven minutes later, amid much confusion and shouting on the air, a Col. Ali Pahlavon said, ‘Oh people of the cities, be wide awake. The government of Mossadegh has been defeated. My dear compatriots, listen! I am one of the soldiers and one of the devotees of this country. Oh officers, a number of traitors...wants to sell out the country to the foreigners.

“‘My dear compatriots, today the Iranian royalists have defeated the demagogue government.... The Iranian nation, officers, army, and the police have taken the situation in their hands.

“‘Premier Zahedi will assume his post. There is no place for anxiety. Keep tranquil.’

“The broadcast stopped. After seven minutes it continued with a woman shouting, ‘Oh people of Iran, let the Iranian nation prove that the foreigners cannot capture this country! Iranians love the King. Oh tribes of Iran, Mossadegh is ruling over your country without your knowledge, sending your country to the government of the hammer and sickle.’

“A major from the Iranian army said that he was an infantry officer ‘...retired by Mossadegh, the traitor. We proved to the world that the Iranian army is the protector of this country and is under the command of the Shah.’ Much confusion followed, after which Radio Tehran played the national anthem and then went off the air.”

Questions:

1. How many different voices are described as speaking on Radio Tehran?
2. Do any of the speakers make similar points? Explain.
3. Why do you think it was important that pro-shah forces had captured and were controlling Radio Tehran?

Document 4: *New York Times* Article on the Return of the Shah to Iran

Instructions: The text below is a U.S. newspaper account of the 1953 coup. Read the document, highlight or underline important sections, and answer the questions that follow.

Shah Is Flying Home

ROME, Aug. 19—The Shah of Iran, on confirmation of the news that Royalists in his country had overthrown Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, decided to fly back to Teheran tomorrow. His aides immediately called a British airline to charter a plane to take him back to his home, whence he fled on Sunday.

Queen Soraya probably will not accompany him but will remain in Rome, at least for some days.

News of the uprising reached the Shah while he was lunching in his hotel with Queen Soraya and two aides. He went pale and his hands shook so violently that he hardly was able to read when newspaper men showed him the first reports, “Can it be true?” he asked.

The Queen was far more calm. “How exciting,” she exclaimed, placing her hand on the Shah’s arm to steady him.

Earlier in the day the Shah had said he had left his country only because he wished to avoid bloodshed. “Of course, I hope to go back,” he said, in answer to a question. “Everyone lives on hope.”

Now that his enemies had been overthrown, his chief concern was to show the legality of the events that had taken place in Teheran.

“This is not an insurrection,” he said. “Now we have a legal Government. General (Fazollah) Zahedi is Premier. I appointed him.”

“I am very glad that all this has happened in my absence,” he continued. “It shows how the people stand. Ninety-nine per cent of the population is for me. I knew it all the time. Everyone who is not a Communist is favorable to my stand.”

Holds Court in Lounge

All thought of food had been abandoned by this time. The Shah, his Queen and his two aides left the table and moved to the hotel lounge. There, surrounded by newspaper men and tourists, he sat in an armchair waiting for more news. He repeated more than once: “This is not an insurrection. This is my Government coming into power. It is the legal Government.”

Alluding to the dispute with Britain over nationalization of properties owned by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the Shah said: “Our differences with the British remain. But any nation willing to recognize our supreme interests and our sovereignty, and willing also to have decent relations with us based on mutual respect, would have no difficulty in getting on with our people.

“My main hope is that we will always be able to defend our independence and sovereignty. It is a cause of grief to me that I did not play an important part in my people’s and my army’s struggle for freedom and, on the contrary, was away and safe. But if I left my country, it was solely because of my anxiety to avoid bloodshed. I hope the new Government will be able to serve my nation and to raise their standard of living to a level more nearly approximating that of advanced modern nations.”

About this time, the Shah began to become greatly worried by reports that the Teheran radio station had stopped broadcasting. He evidently feared that Dr. Mossadegh’s partisans had somehow succeeded in gaining the upper hand. He excused himself hastily and hurried to his fourth-floor apartment, saying, “I’d like to hear all this from B. B. C. (British Broadcast Corporation). Then I’ll feel more confident about it.”

In the evening, while floods of congratulatory telegrams from friends and well-wishers began to stream into his hotel, the Shah and Queen Soraya left to have dinner at a restaurant.

Questions:

1. What is the most important idea of the article?
2. The shah is quoted seven times in the article. What point is most often made in the quotations?
3. The article mentions the oil dispute with Britain. What does the shah say about the dispute?

Document 5: *New York Times* Article on the Fallout of the Coup

Instructions: The text below is a U.S. newspaper's contemporary analysis of the 1953 coup. Read the document, highlight or underline important sections, and answer the questions that follow.

The New York Times, August 23, 1953

What Next?

Because of Iran's role in international politics, the change in regime last week is likely to have far-reaching repercussions. Immediately, of course, it is still a question how long the Zahedi regime can hold power. But with the army behind him and Dr. Mossadegh in custody, General Zahedi seems to be in a strong position.

Whether his Government will move toward an early oil settlement with Britain is uncertain. Thursday in a broadcast to Iran's foreign diplomatic missions, the new Premier said the Mossadegh regime had offended friendly foreign nations, and promised to "compensate for the past." Even before that, Anglo-Iranian stocks rose sharply on the London market. But General Zahedi and many of his supporters supported Dr. Mossadegh's oil nationalization. Thus the prospect is that negotiations, if any, will be difficult.

Nevertheless in the general cold war picture, the turn of events in Iran shapes up as a setback for Russia and an opportunity for the West. That state of affairs was mirrored last

week in the varying reactions of the Communist and free worlds.

The Russians were plainly chagrined. For weeks the Soviet press has been giving major attention to "good-neighborliness" between Russia and Iran. Dr. Mossadegh has been painted as a model statesman. His downfall brought immediate charges of subversive activities by U.S. agents on behalf of the Shah. A front-page article in *Pravda* [a leading Soviet newspaper] said: "The weapon of subversive activity was directed against Iran which did not wish to become the submissive slave of the American monopolies."

