

UCSD, Department of History
HINE 126 – Iranian Revolution in Historical Perspective
 Winter Quarter 2006

Professor: Dr. Ali Gheissari
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Office: HSS 4086B, Phone: (858) 534 3541
 Office Hrs: Tuesday / Thursday 2:45-3:20 PM
 Class: Tuesday / Thursday 3:30-4:50 PM, Peterson Hall 103
 Tests: Midterm: Thursday, February 16, 2006, 3:30-4:50 PM, in-class.
 Final: Friday, March 24, 2006, 3:00-6:00 PM, in-class.

Iranian Revolution in Historical Perspective

This course will study the Iranian revolution of 1979 in its historical context, and will examine major aspects of the political and social history of modern Iran. It will include reformist ideas in the 19th century Qajar society, the Constitutional movement 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 ideologies, legal theory, and ethics. Ultimately focus will be given to 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 final (65 points). Both tests will consist of a mixture of short and long Essays, based on two Study Guides relating to each half of the course. Students are advised to pay utmost attention in fulfilling these Study Guides. Attendance is assumed and required. Exam dates are set and not negotiable. Midterm and Final tests will be graded up to their maximum percentage points (total of 100 points = 100%).

Required Reading: Notes taken during lectures are important. Specified chapters of the following books will serve as essential background reading for each class. Students are expected to prepare for lectures by reading the material in advance and bring questions to class for discussion. Titles marked by an asterisk are available at the UCSD Bookstore:

Elton L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*.
 Nikkie R. Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*.
 Mohsen Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic revolution*.
 Ali Gheissari, *HINE 126 – Reader*, on Library Electronic Reserve.

Optional:

Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*.
 Ali Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921 The Pahlavis and After*.
 Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*.
 Vanessa Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*.

Useful 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>
<http://www.irna.ir/en/frontpage/menu-232/>

Story of Revolution:

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>

Further Recommended Readings:

E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*.
 E. Abrahamian, *Khomeinism*.
 A. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy*.
 S. A. Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*.
 P. Avery, G. R. G. Hambly & C. P. Melville (eds.), *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7: *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*.
 M. Boroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West*.
 E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution: 1905-1909*.
 N. R. Keddie, *Qajar Iran and the Rise of Reza Khan 1796-1925*.
 H. Chapin Metz, (ed.), *Iran: A Country Study*, 1989.
 H. Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent*.
 H. Katouzian, *Political Economy of Modern Iran*.
 H. Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran*.
 A. K. S. Lambton, *Qajar Persia*.
 R. Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*.^{*}
 A. Rahnema, *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shariati*.
 D. M. Rejali, *Torture & Modernity: Self, Society, & State in Modern Iran*.
 M. Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran*.
 F. Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut: Iran's Intellectual Encounter with Modernity*.
 M. Sadri and A. Sadri (eds.), *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush*.
 A. Schirazi, *The Constitution of Iran: Politics and the State in the Islamic Republic*.

Course Outline**Week 1:**

General Introductions: Unity & Diversity in Iranian History.
 Formation of the Safavid State.
 An Overview of the Safavid's Intellectual and Cultural Legacy.

Reading:

E. L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.
 N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 1.

Recommended:

H. Braun, "Iran Under the Safavids and in the 18th Century."
 J. Cooper, "Some Observations on the Religious Intellectual Milieu of Safavid Persia."
 A. Amanat, "In Between the Madrasa and the Marketplace: The Designation of Clerical Leadership in Modern Shi'ism."
 H. Chapin Metz (ed.), *Iran (A Country Study)*, section on "Iran: Historical Settings."
 E. L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*, Chapters 1-4.
 R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*.

Week 2:

Qajar Society in the 19th Century and in the Age of the Constitutional Movement.
 The Idea of National Consciousness, Reform Literature and Political Satire.
 Shi'ism and Constitutionalism.
 Ideological Disputes.

Reading:

E. L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*, Chapter 5.
 N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapters 2, 3, 4.
 M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic revolution*, Chapter 2.
 A. K. S. Lambton, "The Persian Ulama and Constitutional Reform." *Reader*.

