

*The Last Great Revolution: Turmoil and Transformation in Iran [Robin Wright] on calendrierdelascience.com *FREE* shipping on qualifying offers. Robin Wright has reported from over countries for many leading news organizations, but her perceptive coverage of Iran has garnered her the most respect and praise among her colleagues.*

The foot-long bomb, called the Massive Ordnance Penetrator, will pack tons of explosives—ten times more than its predecessor—and be designed for launch from the B-2 stealth bomber. Against such threats, the international proletariat must defend the development of nuclear weapons by Iran and demand: Within Iran, protests, some mobilizing tens of thousands of people, have re-erupted since early December. Then, on December 7, tens of thousands of students rallied in Tehran and at universities around the country, clashing with riot police and Basij militias. While the protest demonstrations have been politically subordinate to one side in what is essentially a falling-out between rival factions within the ruling clerical elite, the December 7 student demonstrations pointed to the politically heterogeneous nature of the opposition. Mir Hussein Moussavi, the main opposition candidate in the June presidential election, did not associate himself with the student demonstrations. The student demonstrations were followed by a series of mass protests coinciding with religious occasions. As many as 2, people have reportedly been arrested since the start of the latest wave of demonstrations. Five of those arrested are accused of being members of the Mujahedin Khalq, an Iranian opposition group that until recently operated out of bases in Iraq; they face charges of Moharebeh, or waging war against God, which carries an automatic death sentence. The international workers movement must demand: Free all anti-government protesters! In another sign of the stepped-up repression, a Kurdish political prisoner, Fasih Yasamani, was executed by hanging on January 6. Previously, another Kurdish prisoner was executed in November, and at least 17 other activists remain on death row. When Barack Obama took office last year, one of his first acts was to brand the PJAK a terrorist organization, underlining, yet again, that the imperialist rulers who threaten war against Iran are deadly enemies of those oppressed by the Iranian regime. Hundreds of thousands of student youth, women and workers have taken to the streets. Millions rose up against the bloody Shah, a savage despot who had been placed in power by the CIA 25 years earlier. The huge clerical caste of mullahs and their allies among the traditional bourgeoisie in the bazaars were a backward-looking force opposed to all social progress. Immediately on taking power, the clerical regime viciously attacked the working class and oppressed. Women were forced back under the chador, the stifling head-to-foot black veil that symbolizes their subordination. Kurdish militants were massacred by firing squads. The workers councils that were thrown up in the course of the upheaval were replaced by Islamic councils subordinated to the regime. Soon, Iranian youth were sent to die by the hundreds of thousands in a years-long border war with neighboring Iraq that was reactionary on both sides. Yet, criminally, the rise to power of a movement based on the mosque and bazaar was directly aided by the then large and influential Iranian left and cheered on by pseudo-socialist groups abroad. Here are some examples of what the reformists said at the time. The Canadian International Socialists ran a headline in their press saying: The Militant 27 February , published by the U. Socialist Workers Party, gushed: I lived in England at this time and recall a public meeting organized by the British affiliate of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat USec. Iran had long had one of the strongest self-proclaimed communist movements in the Near East. The pro-Soviet Tudeh Party dominated in the working class. In the s, tens of thousands of youth were won to other left-wing groups, from the Maoist Peykar to the guerrillaist Fedayeen and more. But without exception these groups acted to subordinate working-class struggles to the Muslim hierarchy. The remnants who made it into exile have overwhelmingly retreated from politics or been rendered cynical. These youth have little knowledge of or identification with the political program and liberating ideals of Marxism, or how this program was perverted by the Stalinists and other reformists in the name of collaboration with a wing of the capitalist class. This has a double impact in Iran, where the defeat is also widely, if wrongly, seen as a failure of the communist project. A notoriously corrupt capitalist, Rafsanjani may well be the richest man in Iran. Abroad, the protests are being cheered by everyone from royalist supporters of the former Shah to bourgeois democrats and the

