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 ideology and legal theory. 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 (40 points) and a cumulative final (60 points). These tests will consist of a mixture of short essays (detailed identifications) and long essays (which will be comparative and analytical). Two study guides are attached to this syllabus, relating to each section of the course. Exam questions could mainly, though not exclusively, be drawn from these study guides and students are advised to pay special attention to them. Attendance is assumed and required; grades will be reduced for lack of class attendance or if persistently late for class. Midterm and final tests will be graded up to their maximum percentage points (total of 100 points = 100%).

**Learning Goals:** This course will have a comparative and interdisciplinary orientation and will aim to introduce students to the history of modern Iran from different analytical and interpretive perspectives, to familiarize them with various categories and genres of historical analysis, and to provide them with in-depth knowledge of different periods.

**Required 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 prepare for lectures by reading the material in advance and bring questions to class for discussion. Required books and the Optional titles are available at the UCSD Bookstore.

Optional:

Further Recommended Readings:

E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions.*
E. Abrahamian, *Khomeinism.*
A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921The Pahlavis and After.*
M. Boroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West.*
H. Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent (The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran).*
H. Katouzian, *Political Economy of Modern Iran.*
H. Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars & the Emergence of the Pahlavis.*
A. K. S. Lamton, *Qajar Persia.*
V. Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran.*
F. Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut: Iran's Intellectual Encounter with Modernity.*
Iranian History Chronicle:
http://fouman.com/history/index.htm

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

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/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

Iran and the West (history after the revolution): BBC 4 report in three parts:
I: http://www.blip.tv/file/1757619 (59mins)
II: http://www.blip.tv/file/1779379/ (59mins)
III: http://www.blip.tv/file/1804749/ (59mins)

Recommended Films:
Documentary
  Iran: veiled appearances
  End of Empire (Iran: Oil Crisis and the Coup of 1953)
  The Century (Iran: Evolution of a Revolution)
  Divorce Iranian Style
  Rough Cut

Feature Films
  Crimson Gold (2004); Ten (2004); Offside (2006)

Course Outline

Week 1:
  General Introductions: Unity and Diversity in Iranian History.
  Formation of the Safavid State (1501-1722).
  An Overview of the Safavid’s Legacy.

Reading:
  H. Braun, “Iran Under the Safavids and in the 18th Century.” Reader.
Recommended:

“Iran: Historical Settings.” Parts 1 and 2. Reader.


E. L. Daniel, *The History of Iran*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.

A. Amanat, "In Between the Madrasa and the Marketplace: The Designation of Clerical Leadership in Modern Shi’ism,” in S. A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi’ism*.


H. Chapin Metz (ed.), *Iran (A Country Study)*, section on "Iran: Historical Settings."

R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*.

R. Ghirshman, *Iran*.

G. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran*.

Week 2:

Qajar State and Society in the 19th century

The Idea of National Consciousness and the Constitutional Movement (1906-11)

Shi’ism and Constitutionalism

Ideological Disputes

Reading:

E. Abrahamian, Chapters 1, 2.

A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Introduction and Chapter 1.


A. K. S. Lambton, “Persian Society under the Qajars.” Reader.


Recommended:


A. Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*, Chapters 1, 2.


J. D. Gurney, “The Transformation of Tehran in the Later Nineteenth Century.”


A. H. Hairi, "The Idea of Constitutionalism in Persian Literature prior to the 1906 Revolution.11"


A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921The Pahlavis and After*, Ch 1.


E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapters 1, 2.


S. A. Arjomand, “Ideological Revolution in Shi’ism,” in S. A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi’ism*.
C. E. Bosworth & C. Hilleband (eds), *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change, 1800-1925*.
A. H. Hairi, *Shi'ism and Constitutionalism in Iran: A Study of the Role Played by the Persian Residents of Iraq in Iranian Politics*.
A. K. S. Lambton, *Qajar Persia (Eleven Studies)*.
M. Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran*.
F. Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut: Iran’s Intellectual Encounter with Modernity*, Chapters 2, 3.

**Week 3 (i):**
Pahlavi State-Nationalism, Modernization and Autocracy: The Era of Reza Shah
The Development of a Central Judiciary, Modern Education

**Reading:**
E. Abrahamian, Chapter 3.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapter 1.
A. Gheissari, “Constitutional Rights and the Development of Civil Law in Iran, 1907-1941.” *Reader*.
A. Gheissari, “Persia” (Iran in WW2). *Reader*.

**Recommended:**
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*.
H. Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran,* Part II.

**Week 3 (ii):**
The Period: 1941-1953, Political Parties
Popular Nationalism: Mosaddeq and the Nationalization of Iranian Oil Industry

**Reading:**
E. Abrahamian, Chapter 4.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, *Democracy in Iran,* Chapter 2.

**Recommended:**
A. Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century,* Chapter 4.
M. Seger, “Segregation of Retail Facilities and the Bipolar City Center of Tehran.” *Reader.*
A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After,* Ch 4.
E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions,* Part II.
E. Abrahamian, "Kasravi: The Integrative Nationalist of Iran."
J. A. Bill and W. R. Louis (eds.), *Musaddiq, Iranian Nationalism, and Oil.*
R. W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran.*
G. Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran,* 1918-1948: *A Study in Big-Power Politics.*

**Week 4 (i):**
The Period of Mohammad-Reza Shah
The Coup of 1953 and its social and political impact

**Reading:**
E. Abrahamian, Chapter 5.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, *Democracy in Iran,* Chapter 2.