Recommended:

A. Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*, Chapters 1, 2.
 A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921 The Pahlavis and After*, Chapter 1.
 E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapters 1, 2.
 H. Algar, *Religion and State in Iran: 1789-1906*.
 H. Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism*.
 H. Algar, "Religious Forces in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Iran," in P. Avery, G. S. A. Arjomand, "Ideological Revolution in Shi'ism," in S. A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*.
 E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution: 1905-1909*.
 H. Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, Chapter 5.
 H. Farman Farmayan, "The Forces of Modernization in Nineteenth Century Iran: A A. H. Hairi, *Shi'ism and Constitutionalism in Iran: A Study of the Role Played by the Persian Residents of Iraq in Iranian Politics*.
 N. R. Keddie, *Seyyid Jamal al-Din "al-Afghani": A Political Biography*.
 J. H. Lorentz, "Iran's Greatest Reformer of the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of Amir Kabir's Reforms", *Iranian Studies*, 4(1971) 85-103.
 M. Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran*.

Week 3:

The Era of Reza Shah.
 State-Nationalism, Modernization and Autocracy.
 The Language of Modern Law and the Administration of Justice.
 Education.

Reading:

E. L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*, Chapter 6.
 N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 5.

Recommended:

A. Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*, Chapter 3.
 A. Gheissari, "The Poetry and Politics of Farrukhi Yazdi." *Reader*.
 A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921 The Pahlavis and After*, Chapters 2, 3.

 E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapter 3.
 M. Assad Bey, *Reza Shah*.
 A. Banani, *The Modernization of Iran (1921-1941)*.
 S. Cronin, *The Army and the Creation of the Pahlavi State in Iran, 1910-1926*.
 S. Cronin (ed.), *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Reza Shah*.
 C. Ghani, *Iran and the Rise of Reza Shah*.
 G. R. G. Hambly, "The Pahlavi Autocracy: Riza Shah, 1921-1941," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7.
 H. Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, Part II.
 N. R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution*, Chapter 5.
 A. Millspaugh, *The Financial & Economic Situation of Persia: 1926*.
 Y. Richard, "Shari'at Sagalaji: A Reformist Theologian of the Rida Shah Period," Tr. By K. Arjomand, in S. A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*.
 D. N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection and Reconstruction of Iran*.

Week 4:

The Period: 1941-1953.
 Political Parties, Popular Nationalism.
 The Coup of 1953 and its social and political impact.

Reading:

N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 6.
S. Dorril, "Iran: Unequal Dreams," from *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service. Reader*.

Recommended:

A. Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*, Chapter 4.
 A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921 The Pahlavis and After*, Chapter 4.

 E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Part II.
 E. Abrahamian, "Kasravi: The Integrative Nationalist of Iran."
 F. Azimi, *Iran: The Crisis of Democracy, 1941-1953*.

J. A. Bill and W. R. Louis (eds.), *Musaddiq, Iranian Nationalism, and Oil*.
 R. W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*.
 H. Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, Part III: Chapters 8, 9.
 H. Katouzian, *Musaddiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran*.
 H. Katouzian & S. H. Amin (Tr.), *Musaddiq's Memoirs*.
 N. R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution*, Chapter 6.
 G. Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948: A Study in Big-Power Politics*.
 S. Zabih, *The Communist Movement in Iran*.

Week 5:

The Period of Mohammad-Reza Shah.
 The Idea of Land Reform and the Royal "White Revolution".
 The Opposition.
 Cultural Criticism and Literature.

Reading:

N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 7.
 M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic revolution*, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6.
 E. L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*, Chapter 7.
 Mangol Bayat-Philipp: "Shi'ism in Contemporary Iranian Politics: The Case of Ali Shari'ati." *Reader*.

Recommended:

A. Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*, Chapter 5.
 A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921 The Pahlavis and After*, Chapters 5, 6, 7.
 V. Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, Chapters III, IV, V.

 E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapters 9, 10.
 E. Abrahamian, *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin*.
 A. Bausani, "Europe and Iran in Contemporary Persian Literature."
 H. Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
 F. Halliday, *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*.
 G. R. G. Hambly, "The Pahlavi Autocracy: Muhammad Riza Shah, 1941-1979," in P. Avery, G. R. G. Hambly & C. P. Melville (eds.), *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7.
 B. Jazani, *Capitalism and Revolution in Iran*.
 A. Karimi-Hakkak, "Protest and Perish: A History of the Writers' Association of Iran."
 H. Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, Part IV.
 F. Kazemi, *Poverty and Revolution in Iran*.
 T. O'Donnell, *Garden of the Brave in War: Recollections of Iran*.
 M. R. Pahlavi, *Mission for My Country*.
 A. Rahnema, *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shariati*.
 R. K. Ramazani, "Iran's 'White Revolution': A Study in Political Development," *IJMES*, 5 (1974): 124-39.
 S. Zabih, *The Left in Contemporary Iran*.