Western officials withheld public comment—and action—pending a clarification of the sudden developments. But privately they were elated. The change, they pointed out, brought to power in Iran an openly anti-Communist Government free of obligations to Tudeh. They said the new regime, beginning with a clean diplomatic slate, could turn again to the West and reverse Dr. Mossadegh's drift into the Russian embrace. Their general feeling was that the change provided the West with a new chance to build friendship with Iran.

Questions:

1. Does this article offer specific conclusions about the results of the coup? Explain.
2. Does the article have a point of view? What evidence is there to support your answer?
3. Why do you think the article quotes from the Soviet newspaper *Pravda*?

Document 6: *New York Times* Article on the Trial of Mohammed Mossadegh

Instructions: The text below is a U.S. newspaper's contemporary account of the 1953 trial of Mohammed Mossadegh. Read the document, highlight or underline important sections, and answer the questions that follow.

December 22, 1953—In a verdict that required more than an hour to read, the court found Dr. Mossadegh guilty of having ordered the arrest of Brig. Gen. Nematollah Nasiri, commander of the Shah's Imperial Guard, when he sought to deliver the Shah's dismissal order last August. It also declared that the former Premier had illegally imprisoned several government officials following General Nasiri's arrest and had disarmed the Imperial Guard.

Dr. Mossadegh, who also was primarily responsible for nationalization of Iran's oil industry was found guilty of having ordered telegrams sent to Iranian diplomatic missions abroad instructing them to have nothing to do with the Shah and Queen Soraya, who had fled the country when the dismissal order backfired.

The bill of indictment against the former Premier was sustained by the court. It convicted him of illegally dissolving a rump Majlis after organizing a rigged referendum to obtain popular support in his contest with that lower chamber of Parliament. Dr. Mossadegh also was found guilty of having issued orders to raze statues of the present Shah and the late Riza Shah, as well as having begun preparations to form a regency council to assume the Shah's functions.

Shah in Plea to Court

When the judges returned to the courtroom at 9:25 o'clock this evening Maj. Gen. Nasrollah Moghbeli, the court president, read a letter addressed to the court by the Shah in which the monarch praised "the services rendered by Dr. Mossadegh during his first year as Premier in connection with nationalization of the oil industry which is desired by the whole nation and is confirmed and supported by the monarchy itself." The Shah said he bore the former Premier no personal animus for deroga-

tory actions and remarks Dr. Mossadegh had directed against him.

It was widely believed the court had refused to accede to the prosecutor's demand that Dr. Mossadegh be sentenced to death or at least imprisoned for life as a result of the Shah's intervention. Since the former Premier is more than 60 years of age, it was not thought likely the death penalty would be carried out. However, most persons had expected the defendant would be exiled or imprisoned for life.

When Dr. Mossadegh heard the sentence, he lifted his head and said in a calm voice heavy with sarcasm: "The verdict of this court has increased my historical glories. I am extremely grateful you convicted me. Truly tonight the Iranian nation understood the meaning of constitutionalism."

Throughout the reading of the judge's decision the defendant had assumed his habitual slumped posture, leaning heavily on a small school desk used as the defendant's bar. He wore a shapeless gray overcoat and his face had the quizzical expression that have become Mossadegh trademarks.

Questions:

1. Of what crimes was Mossadegh found guilty?
2. How is the shah portrayed in this article?
3. How is Mossadegh portrayed?

Role Playing the Three Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues that framed the 1979 debate over the future of Iran.

Identify the core assumptions underlying the options.

Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options into a persuasive, coherent presentation.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read “1979: Iranians Debate Their Future” in the student text (page 27-28).

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-34) for options groups

“Undecided Citizens at Tehran University” (TRB 35-37) for remaining students

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the reading into their presentations and questions.

2. Introducing the Role Play—Inform the students that this simulation takes place at Tehran University in Iran. People of all ages gathered there to discuss Iran’s future after the shah’s departure.

3a. Option Groups—Form three groups of four to five students each. Assign an option to each group. Explain that the option groups should follow the instructions in “Presenting Your Option.” Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role (students may double up). Ask students to identify the political party or group that their group represents.

3b. Undecided Citizens—Distribute “Undecided Citizens at Tehran University” to the remaining students and assign each student a role. While the options groups are preparing their presentations, these students should develop cross-examination questions. Remind these students that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation. Note that the citizens are fictional characters.

Suggestion:

Ask the option groups to design a poster illustrating the best case for their options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Presenting Your Option

The Setting: It is winter 1979. Crowds have gathered at Tehran University and are making speeches and arguing about the future of Iran.

Your Assignment: Your group comprises a variety of individuals who share a common vision for Iran. Your assignment is to persuade the undecided citizens that your option should become the basis for action. On Day Four, your group will be called upon to present a persuasive three-to-five minute summary of your option to these individuals. You will be judged by the undecided citizens on how well you present your option. This worksheet will help you prepare. Your teacher will moderate discussion.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below

is a brief explanation of the responsibility of each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions below. The **group organizer** is responsible for organizing the presentation of your group's option to the undecided citizens. The **political expert** is responsible for explaining why your option is most appropriate in light of the current domestic and international political climates. The **economic expert** is responsible for explaining why your option makes the most sense for the country economically. The **social expert** is responsible for explaining why your group's option offers the best route in terms of social issues. The **history expert** is responsible for explaining the historical arguments that support your option.

Consider the following questions as you prepare your presentation:

1. What will be the impact of your option on the people of Iran?
2. What will be the impact of your option on foreign relations?
3. What is your option's long-term vision for Iran?
4. What are your option's short-term strategies for Iran?
5. What potential difficulties might your option's strategy encounter?
6. On what values is your option based?

Undecided Citizens at Tehran University

The Setting: It is early in 1979 and you have joined the growing crowds at Tehran University. In the new climate of unfettered political speech, different groups are arguing about the future of Iran.

Your Role: As an undecided citizen, you will listen to the presentations of each option and decide which group presented its option most persuasively. The presentations by the options groups will introduce you to three distinct options for Iran's future. You are expected to evaluate each of the options and complete an evaluation form at the conclusion of the debate. Your teacher will moderate discussion.

