

UC San Diego, Department of History / Spring Quarter 2015
HINE 126: Iranian Revolution in Historical Perspective
 Section ID: 836649

Professor: Ali Gheissari
 E-mail: algheissari@ucsd.edu

Office: H&SS 3045
 Office Hrs: Thursday, 2:00-2:30pm, and by appointment

Class: Tuesday / Thursday, 12:30-1:50pm, CSB 004
 • First day of class: Tuesday March 31, 2015
 • Last day of class: Thursday June 4, 2015

Tests:
 • Midterm: Week 6, Thursday, May 7, in class
 • Final: Monday, June 8, 2015, 11:30am-2:30pm, Room: TBA

Book Report:
 • Due date: Week 8, Tuesday, May 19, email and hard copy in class

Iranian Revolution in Historical Perspective

In this course we shall examine the Iranian revolution of 1979 in its historical context, and will explore major aspects of the political and social history of modern Iran. Topics will include reformist ideas in 19th century Qajar society, the constitutional revolution of the early 20th century, nationalism, formation and development of the Pahlavi state, anatomy of the 1979 revolution, and a survey of the Islamic Republic. Further attention will be given to certain political, social, and intellectual themes in 20th century Iran and their impact on the revolution, as well as discussions on the reception of (and response to) western ideas in diverse areas such as political ideology and legal theory. Additional focus will be on major currents after the revolution, such as debates on democracy and electoral politics, factionalism, reform movement, and conservative consolidation.

Evaluation and Grading: There will be two tests: one midterm (35 points) and a cumulative final (55 points). Tests will consist of short essays (detailed identifications) and long analytical essays. Two study guides are attached to this syllabus, relating to each section of the course. These study guides are intended to help students organize their notes more efficiently and have better orientation in their readings. Exam questions could potentially, though not exclusively, be drawn from these study guides and students are advised to pay special attention to them. Both exams are mandatory and in-class. They cannot be administered before the scheduled dates under any circumstances. Please bring **blue book** and pen/pencil. Attendance is assumed and required; grades will be reduced for lack of class attendance or if persistently late for class. There will also be one short book report (no less than 1 and no more than 2 pages, single space) (10 points total). A suggested list of books and other material is included in the syllabus. In consultation with the instructor students will choose one title from this list and write a report or synopsis about the book and show how it relates to the core topic of the course. With prior approval of the instructor students can also write about their own choice of books.

Midterm and final tests and the book report score will be graded up to their maximum percentage points (100 points = 100%). Students are responsible for following University rules governing academic honesty, as explained on this web site:

<http://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/index.html>

Reading: Notes taken during lectures are important. Relevant chapters of the following books will serve as the essential background reading for each class. Students are expected to read the material in advance and bring questions to class for discussion. Required and optional titles are available at the UCSD Bookstore.

Required:

1. Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Cambridge UP, 2008.
2. Ali Gheissari and Vali Nasr, *Democracy in Iran: History and the Quest for Liberty*, Oxford UP, 2006 (paperback, 2009).
3. Nikki R. Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*, Yale UP, 2006.
4. Occasional handouts, marked below by asterisk (*).

Optional:

1. Ali Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics*, Oxford UP, 2009.

Course Outline

Week 1 (3/31, 4/2):

General historical introductions / unity and diversity in Iranian history
Formation of the Safavid state, 16th-18th c. / Qajar state and society in the 19th c.

Reading:

Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapters 1, 2, 3.
Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 1.

Week 2 (4/7, 4/9):

Iran's constitutional revolution of 1906-11 / Shi'ism and constitutionalism

Reading:

Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 2.
Gheissari / Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Introduction and Chapter 1.
Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 4.
*Keddie, "Religious Radical Alliance in Iran."
*Lambton, "Tobacco Regie as a Prelude to Revolution."
*Sohrabi, "Historicizing Revolutions: Constitutional Revolutions in Ottoman Empire and Iran, 1905-1908."
*Kia, "Constitutionalism, Economic Modernization and Islam."
*Gheissari, "Despots of the World Unite! Satire in the Iranian Constitutional Press"

Week 3 (4/14, 4/16):

Pahlavi state-nationalism / modernization and autocracy: the era of Reza Shah
The development of a central judiciary / modern education

Reading:

Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 3.

Gheissari / Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapter 1.

Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 5.

*Gheissari, "Constitutional Rights and the Development of Civil Law in Iran."

*Gheissari, "Persia" (Iran in WW2).

Week 4 (4/21, 4/23):

The period: 1941-1953 / political parties

Popular Nationalism: Mosaddeq and the nationalization of Iranian oil industry

Reading:

Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 4.

Gheissari / Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapter 2.

Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 6.

Week 5 (4/28, 3/30):

The period of Mohammad-Reza Shah / the coup of 1953 and its social and

political impact / Land reform and the royal "White Revolution" / the opposition

Reading:

Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 5.

Gheissari / Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapter 2.

Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapters 7, 8.

*Gheissari, "The US Coupe of 1953 in Iran."

*Alvandi, "Nixon, Kissinger and the Shah."

*Abrahamian. "Ali Shariati: Ideologue of the Iranian Revolution."

Week 6:

Discussions and Revision (5/5)

Midterm Test (5/7)

Week 7 (5/12, 5/14):

The 1978-79 revolution and after / Iran's revolution in comparative perspective

The question of "Islamic state" / social change / Iranian diaspora

Reading:

Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 6.

Gheissari / Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapter 3.

Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapters 9, 10.

Abrahamian, "Crowd in the Iranian Revolution."

*Enayat, "Revolution in Iran: Religion as Political Ideology."

*Enayat, "Guardianship of the Jurisconsult."

*Gheissari / Nasr, "Iran's Democracy Debate."

*Amanat, "From *Ijtihad* to *Wilayat-e Faqih*."

Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran*, Chapter 8.

Week 8 (5/19, 5/21):

Book Report due (5/19)

Post-Khomeini period: Khomeini / Rafsanjani and "pragmatic conservatism"

Khatami and the reform movement: debate on civil society

Reading:

Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 6.
 Gheissari / Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapters 4, 5.
 Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapters 11, 12, and Conclusion
 Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.

Week 9 (5/26, 5/28):

2005 and 2009 presidential elections
 Ahmadinejad and new conservative consolidation / the “Green Movement”
 Rouhani and the 2013 presidential elections

Reading:

Gheissari / Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapter 6 (Epilogue)
 *Gheissari / Nasr, “Conservative Consolidation in Iran.”
 *Ostovar, “Iran’s Basij.”
 Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran*, Chapters 5, 6, 7, 9.

Week 10 (6/2, 6/4):

Continuity and change in Iran’s domestic and foreign policy, 1979-present
 Overview of Iran’s social, cultural, political change / Discussions and Revision

Reading:

Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran*, Chapters 10, 11, 12.

Further Recommended Reading and Suggestions for Book Report**Nonfiction Historical Studies, Memoirs:**

- Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*.
- Ervand Abrahamian, *The Coup*.
- Asalollah Alam, *The Shah and I*.
- Ali Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After*.
- Said Amir Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*.
- Said Amir Arjomand, *After Khomeini: Iran under his Successors*.
- Christopher de Bellague, *In the Rose Garden of the Martyrs: A Memoir of Iran*.
- Terence O’Donnell, *Garden of the Brave in War: Recollections of Iran*.
- Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*.
- Gen. Robert Huyser, *Mission to Tehran*.
- Homa Katouzian, *The Persians: Ancient, Medieval and Modern Iran*.
- Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah’s Men*.
- Vanessa Martin, *Creating an Islamic State*.
- Abbas Milani, *The Shah*.
- Roy Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*.
- Mohammad-Reza Pahlavi (The Shah of Iran), *Answer to History*.
- Sir Anthony Parsons, *The Pride and the Fall: Iran, 1974-1979*.
- Ali Rahnema, *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shariati*.

Recommended Films:

Documentary

- *Divorce Iranian Style*
- *The Last Shah - Iran History BBC Documentary (1hr)*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ta6HZUItE2E>
- *Iranian Revolution 1979 - BBC Documentary (10 pts., apprx 11mins each)*
 1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0s5pRsCWW9k>
 2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1iwFsNMdPo>
 3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pMrM9F4oN5Y>
 4. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T0b_YHHv4rQ
 5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9QiPDZXnH9E>
 6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=66FE5qa547o>
 7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qPPfOnZe8hA>
 8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MfWBy-Nh6bs>
 9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5SRHoeexd0>
 10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nsa7VzHgjdg>
- *Iran and the West (history after the revolution): BBC-4 report, in three parts:*
 - I: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FfrJ2rBobGs> (59mins)
 - II: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wLjRkrTxkzY> (59mins)
 - III: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cf3fcoXx0pI> (59mins)

Feature Films

Crimson Gold (2004) / Ten (2004) / Offside (2006) / Separation (2011)

Web links relating to Iran and the Iranian Revolution:

Encyclopaedi Iranica:

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/>

Iranian History Chronicle:

<http://fouman.com/history/index.htm>

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/806268.stm

http://www.iranchamber.com/history/historic_periods.php

Web-links:

http://www.parstimes.com/Iran_history.html

<http://countrystudies.us/iran/>

<http://www.iranchamber.com/index.php>

<http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Iran.htm>

Story of Revolution (in Persian):

http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/revolution/rev_01.shtml

http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/revolution/rev_02.shtml

http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/revolution/rev_03.shtml

http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/revolution/rev_04.shtml

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/revolution/biogs.shtml>

Harvard Iranian Oral History Project:

<http://ted.lib.harvard.edu/ted/deliver/home?collection=iohp>

http://hul.harvard.edu/ois/systems/ctools/iohp_help/IOHP_TED-1-1.html

Foundation for Iranian Studies, Oral History:

<http://fis-iran.org/en/oralhistory>

News Links:

<http://www.irna.ir/ENIndex.htm> / <http://gooya.com/>

Study Guide (I): Relating to topics covered in weeks 1-5.