Week 6:

Revisions and Discussions.
Midterm Test.

Week 7:

The Revolution of 1978-79 and After.
The Question of "Islamic State."

Reading:

E. L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*, Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11.
N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran*.
M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution*, Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10.
H. Enayat, "Revolution in Iran: Religion as Political Ideology". *Reader*.
H. Enayat, "Iran: Khomeini's Concept of the 'Guardianship of the Jurisconsult'". *Reader*.
A. Amanat, "From ijthihad to wilayat-i faqih: The Evolving of the Shi'ite Legal Authority to Political Power." *Reader*.

Recommended:

A. Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*, Chapter 6.
A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921 The Pahlavis and After*, Chapters 8, 9.
V. Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, Chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX.

E. Abrahamian, "Ali Shariati: Ideologue of the Iranian Revolution."
E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapter 11.
E. Abrahamian, *Khomeinism*.
H. Algar, "Religious Forces in Twentieth-Century Iran," in P. Avery, G. R. G. Hambly & C. P. Melville (eds.), *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7.
J. Amouzegar, *The Dynamics of the Iranian Revolution*.
A. Ashraf. "Bazaar & Mosque in Iran's Revolution". *Reader*.
S. Bakhash, *The Reign of the Ayatollahs*.
A. Banuazizi, "Faltering Legitimacy: The Ruling Clerics and Civil Society in Contemporary Iran."
H. E. Chehabi, "The Political Regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Comparative Perspective."
H. Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*.
H. Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, Chapter 5.
C. Kadivar, Interview with S. Amouzegar, "37 Days: A Cautionary Tale that Must Not be Forgotten," in *The Iranian*, March 4, 2003. At:
<http://www.iranian.com/CyrusKadivar/2003/March/37days/>
A. Karimi-Hakkak, "Protest and Perish: A History of the Writers' Association of Iran."
N. R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution*, Chapter 9.
I. M. Lapidus, "Iran: State and Religion in the Modern Era."
R. Mottahedeh, *Mantle of the Prophet*.
F. Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut: Iran's Intellectual Encounter with Modernity*, Chs 4, 5.

S. Zabih, *Iran since the Revolution*.

Week 8:

Rafsanjani and “Pragmatic Conservatism.”

Reading:

M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution*, Chapter 11.

Week 9:

Khatami and the Reform Movement.

Social Change.

Ideas and Institutions.

Debates on Civil Society.

Reading:

A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, "Iran's Democracy Debate" in **Middle East Policy, 2004**.
Reader. Additional recommended material noted in references.

Week 10:

2005 Elections.

New Conservative Consolidation.

Overview, Revision, and Discussions.

Reading:

A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, “Conservative Consolidation in Iran,” in *Survival*, 2005.
Reader. Additional recommended material noted in references.

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Further Material on the 19th and 20th Centuries Iranian Politics, Society, and Culture:

S. Akhavi, *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran*.

A. Amanat, *Resurrection & Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran*.

H. Bashiriyeh, *The State and Revolution in Iran, 1962-1982*.

L. Binder, *Iran: Political Development in a Changing Society*.

H. E. Chehabi, *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism*.

R. W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*.

H. Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*.

S. K. Farsoun. & M. Mashayekhi (eds.), *Iran: Political Culture in the Islamic Republic*.

M. M. J. Fischer, *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*.

A. H. Hairi, *Shi'ism and Constitutionalism*.

F. Jahanbakhsh, *Islam, Democracy and Religious Modernism in Iran (1953-2000)*.

H. Katouzian, *Musaddiq and the Struggle of Power in Iran*.

N. R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran*.

D. Menashri, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran*.

A. Rahnema,(ed.), *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*.

- M. Parsa, *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution*.
 R. K. Ramazani, *Revolutionary Iran: Challenge and Response in the Middle East*.
 D. Shayegan, *Cultural Schizophrenia*.