Your Assignment: While the three option groups are organizing their presentations, each of you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. The questions should

reflect the values, concerns, and interests of your character. Your teacher will collect these questions.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 from Mariam Mirzapour might be:

Won't a social democracy in Iran allow continued exploitation by the United States?

The three option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and the other citizens to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you will receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the options. After this activity is concluded, you and your classmates may be called upon to explain your positions on Iran's future.

Undecided Citizens At the Political Debate

Ali Al Ahmad: You are a fifty-nine-year-old man who grew up in a religious family many of whom were members of the clergy. As a young man you received a religious education, but then decided to attend Tehran Teachers College where you studied literature. You joined the Tudeh party as a young man, but left because you believed it was not democratic enough and you did not support its positions on the Soviet Union's desire for oil concessions in Iran. You supported Mossadegh and after the coup you were arrested and went to prison for a few years. You have had a life-long concern for helping the poor and fighting Iran's widespread injustices.

Reza Elmi: You are a thirty-eight-year-old factory owner in Tehran. You grew up in a family of landowners from a small village near the city of Qom. You are a religious man and have done your best to give employment to workers from your hometown who have been forced to come to the city to find work. You are anxious to obtain loans to expand your business, but have had difficulty because you believe that banks have only favored extremely large businesses with connections to the government.

Marjan Parsipour: You are a thirty-nine-year-old woman who came to Tehran several years ago with your husband. You grew up in a family of poor landless farm workers who could no longer survive in the countryside. You and your husband have found work in Tehran, but have been forced to live in a run-down and dangerous slum. Your wages simply don't pay enough for you to get a decent and safe place to live, a plight shared by hundreds of thousands. Even so, you feel better off in the city than you did in the countryside. For the past few years, your husband has brought you cassettes of sermons by Ayatollah Khomeini and other preachers who are critical of the government.

Dena Gorgi: You are a sixteen-year-old girl who has grown up in Tehran. Your parents are well-off. Like many others your age, you listen to Western popular music, and wear Western clothes. You believe in God, but don't consider yourself religious. During the demonstrations against the shah you disobeyed your parents and demonstrated in the streets. You read all the time and admire revolutionaries like Cuba's Che Guevara. For you, they symbolize resistance against imperialism and taking a stand against the shah. You plan to attend the university some day and study medicine.

Nahid Teymourian: You are a fifty-four-year-old female math professor at Tehran University. You received your PhD from a university in Paris. When you arrived in Paris, you were interested in Marxism, because it seemed to be a logical way to help end poverty and injustice. Today, in addition to your Marxist ideas, you believe that Islam provides humans with a system of goodness that obligates humans to help each other. You see Islam as the best way to transform Iran. You believe the people of Iran can find a solution to the current problems.

Mariam Mirzapour: You are a twenty-one-year-old female university student who has been involved in protests against the shah. During a student strike last year, the police severely beat you and your friends. In 1975, your uncle had been arrested and tortured by the SAVAK for writing articles that criticized the shah. He was just recently released from prison. You think that Iran needs to free itself from the influence of the United States and create a new government that reflects the needs and values of Iran's people.

Karim Zahedi: You are a thirty-three-year-old lawyer with a wife and two children. You were born in the eastern part of Iran, and are the son of a wealthy tribal leader. You have worked for years for a U.S. company, Grumman, which sold fighter planes to Iran. All of Grumman's American employees left Iran in early January. Some of the Americans you know have told you that you should immigrate to the United States. You worry about finding more work and your children's future.

Hossein Firozi: You are a twenty-year-old male soldier from a rural area of the province Ardabil. As a child, you and your brothers and sisters had an elementary education in the local religious school. Your father worked as a brick-maker and your mother as a laundress. You were drafted into the army. Your unit was brought to Tehran last summer to help put down the growing protests and strikes. After Black Friday, you refused to fire on protestors because your religious beliefs tell you that it is wrong to fire on unarmed people. Nevertheless, you worry about continuing unrest and violence.

Darius Shirazi: You are a twenty-seven-year-old male steel factor worker. The past years have been full of difficulty and hardship for you and your family. You went on strike several times last year in order to improve your wages, but your biggest concern is the lack of decent housing and medical care for you, your wife, and four children. You resented the presence of foreign specialists at your factory who made much more money than their Iranian counterparts.

Mahnoosh Omidifar: You are a twenty-nine-year-old female reporter for the national newspaper *Kayhan*. You live with your parents because it is so difficult to find affordable housing. You have covered much of the unrest over the past year. In October, you and your colleagues went on strike to protest government censorship of your newspaper. Recently, you reported on the corrupt connections between the shah's government and the copper mining industry. Shortly after, you received death threats.

Role Playing the Three Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues that framed the 1979 debate in Iran.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

“Evaluation Form: Undecided Citizens”
(TRB-39)

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Organize the room so that the three option groups face a row of desks reserved for the undecided citizens.

2. Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by each option group.

Encourage all to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite the undecided citizens to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each member of this group has an opportunity to ask at least one question. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any member of the option group to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read the Epilogue (pages 36-44) and complete the “Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB 41-42) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB-43).

Name: _____

Evaluation Form: Undecided Citizens

Instructions: Answer the questions below following the simulation.

1. According to each option, what should the future of Iran be?

Option 1:

Option 2:

Option 3:

2. According to each option, what are the most important concerns in Iran?

Option 1:

Option 2:

Option 3:

3. Which of the options would you support most strongly? Explain your reasoning.

Charting Iran's Political Climate

Objectives:

Students will: Create a timeline of the significant historical events in Iran during the twentieth century.

Identify periods of authoritarian and more democratic governance in Iran.

Explore cause and effect relationships between historical events and trends towards democratic or authoritarian governance.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Epilogue (pages 36-44) and completed the “Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB 41-42) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB-43).

Handouts:

“Iran’s Political History During the Past Century” (TRB-44)

“Political Events in Iran 1900-Present” (TRB 45)

“Charting the Political Climate in Iran” (TRB 46-47)

Note:

Scissors and glue will be useful. Teachers may want to create their own timeline on the board or large paper.