**Recommended:**
S. Dorril, "Iran: Unequal Dreams." *Reader.*
A. Bausani, "Europe and Iran in Contemporary Persian Literature."
A. Ansari, *A History of Modern Iran since 1921*, Chs 5, 6, 7.
V. Martin, *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, Chs III, IV, V.
E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapters 9, 10.
E. Abrahamian, *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin*.
H. Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
B. Jazani, *Capitalism and Revolution in Iran*.
H. Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, Part IV.
F. Kazemi, *Poverty and Revolution in Iran: The Migrant Poor, Urban Marginality and Politics*.
T. O'Donnel, *Garden of the Brave in War: Recollections of Iran*.
S. Zabih, *The Left in Contemporary Iran*.

**Week 4 (ii):**
The Idea of Land Reform and the Royal "White Revolution"
The Opposition

**Reading:**
E. Abrahamian, Chapter 5.
M. Bayat-Philipp, "Shi’ism in Contemporary Iranian Politics: The Case of Ali Shariati". *Reader*.

**Recommended:**

**Week 5:**
Discussion and Revision
Midterm Test
Weeks 6-7:
The 1978-79 Revolution and After
Iran’s Revolution in Comparative Perspective
The Question of “Islamic State”
Social Change

Reading:
E. Abrahamian, Chapter 6.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, Democracy in Iran, Chapter 3.
A. Gheissari (ed.), Contemporary Iran, Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, 8.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, "Iran's Democracy Debate." Reader.
A. Amanat, “From Ijtihad to Wilayat-i Faqih: The Evolving of the Shi'ite Legal Authority to Political Power.” Reader.
H. Enayat, "Iran: Khumayni's Concept of the 'Guardianship of the Jurisconsult.'” Reader.

Recommended:
N. R. Keddie, Modern Iran, Chapters 9, 10.
A. Gheissari, Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century, Chapter 6.
A. Ashraf. "Bazaar & Mosque in Iran's Revolution."
H. E. Chehabi, “The Political Regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Comparative Perspective.”
A. Banuazizi, “Faltering Legitimacy: The Ruling Clerics and Civil Society in Contemporary Iran.”
E. L. Daniel, The History of Iran, Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11.
A. Ansari, A History of Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After, Chs 8-9.
V. Martin, Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran, Chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX.
M. Milani, The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution, Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
E. Abrahamian, Iran Between Two Revolutions, Chapter 11.
E. Abrahamian, Khomeinism.
H. Dabashi, Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.
H. Enayat, Modern Islamic Political Thought, Chapter 5.
R. Mottahedeh, Mantle of the Prophet.
S. Zabih, *Iran since the Revolution*.

**Week 8:**
Post-Khomeini period: Khamenei
Rafsanjani and “Pragmatic Conservatism”
Khatami and the Reform Movement: Debate on Civil Society

**Reading:**
E. Abrahamian, Chapter 6.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapters 4, 5.
A. Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran*, Chapters 1, 3, 7, 10.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, "Iran's Democracy Debate." Reader. Additional recommended material noted in references.

**Recommended:**
N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapters 11, 12, and Conclusion

**Week 9:**
2005 and 2009 Presidential Elections
Ahmadinejad and New Conservative Consolidation
Continuity and Change in Iran’s Domestic and Foreign Policy, 1979-2010: Overview

**Reading:**
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, *Democracy in Iran*, Chapter 6 (Epilogue)
A. Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran*, Chapters 9, 11, 12.
A. Gheissari and V. Nasr, “Conservative Consolidation in Iran,” in *Survival*, 2005. Reader. Additional recommended material can be noted in references.

**Recommended:**

**Week 10:**
Discussion and Revision

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

R. W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran.*
H. Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought: The Response of the Shi'i and Sunni Muslims to the Twentieth Century.*
S. K. Farsoun. & M. Mashayekhi (eds.), *Iran: Political Culture in the Islamic Republic.*
A. H. Hairi, *Shi’ism and Constitutionalism.*
A. Rahnema,(ed.), *Pioneers of Islamic Revival.*
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.*
S. Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia.*
T. O'Donnel, *Garden of the Brave in War: Recollections of Iran.*
HINE 126: Iranian Revolution in Historical Perspective

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

Short Essays:

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.

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.
HINE 126: Iranian Revolution in Historical Perspective
Study Guide (II): Relating to topics covered in weeks 6-10.

Short Essays:

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. Does Ahmadinejad’s presidency represent a new phase in conservative consolidation in Iran? Do you agree or disagree with this assessment? Discuss.

9. Discuss at least two major challenges facing Iran’s foreign relations after the 2005 and 2009 presidential elections.


11. Iran’s regional position since the 1979 revolution. Discuss.

12. Since the 1979 revolution Iran has experienced a significant and varied process of social change. Discuss at least two such changes with reference to their respective historical contexts.