Personal Accounts and Memoirs:

- A. Alam, *The Shah and I*.
 H. Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*.
 E. G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, London, 1893.
 R. Byron, *The Road to Oxiana*, London, 1937, reprinted, 1981.
 V. Cronin, *The Last Migration*, London, 1957.
 S. Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*.
 Gen. R. E. Huyser, *Mission to Tehran*, London, 1986.
 N. Najafi & H. Hinckley, *Reveille for a Persian Village*, New York, 1958.
 Sir Anthony Parsons, *The Pride & the Fall: Iran 1974-79*, London, 1984.
 Lady Mary Sheil, *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, London, 1856.
 T. O'Donnell, *Garden of the Brave in War: Recollections of Iran*.
 Olive Suratgar, *I Sing in the Wilderness*, London, 1951.
 Reginald Teague-Jones (alias Ronald Sinclair), *Adventures in Persia*, London, 1990.
 Notes of a travel to Iran in 1926.
 Marie-Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, *Lords of the Mountains: Southern Persia and the Kashkai Tribe*, London, n.d. (1953?).

Further Material on Modern Persian Literature:

- E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, 1914.
 E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge, Vol. 4.
 J. Al-e-Ahmad, *The School Principal*, A Novel, Translated by John K. Newton.
 M.C. Hillmann (ed), *Iranian Society: An Anthology of Writings by Jalal Al-e Ahmad*.
 Simin Daneshvar, *Daneshvar's Play House*.
 Simin Daneshvar, *Savushun*, translated by Roxane Zand as *A Persian Requiem*.
 A. Karimi-Hakkak, *An Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry*
 A. Karimi-Hakkak, "Protest and Perish: A History of the Writers' Association of Iran", *Iranian Studies*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 2-4, Spring-Autumn 1985, pp. 189-229.
 Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Revolutionary Posturing: Iranian Writers and the Iranian Revolution of 1979," in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23: 507-31.
 A. Karimi-Hakkak, "From Translation to Appropriation: Poetic Cross-Breeding in Early Twentieth-Century Iran," in *Comparative Literature*, 47 (1): 53-78.
 Hillman, Michael C. "The Modernist Trends in Persian Literature and its Social Impacts", *Iranian Studies*, Vol. XV, 1982, pp. 7-29.
 H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian Prose Literature*, Cambridge, 1966.
 H. Katouzian, *Sadeq Hedayat: The Life and Literature of an Iranian Writer*.
 F. Milani, *Veils and Words: The Emerging Voices of Iranian Women Writers*.
 H. Moayyad (ed.), *Stories from Iran: 1921-1991*, 1991.
 T. M. Ricks (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Modern Persian Literature*.

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Study Guide (I): Relating to topics covered in weeks 1-6.

Short Essays:

Qizilbash, Gulestan and Turkmanchay Treaties, Abbas Mirza, Amir Kabir, Mirza Malkam Khan, Dar al-Fonoun, Tobacco Protest, Sheikh Fazlollah Nuri, Mirza Mohammad-Hossein Naini, Ali-Akbar Dâvar, Mohammad-Ali Forouqi, Ahmad Qavam, National Front, Tudeh Party, Ahmad Kasravi, Khalil Maleki, Ayatollah Kashani.

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. How would you assess al-Afghani's impact on the development of political opposition during the later period of Naser al-Din Shah's reign?
4. 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?
5. 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.
6. 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.

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

Short Essays:

Ayatollah Boroujerdi, White Revolution, SAVAK, Jalal Al-e Ahmad, Amir-Abbas Hoveyda, Jamshid Amouzegar, *Rastakhiz* Party, Shapour Bakhtiar, Morteza Motahhari, LMI and Mehdi Bazargan, Abol-Hasan Bani-Sadr, Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Abdol-Karim Soroush, Mohsen Kadivar, Shirin Ebadi, Mohammad Khatami, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Long Essays:

1. 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.
2. 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.
3. How religion became a political ideology in the Iranian revolution of 1979? Also discuss Khomeini's theory of an Islamic government including the notion of the "Guardianship of Jurist."
4. How would you identify and portray the Iranian Revolution of 1979 in comparison to at least two other major modern revolutions in world history?
5. Describe the main features and different phases of the Iranian revolution since 1979, and briefly state its wider ideological impacts on the Middle East.
6. Causes and dynamics of Iran-Iraq War. Discuss.
7. How would you evaluate the 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. Does Ahmadinejad's presidency represent a new phase in conservative consolidation in Iran? Do you agree or disagree with this assessment? Discuss.