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—Write the question, “What makes an historical event important?” on the board or overhead.

2. Tracing Iran’s Political Climate in the Twentieth Century—Divide the class into groups of three students and give the handouts to each group. Ask students to read and follow the directions.

3. Group Responses—After small groups have completed the questions, have everyone come together in a large group. You may want to review the timeline with students. Call on small groups to share their responses to the questions.

4. Making Connections—Ask groups to share their answers for question five on the worksheet: which event do they believe had the most significant effect on Iran’s political history?

Tell students that historians often debate and disagree about the importance of events. Ask students to consider the standards they used to arrive at their answers. Challenge them to apply the following questions to their answers:

Did the event produce a change in the economic or political system of Iran? Did the event change the daily life of people? Did the event influence or cause other events? How many? Did the event affect other countries? Did the event change relations between countries?

Are there other events that you would add to this timeline?

Based on what you have learned, what guesses would you make about the political climate in Iran in the coming years?

Study Guide: Epilogue

1. What kind of government did Prime Minister Bazargan favor for Iran?

2. What was Ayatollah Khomeini's vision for the future of Iran?

3. During the U.S. hostage crisis, students feared a U.S. attempt to return the shah to power. List two of their demands.
 - a.
 - b.

4. True or False? All Iranian clerics supported Khomeini's idea of the Guardianship of the Jurist. Explain your answer.

5. Refer to the diagram on page 38 of your reading, "The Constitution of 1979: Structure of Iranian Government."
 - a. Who is the highest leader according to the Constitution of 1979? List three of the powers he exercises.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
 - b. List two tasks of the Council of Guardians.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - c. Who can vote in Iran?

6. Why did Saddam Hussein have his army attack Iran?
7. List three results of “Iran-Contra.”
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
8. Two of the principal goals of the revolution were social justice and an equitable distribution of wealth. List three consequences of the government’s economic reform policies.
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
9. Why did Mohammad Khatami win the election for president of Iran in 1997 and 2001? List three reasons.
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
10. a. What does Iran claim its nuclear program is for?

b. Why is this a dilemma for the international community?

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide: Epilogue

1. How was Ayatollah Khomeini able to strengthen his control over Iran's political process after his arrival in February 1979?
2. Iranians elect members of the Majlis and a president every four years. Do Iranians have a representative government?
3. What evidence do you see that suggests that there is a desire to reform the Islamic Revolution?
4. What are the obstacles to improved relations between Iran and the United States?

Iran's Political History During the Past Century

Instructions: The political environment in Iran has ranged between more open and representative and more authoritarian and repressive. You are going to chart important events from Iranian history.

Complete the tasks outlined below.

1. Cut out the events from the handout "Political Events in Iran: 1900-Present."
2. Write in the year of each event on each cutout and place the cutouts in chronological order on the handout "Charting the Political Climate in Iran."
3. The top half of the chart represents more open/representative and the bottom half more authoritarian/repressive events. Move each of the events to the proper side of the chart. Events that represent more authoritarian or more open periods in Iranian history should be further from the center of the page, while events that represent somewhat authoritarian or somewhat open should be closer to the center. Glue or tape the events in place.
4. Draw lines connecting the events chronologically. If these events cause or lead to a change in the political climate in Iran, note the change along the line.
5. Which event has the most profound effect on the political climate in Iran? Explain how it led to change. (Write your answer on this page.)

Political Events in Iran: 1900-Present

The Constitutional Revolution

National Front comes to power

Khatami elected president

Coup against Mossadegh

Majlis abolishes Qajar Dynasty and appoints Reza Shah

Iran-Iraq War

Mohammad Reza Shah leaves Iran

Reform of Iranian legal system under Reza Shah

White Revolution

Constitution Establishes *Velyat-e Faqih*

Khomeini exiled

Britain lands troops in the south to protect newly discovered oil fields. Russian troops push into the north and threaten to occupy Tehran.

Mohammad Reza Shah survives assassination attempt

SAVAK formed

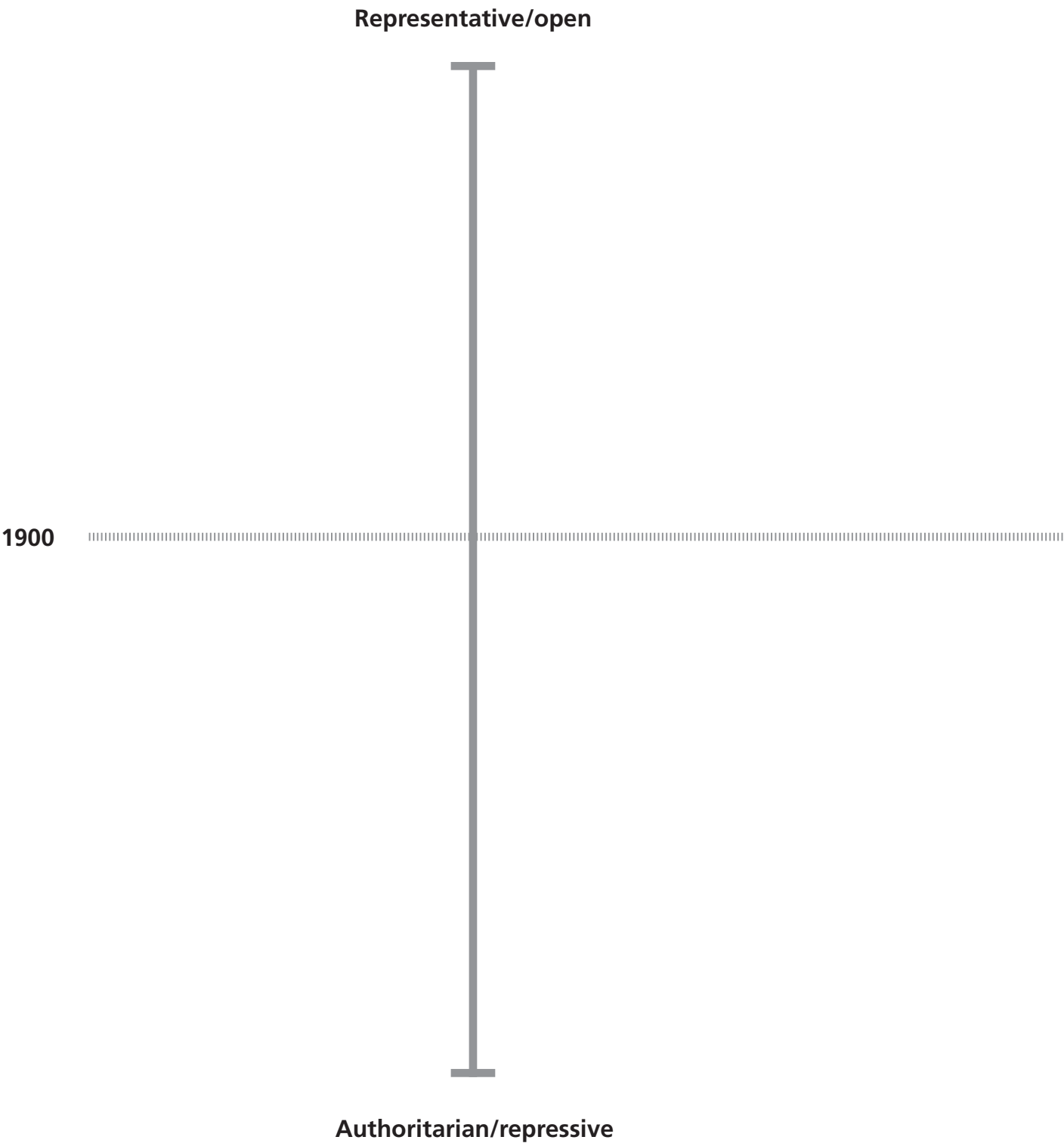
Reza Shah abdicates. British and Soviet forces occupy Iran.