Short Essays:

1. Golestan and Turkmanchay Treaties: discuss time period, terms, and implications.
2. Tobacco Protest: discuss time period, agenda, players, and impact.
3. Mirza Malkam Khan: discuss career, ideas, and impact.
4. Seyyed Jamal al-Din (al-Afghani): discuss ideas, brief biography, and impact.
5. Sheikh Fazlollah Nuri: discuss time period, agenda, and impact.
6. Mirza Mohammad-Hossein Naini: discuss time period, agenda, and impact.
7. Ali-Akbar Dâvar: discuss time period, career, and impact.
8. Ahmad Qavam: discuss time period, career, and impact.
9. National Front: discuss time period, coalition, platform, and impact.
10. Tudeh Party: discuss time period, agenda, political profile, and impact.
11. White Revolution: discuss time period, main articles, and impact.
12. Rastakhiz Party: discuss time period, platform, and impact.

Long Essays:

1. Foundations on which the Safavids relied in order to enforce, maintain, and legitimize their rule. Discuss. Also, how would you explain the relative autonomy of the religious institution from that of the state under the Safavids?
2. What were the main ingredients of the Iranian national consciousness in the eve of the Constitutional movement; and how Constitutionalism was conceptualized in Iran?
3. What was the Shi'a contribution to the cause of Constitutionalism in Iran, and why the alliance between the pro-Constitutionalist ulama and the secular reformists was short-lived?
4. How do you explain the coming to power of Reza Shah? Also give a brief account of the Pahlavi state nationalism, Reza Shah's political style and modernization programs.
5. Give a brief account of the major political parties in Iran during the 1940s and early 1950s, and discuss their social significance. In particular discuss Mosaddeq's campaign for the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran and its subsequent impact on Iran and the Middle East.
6. Discuss the main forces involved in the 1953 coup in Iran. Also discuss both the context and the outcome of Iran's 1954 agreement with Western oil companies.
7. Give an outline of Mohammad-Reza Shah's reforms during the 1960's and 1970's, and discuss the contributing factors to the crisis of political legitimacy in Iran prior to the revolution of 1979.
8. From the early 1960s onwards there was an ideological trend among intellectuals to "return" to their "authentic roots" as a reaction to pseudo-Westernism. Many writers and critics were preoccupied with this theme. Give a brief summary of Shariati's ideas and examine his influence on the Iranian revolution of 1979.

Study Guide (II): Relating to topics covered in weeks 7-10.

Short Essays:

1. Amir-Abbas Hoveyda: discuss time period, position, and impact.
2. Shapour Bakhtiar: discuss time period, profile and significance.
3. LMI and Mehdi Bazargan: discuss time period, platform, position, and impact.
4. Ayatollah Khomeini: discuss time period, clerical background and position, political impact.
5. Abol-Hasan Bani-Sadr: background, political position.
6. Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani: discuss background, role in revolution and later profile.
7. Abdol-Karim Soroush: discuss background, position during revolution, intellectual profile.
8. Ayatollah Montazeri: discuss background, position in post-revolution, and profile.
9. Ayatollah Khamenei: discuss background, role in revolution and profile.
10. Mohammad Khatami: discuss background, reform platform and impact.
11. Basij: discuss emergence, development and profile.
12. Green Movement: discuss emergence, composition, and platform.

Long Essays:

1. How religion became a political ideology in the Iranian revolution of 1979?
2. Khomeini's theory of an Islamic government with particular reference to the notion of the "Guardianship of Jurist." Discuss.
3. How would you identify and portray the Iranian Revolution of 1979 in comparison to at least two other major modern revolutions in world history?
4. Describe the main features and different phases of the Iranian revolution since 1979, and briefly state its wider ideological impacts on the Middle East.
5. How would you assess the domestic and international implications of US Hostage Crisis?
6. Causes and dynamics of the Iran-Iraq War. Discuss
7. How would you evaluate Khatami's two term presidency? Also discuss at least two major debates in that period, with particular reference to both domestic and international issues.
8. Did Ahmadinejad's presidency represent a new phase in conservative consolidation in Iran? Do you agree or disagree with this assessment? Discuss.
9. How would you assess US-Iran relations after Iran's revolution? Discuss problems and potentials.
10. Since the 1979 revolution Iran has experienced an extensive and varied process of social change. Discuss at least two such changes with reference to their respective historical contexts.
11. Some analysts have observed a transformation in Iran's regional policies from a revolutionary to a status quo power. Do you agree or disagree with this assessment? Discuss.
12. Discuss at least two major challenges facing Iran's foreign relations after the 2013 presidential elections.