Ahmadinejad elected president

U.S. Hostage Crisis

Bazargan becomes prime minister

Charting the Political Climate in Iran



Name: _____

Representative/open



Present

Authoritarian/repressive

Human Rights in Iran

Objectives:

Students will: Examine human rights reports from during the shah's era and today.

Compare and contrast the content of two human rights reports.

Assess the significance of human rights in their historical and contemporary context.

Handouts:

"Exploring Human Rights in Iran" (TRB-49)

"Amnesty International Report—1974-1975" (TRB-50)

"Excerpts from Amnesty International Report—2007" (TRB 51-52)

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—"What are human rights?" Ask students to record their answers on the board. Which human rights do students value most and why?

2. Overview—Tell students that they are going to analyze two reports about Iran from Amnesty International, a human rights group. One report is from 1975 during the reign of the shah. The other is from 2007.

Divide students into small groups of two or three and distribute the documents to each group. Assign the task of analyzing one of the documents to each group. Tell each group to follow the instructions and answer the questions and to prepare to summarize their findings to their classmates.

3. Assessing Information—Reassemble the class. Ask the groups to report their findings

back to the class. Assign a student or two to record answers on the board.

Ask students to compare the list of human rights they generated at the beginning of class to those found in the Amnesty International Reports. Are there differences? Similarities?

Ask students what they think Amnesty International's purpose is in publishing these reports. Can they determine what rights Amnesty International values?

How would students attempt to assess the validity of these reports? What other sources would they use to examine these issues? What factors make a source "reliable"?

4. Historical Lessons—Ask students to consider the role human rights plays in the foreign policy of governments. U.S. President Jimmy Carter wanted to elevate the importance of human rights in foreign policy, but also felt he needed to support the shah of Iran for security and economic reasons. Was President Carter correct? What role do students believe that human rights should play in assessing foreign policy priorities?

Extra Challenge:

Some argue that human rights standards used by groups like Amnesty International and as defined in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights are not universal at all. Instead they represent Western and Judeo-Christian interpretations of human rights. Using the internet and other resources, see if you can identify other interpretations of human rights. What areas of disagreement can you identify? If Amnesty International used these standards how might they affect its report about Iran?

Instructions: Read the document assigned to your group and answer the questions. Be prepared to discuss your findings with your classmates.

1. In what year was your document produced?
2. According to the report, is the situation getting better or worse? Copy down the sentence that supports your answer.
3. List the different human rights issues that are raised in the report. Use a highlighter or pen to mark them on the pages and then list them here.

Amnesty International Report—1974-1975

Iran:

The situation of political prisoners in Iran has given Amnesty International [AI] even greater cause for concern during the past year than in previous years. Although official executions of political prisoners have not been announced by the government, nine political prisoners, including seven adopted by AI, were allegedly “shot while trying to escape” in April 1975. In a cable to the Shah of Iran, [Amnesty International] Secretary General Martin Ennals called for a medical commission of inquiry into the deaths and in a news release AI expressed “serious doubts about the credibility of the official account of the deaths these men.”

The men were known to have been among 114 political prisoners who had been moved to Evin prison at the beginning of March 1975, and reports of their torture had reached AI from that time. After the death of the nine men, there were reports that 5,000 civil and political prisoners at Qassar prison in Teheran had gone on hunger strike. The Secretary General appealed to the Shah to allow an International Red Cross mission to visit the prison.

One of the seven AI-adopted prisoners who died, Hassan Zio Sarifim, was the subject of an urgent appeal in January 1975, after news had reached AI that he and two other political prisoners, Massud Batai and Shokrollah Paknedjad, were being tortured.

Urgent action was taken on behalf of prisoners in Iran in October 1974. The appeal concerned Dr. Simian Salehi, Lotfollah Meysami, and Sherin Moazed. Dr. Salehi was seven months pregnant at the time of her ar-

rest, and conflicting reports of her condition, as a result of torture, have been received by AI. One report was that she had died, while another stated that her baby had been still-born, but that Dr. Salehi herself was still alive and in bad health. At the time of writing no further news has been received about her. Information relating to deaths under torture has been received during the year. In particular, AI was informed of the death of a young woman, Maleaheh Pazoki.

Although, as mentioned earlier, no official announcements have been made of execution of political prisoners, in July 1974 the Iranian government announced that 239 drug peddlers had been executed by firing squads in 2 and ½ years. The large number of executions has caused particular concern because of the inadequacy of trial procedures in Iran. Further executions, of two Iraqi hijackers, were reported in April 1975.

Two amnesties for prisoners sentenced by military tribunals have been announced during the past year. The first, which coincided with Human Rights Day (10 December 1974) was for 102 prisoners. The second amnesty, for 270 prisoners, was granted to mark the Iranian New Year, beginning 21 March 1975. It is not known whether any AI-adopted prisoners were released as a result of these amnesties.

AI groups are working on 10 adoption cases and 89 investigation cases of Iranian prisoners. The total number of political prisoners has been reported at times throughout the year to be anything from 25,000 to 100,000 but AI is not able to make any reliable estimate.

Excerpts from Amnesty International Report—2007

Iran:

The human rights situation deteriorated, with civil society facing increasing restrictions on fundamental freedoms of expression and association. Scores of political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience, continued to serve prison sentences imposed following unfair trials in previous years. Thousands more arrests were made in 2006, mostly during or following demonstrations. Human rights defenders, including journalists, students and lawyers, were among those detained arbitrarily without access to family or legal representation. Torture, especially during periods of pre-trial detention, remained commonplace. At least 177 people were executed, at least four of whom were under 18 at the time of the alleged offence, including one who was under 18 at the time of execution. Two people were reportedly stoned to death. Sentences of flogging, amputation and eye-gouging continued to be passed. The true numbers of those executed or subjected to corporal punishment were probably considerably higher than those reported.

Background

...

Local elections and elections to the Assembly of Experts, which oversees the appointment of the Supreme Leader, were held in December [2006]. The Council of Guardians, which reviews laws and policies to ensure that they uphold Islamic tenets and the Constitution, excluded all but 164 Assembly of Experts candidates, including at least 12 women who registered, on the basis of discriminatory selection procedures. The results of both elections were generally seen as a setback to the government of President Ahmadinejad.

The authorities faced armed opposition from Kurdish and Baluchi groups.

In December [2006], the UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the human rights situation in Iran. Iran failed to set a date for visits by any UN Human Rights mechanisms despite having issued a standing invitation in 2002.

Repression of minorities

Ethnic and religious minorities remained subject to discriminatory laws and practices which continued to be a source of social and political unrest.

Arabs continued to complain of discrimination, including in access to resources, as well as forced evictions. In October, the Council of Guardians approved a bill allocating 2 percent of Iran's oil revenues to Khuzestan province, home to many of Iran's Arabs.

Scores of Arabs were detained during the year. At least 36 were sentenced to death or received lengthy prison terms after conviction in unfair trials of involvement in causing bomb explosions in Ahvaz and Tehran in 2005. Five were executed including Mehdi Nawaseri and Mohammad Ali Sawari who were executed in public in February [2006] following the broadcast of their televised "confessions".

...

Religious minorities

Members of Iran's religious minorities were detained or harassed on account of their faith.

In February [2006] over 1,000 Nematollahi Sufis peacefully protesting against an order to evacuate their place of worship in Qom were arrested. Hundreds were injured by members of the security forces and members of organized pro-government groups. In May, 52 Sufis, including two lawyers representing the group, were sentenced to one year's imprisonment, flogging and a fine, and the lawyers were

banned from practising law. In August, Grand Ayatollah Fazel Lankarani issued a religious edict designating Sufism as “null and void.”

Several evangelical Christians, mostly converts from Islam, were detained, apparently in connection with their religious activities....

Torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading punishments

Torture remained common in many prisons and detention centres, particularly in the investigative stage of pre-trial detention when detainees are denied access to a lawyer for indefinite periods. At least seven people reportedly died in custody, some in circumstances where torture, ill-treatment or denial of medical care may have been contributory factors.

...At least two amputations were carried out and one person was sentenced to eye-gouging. Flogging remained a common punishment.

- Leyla Mafi received a flogging of 99 lashes in February before being released from prison into a women’s rehabilitation centre. Forced into prostitution as an eight-year-old and raped repeatedly, she was arrested in early 2004 and charged with “acts contrary to chastity” for which she was sentenced to flogging followed by death. Following international pressure, her death sentence was overturned.

Impunity

Victims of human rights violations and their families continued to lack redress.

....

Death penalty

At least 177 people were executed in 2006, including one minor and at least three others who were under 18 at the time of the alleged offence. Death sentences were imposed for a variety of crimes including drug smuggling, armed robbery, murder, political violence and sexual offences. Following domestic and international protests, the death sentences of

some women and of some prisoners aged under 18 at the time of the alleged offence were suspended or lifted; some were sentenced to death again after a retrial. Two people were reportedly stoned to death despite a moratorium on stoning announced by the judiciary in 2002. Others remained under sentence of stoning to death. In September, Iranian human rights defenders launched a campaign to save nine women and two men sentenced to death by stoning and to abolish stoning in law. By the end of the year the stoning sentences of at least three of the 11 had been quashed.

Freedom of expression and association

Freedom of expression and association was increasingly curtailed. Internet access was increasingly restricted and monitored. Journalists and bloggers were detained and sentenced to prison or flogging and at least 11 newspapers were closed down. Relatives of detainees or of those sought by the authorities remained at risk of harassment or intimidation. Independent trade unionists faced reprisals and some academics, such as Ramin Jahanbegloo, were detained or dismissed from their posts.

....

Women’s rights

Demonstrations in Tehran in March and June demanding an end to discrimination in law against women were broken up harshly by the security forces. Some protesters were injured.

....

In August, women’s rights activists launched a campaign to gather a million signatures to a petition demanding equal rights for women.

Assessment Using Documents

Instructions: These questions relate to the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Answer all of the questions that follow on separate pieces of paper.

1. a. Explain the shah's remarks about democracy in Document 1.

 b. What does Ali Shariati say in Document 4 about Iranians returning to their roots?
2. How do Document 2 and Document 9 support the conclusions made in Document 7?
3. Assess the value and limitations of Documents 3 and Document 5 for historians studying the causes of the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Be sure to refer to the origin and purpose of each document.
4. Using these sources and your knowledge, explain why and how the Iranian Revolution of 1979 occurred.

Documents

Document 1: From M. Reza Ghods, *Iran in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989, p. 197. Ghods is Iranian and a professor of history in the United States.

“In many aspects, Iran is much more democratic than Europe... [T]he opposition is so negligible that it cannot get even one seat in Parliament.” —Mohammad Reza Shah, 1973 interview with Orianna Fallaci

Document 2: From James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: the Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*, Yale University Press, 1988, p. 183-185. Bill is an American. He recently retired as a professor of government.

“On October 11, 1971 the shah of Iran inaugurated a week-long social celebration and political extravaganza in commemoration of 2,500 years of Persian monarchy.... [W]hile the foreign dignitaries feasted on caviar, peacock and Maxim’s [a famous Paris restaurant] raspberries, a serious famine was in progress in the provinces of Sistan and Baluchistan as well as in areas of Fars Province itself”

Document 3: From James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: the Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*, Yale University Press, 1988, p. 185.

“If the pageant dramatized Persia’s past and showed some of the armed strength of the present, there were reminders of some of the dangers still facing the country in the helicopters ceaselessly patrolling hills on guard against urban guerrillas who threatened a bloodbath during the celebrations.” —United Press International report Kayhan International (Tehran) Oct. 16, 1971.

Document 4: From Roy Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*, Simon and Schuster, 1985, page 331. Mottahedeh is American and a professor of history.

“The experts...may know a great deal about the Sassanids, the Achaemenians, and even earlier civilizations, but our people know nothing of such things. Our people do not find their roots in these civilizations.... Our people remember nothing from this distant past and do not care to learn about the pre-Islamic civilizations.... Consequently, for us a return to our roots means not a rediscovery of pre-Islamic Iran, but a return to our Islamic, especially Shi’i roots.” —Ali Shariati, *The Return to Ourselves*

Document 5: From M. Reza Ghods, *Iran in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989, p.202.

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
GNP	732*	923	1179	1728	3079	3497	4692	5483	4918
Government revenues	171	257	259	465	1394	1582	1836	2034	1599
Petroleum revenue	84	150	179	311	1205	1247	1422	1498	1013
Military expenditures	na	na	na	135	373	476	567	na	590

*all figures in billions of Iranian Rials. Figure from the Central Bank of Iran and Adibi, *The New Middle Class in Iran*.

Document 6: From M. Reza Ghods, *Iran in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989, p.209.

“We came to the practical conclusion that in the beginning of our action police repression prevented us from having a large organization. Therefore we accepted the principle of working in small cells. The aim of these groups was to strike at the enemy in order to destroy this atmosphere of repression and prove to the masses that the only way of struggle is armed uprising.”—Ashraf Revolutionary Group, 1978

Document 7: From a report by U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan to the Department of State on October 7, 1978.

“The killing of unarmed demonstrators by the shah’s troops and the subsequent rule of martial law will only provide a temporary respite for the regime.... Against this backdrop of conflict and death, the shah’s clear attempts to keep his program of liberalization going will only be viewed with cynicism and distrust by both the moderate and extreme opposition.... The Shah cannot occupy his own country forever. Nor can he continue to resort to his traditional methods of rule by calculated reform. Perhaps his only serious chance is to back off of the tiny plateau of absolute power. Nothing less than his survival and that of his dynasty are at stake.”

Document 8: From George Lenczowski, *Iran under the Pahlavis*, Hoover Institution Press, 1978, p. xxii. An immigrant to the United States from the Soviet Union, Lenczowski was a professor of political science.

“...[T]he reforms carried out during Mohammad Reza’s time were more comprehensive and more concerned with social justice and the welfare of the masses.... The reforms were accompanied by economic planning and development that in the 1960’s and 1970’s achieved one of the highest growth rates anywhere in the world.”

Document 9: From James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: the Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*, Yale University Press, 1988, p. 185.

“[F]rom Iraq...the exiled Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini issued an appeal to the Iranian people to demonstrate against the plundering of the Pahlavi regime. Referring to demonstrating Iranian students who had been attacked and beaten by the shah’s police, Khomeini stated: ‘Their only crime was to show their opposition to these 2,500th celebrations. They said, we do not want these celebrations, do something about the famine, we do not want you to celebrate over our people’s corpses.’”

Document 9: Slogans of the revolution from <<http://www.iranian.com/Times/Subs/Revolution/Slogans/index.html>>



Image by Patrick Chauvel. © Sygma/Corbis. Used with permission.

The revolution needs Unity! Unity!

My army brother,

Why do you kill your brother?!

Victory is with God and triumph will be imminent

Death to this deceitful monarchy!

O treacherous Shah, may you become homeless;

You have destroyed the motherland;

You have killed the country’s youth;

God is great;

You have put thousands of people in coffins;

God is great!

No compromise, no humiliation;

Victory or martyrdom!

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I:

parliamentary system
Islam
socialist
imperialism
ayatollah
coup d'état
abdication
Shi'i, Shi'a, Shi'ism
tribe
ethnic
social justice
security
class structures
ulama
economy
infrastructure
dynasty
Majlis
economic stagnation
concession
hijab
faction

Part II:

shareholder
royalty payments
secular
nationalization
Cold War
nationalist
Velayat-e Faqih
human rights
mullah

Epilogue:

provisional government
authoritarian
nationalism
Shari'a
gross domestic product
diplomatic relations

Islam and the Iranian Revolution Issues Toolbox

The role of Islam in political movements in recent years has attracted great attention. Some scholars have called the period after the Iranian Revolution an Islamic Revival. Below is a brief commentary on Islamist movements across the world and the role of shari'a in Iran by Professor Engin Akarli of Brown University.

Islamist Movements and the Islamic "Revival":

Islam is a religion primarily. As such it did not fade away to call for "revival." However, revival refers not so much to Islam as a religion but to the use of certain Islamic concepts and symbols in social and political activities. This development became visible in the 1970s and gradually intensified in the 1980s and 1990s.

Comparable movements that likewise appealed to Islamic solidarity, symbols and values had emerged to resist European colonial expansionism earlier, especially in 1875-1920. Simultaneously, many Muslim intellectuals had become engaged in defending Islam against colonialist European charges that it is incompatible with modernity.

Why in the 1970s?

- The existing governments' unimpressive performance in dealing with the problems of rapid urbanization and economic development fed a sense of relative deprivation of the amenities of economic development and modernization.
- The repressive nature of most of the regimes in the region further incited the search for alternatives.
- Religious movements were on the rise everywhere in the world.

Leaders and followers: The new Islamist movements found (and continue to find) many supporters among the poor and lower middle class population of the rapidly growing urban centers. Many of these people were of a rural or provincial background and had only recently moved to major urban centers. An over-whelming number of Islamist leaders and organizers had little or no formal religious education; they were graduates of or students

at professional schools (of engineering, medicine, pharmacy, law, education and the like) to a large extent.

Why religion?

- Nationalist ideologies began to appear empty, distant, and alien, partly because of the failures of their advocates. Islamists were good at presenting their objections in terms familiar to the majority of the population. Their call for return to romantically framed native "roots" and purity struck a chord.

- Socialist movements tried but could not develop an attractive alternative to the existing regimes. The socialist discourse, too, appeared alien in many ways. Moreover, the persecution of socialist movements by monarchical as well as nationalist republican regimes (including the "Arab-socialist" ones) pushed socialists underground or toward Islamist movements.

- While the same regimes repressed their Islamist opponents as well, they could not shut down the mosques. Islamists used the mosques as sanctuary as well as places of organization and fund raising. Many Islamist groups focused their efforts on building civic welfare associations, which helped expand the social base of Islamist movements. Others became involved in building overtly political networks. If the consequent politicization of the mosque disturbed pious Muslims and religious leaders, they could do little to curb it. When temple becomes the only sanctuary against political repression and the only avenue to air frustrations, politicization of religious institutions may well become inevitable.

Shari'a:

The most potent and common slogan of Islamist movements is shari'a (literally, the straight path leading [a believer] to the eye of a

spring [of fulfillment in this life and the hereafter]). Militant Islamists typically demand a government based on “the shari’a,” although they rarely agree what that government ought to look like. This is no place to discuss how the vast corpus of literature that shari’a represents developed and worked as a source of moral guidance and law in the past. It is important to emphasize, however, that shari’a is not a law book and has no resemblance to law codes of a modern state. While the political Islamists speak of shari’a as if “it” contains all the answers or solutions to the problems of this world at all times, they rarely agree on these answers in any substantial way.

Shari’a and The Case of Iran:

There is growing opposition to the self-elected if disciplined group of clerics that tightly control the political system in Iran. These clerics justify their hold on Iran in the name of their knowledge of “Islam,” or rather “the shari’a,” and respond to any challenge to their authority by repressive measures, even when the challengers are prominent scholars of shari’a.

Two examples should suffice. The former Prime Minister Rafsanjani and the former President Khatami are both ayatollahs who tried to make the regime more accountable and responsive to the electorate as well as to build friendlier international relations, with little success. Khatami was twice elected president in landslide elections thanks to the support of the overwhelming majority of the youthful population and women of Iran. Yet the oligarchy of jurists responded by further curbing the powers of the presidency and by introducing new repressive measures against those who supported Khatami.

Iran’s “Islamic” regime faces problems similar to other oppressive regimes in the region. “A restless young population, alienated

by state control, economic mismanagement, and poor employment prospects, blames the existing regime for denying them a future.” One could wonder why the example of Iran does not deter people in other countries from demanding government by “shari’a law.” But the question misses what the mollahs did to shari’a. Shari’a is a rich corpus of literature that reflects the debates and dialogues of generations of scholars and intellectuals trying to understand and explain the meaning and implications of the numerous verses of the Qur’an in a reasonably systematic way over many centuries. One can pluck ideas out of this vast literature and even solely from the Qur’an to justify a quite diverse range of positions.

The preamble of the original constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran relied on the shari’a in listing fundamental values and principles of the new regime, which upheld the notion of the mandate of the people. Khomeini himself appealed to shari’a to advocate a republican regime as people’s rule when he led the opposition to the shah. Then he used his position as supreme moral guide to alter the constitution (and political institutions) in favor of the notion of the mandate of the jurist. The group of jurists who now wields that mandate collectively (as a self-electing body) acts as if it has monopoly on the meaning of “the shari’a” and resorts to repressive measures to silence challengers of its authority (and power). We see here two quite different uses of the same legacy. Both are modern and yet there are religious scholars and intellectuals defending both. Whose “shari’a,” whose interpretation shall we believe?

The point of my question is simple. Islamic values are more deeply rooted in Iranian society than any other value system. Values matter, but they do not exist independent of the social conditions and power relations prevailing in any given society and time.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula on historical turning point to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role play simulation in which students advocate different options and question each other. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps and word pictures.
- Require students to answer guiding questions in the text as checks for understanding.

- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.

- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.

- Read some sections of the readings out loud.

- Ask students to create graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.

- Supplement with different types of readings, such as from trade books or text books.

- Ask student groups to create a bumper sticker, PowerPoint presentation, or collage representing their option.

- Do only some activities and readings from the unit rather than all of them.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It is also important to give individual grades for groupwork assignments in order to

recognize an individual's contribution to the group. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Testing: Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate

a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information and concepts presented in Choices units. A variety of types of testing questions and assessment devices can require students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

For Further Reading

Daniels, Harvey, and Marilyn Bizar. *Teaching the Best Practice Way: Methods That Matter, K-12*. Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers, 2005.

Holt, Tom. *Thinking Historically: Narrative, Imagination, and Understanding*. The College Board, 1990.

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1

See Day Two of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part II of the reading and completed “Study Guide—Part II” before beginning the unit. To gain an introduction to the topic, students should also read the Introduction.)

Day 2

Assign each student one of the three options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ? What are their assumptions about the future of Iran?

Homework: Students should read the Epilogue.

Day 3

See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

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