remnants of the left. Down with the butcher Ahmadinejad and the whole Islamic Republic! We fight to win elements among the new generation of Iranians to the struggle to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party armed with a program to liberate the masses through workers socialist revolution. I want to turn now to the threats to Iran from U. By orders of magnitude, the United States is the greatest purveyor of war in the world today. It is also the only country ever to use atomic weapons on a civilian population, killing , people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These are the opening shots in war, as the case of Iraq demonstrates. One and a half million Iraqis were killed and the country devastated by the UN sanctions that preceded the U. Since its creation at the end of World War II, the UN has always been a fig leaf for naked imperialist aggression against semicolonial countries. In the face of such threats, we say that Iran needs nuclear weaponry and adequate delivery systems for deterrence. In the event of a military attack on Iran by U. Washington and its allies have naturally sought to intervene in the political turmoil within Iran. After 30 years of oppressive mullah rule, there are doubtless many in Iran who have illusions in Western bourgeois democracy. These illusions have been furthered by the facelift given to U. Whether administered by Democrats or Republicans, U. It was the CIA, in collusion with the British, that organized the coup that overthrew then-prime minister Mohammad Mossadeq to reverse his nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The imperialists then put the Shah back in power and backed his blood-drenched regime until the bitter end. Down with the imperialist occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq! Imperialist hands off Iran! For Permanent Revolution in Iran! I now want to turn to the theoretical and programmatic underpinnings of our revolutionary perspective for Iran. Our model is the October Revolution in Russia. The program of permanent revolution, first developed by the Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky for the Russian Revolution, also points the road to national and social liberation in countries like Iran, where economic and social development has been stunted by the global domination of the imperialist powers. The October Revolution showed that only the working class, leading the peasant and urban plebeian masses, can liberate the societies of countries of belated capitalist development. In the imperialist epoch of decaying capitalism that began more than a century ago, all wings of the bourgeoisie in such countries are too dependent on their ties to the imperialists, too fearful of independent working-class action to play any progressive role. As Trotsky explained, the working class must rally the oppressed masses including by raising democratic demands such as for a revolutionary constituent assembly, fighting for agrarian revolution to give land to the peasants, for the rights of women and national minorities. In seizing state power and establishing their own dictatorship, the workers will be compelled to institute socialist measures, such as expropriating the means of production and establishing a planned economy. But these revolutions will survive and flourish only if they are extended to the heartlands of world imperialism, the advanced capitalist countries of the West and Japan. These considerations pertain with full force in the Near East. While dominated by rich merchants and the high clergy ulema , the revolution generated a plebeian uprising centered in Iranian Azerbaijan. But by the merchants and ulema formed a joint government with representatives of the Shah. The Bolshevik Revolution again produced mass upheavals in Iran, which were initially suppressed by the occupying British army. This period saw the formation of the Adalat Justice Party, progenitor of the first Communist Party of Persia and again centered in Azerbaijan. Mass protests against the British spread across the country, especially in the northern province of Gilan. Developments in Iran provided something of a laboratory condition for discussions on the national and colonial questions at the Congress, in particular on the relationship between bourgeois-nationalist movements and nascent Communist parties in underdeveloped countries. Russia, while economically backward, was itself an imperialist power. Founding Iranian Communist Ahmed Sultanzadeh intervened at the Congress to add a cautionary warning that was to prove prescient, and not only for Iran. If we were to proceed in accordance with the theses in countries where we already have ten or more years of experience behind us or where bourgeois democracy is a prop and a foundation of the state, as in Persia, that would mean driving the masses into the arms of the counterrevolution. We must create and support a purely communist movement counterposed to the bourgeois-democratic movement. The Gilan experience demonstrated the limitations in which Communists could work with bourgeois-democratic and nationalist movements. A military united front between the nascent Communist Party and Jangali against the British was certainly principled, helping to force a British withdrawal and establish a bridgehead for the Bolshevik

Revolution into Iran. But the political alliance between the forces in a common government was disastrous, for once the British occupation forces were removed, the programs of the Communists and nationalists were shown to be completely incompatible. In , amid a wave of demoralization that followed the defeat of revolutionary opportunities in West Europe, a nationalist bureaucratic caste under J. Stalin became dominant in the Soviet Union. Trotsky and other Bolshevik cadres formed the Left Opposition to oppose this, remaining true to proletarian revolutionary Marxism. During the s and 30s, the Iranian Communists engaged in heroic underground work under the Shah, for example leading a general strike in the oil fields of southwestern Khuzistan in . But the formation of the Tudeh Party in by left-wing intellectuals formerly associated with the Persian Communist Party took place under the anti-revolutionary, class-collaborationist perspective of the Stalinized Comintern. Socialist revolution, they claimed, would come in the distant, unspecified future. By , Tudeh claimed tens of thousands of members and some , workers in affiliated unions. Its strength was concentrated in north Iran since it had consciously discouraged organization in the south, then controlled by Britain. Nonetheless, there is no question that by the end of the war Iran had entered a pre-revolutionary situation in which Tudeh could have taken power. The Tudeh-led unions effectively made up the government in north Iran—collecting taxes, providing security and judicial functions, issuing travel permits, etc. The presence of the Soviet Red Army, which entered this part of Iran in , provided an enormous impetus to social upheaval. But this was not the revolutionary army of Lenin and Trotsky, and Tudeh was not a revolutionary party. This was a class-collaborationist popular front par excellence, stretching all the way from mullahs and tribal leaders to Stalinist union organizers. While the Democratic Republic carried out some significant reforms in its one year of existence—for example, women got the right to vote for the first time—the regime kept agrarian reform very limited in order to maintain the alliance with bourgeois forces linked to the landlords. Azerbaijan was to be bartered for a supposedly friendly regime in Tehran. An agreement was signed for the withdrawal of Soviet troops in exchange for a joint Iran-Soviet oil company. An unwritten clause was that Tudeh would use its great authority in the proletariat to enforce class peace. That clause was soon activated. On the heels of a successful strike by oil workers in Khuzistan, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company tried to whip up antagonisms between Arab and Persian workers in order to break the pro-Tudeh unions. In self-defense, a general strike was called for July . In the wake of bloody street fighting, Tudeh militias took over the key city of Abadan.

Chapter 2 : Iran Turmoil: Revolution Or Not? – The Moderate Voice

Hamas attacks prove Iran in turmoil Instability has arisen in Iran before, most notably in the Green Revolution against the mullahs and then-President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad after clearly.

All over Iran, citizens are taking to the streets to protest their Islamic government. Beloved of the Lord, Today, I would like to share with you a special report about all the turmoil currently taking place in Iran, and the spiritual perspective on the whole situation. My father was a Muslim scholar and a writer who trained me in the Islamic laws and all of its practices. For the past 39 years, this Islamic Regime has done nothing but oppress the people of Iran. The economy has been in shambles. The official unemployment rate is Young people under 30, which constitute more than half the population of Iran, are particularly affected. Currently, people have no freedom. Even the way they dress publicly is controlled by the Islamic Regime. So now, for the second time since , the people of Iran have taken to the streets in cities all across Iran to protest against economic hardship and political repression. The demonstrations are the biggest in the country since the highly-controversial presidential election of , when millions of Iranian voters demanded a recount. Since then, the protests have spread to some 50 cities and towns, including the capital Tehran, where tens of thousands have taken to the streets. Hundreds have also been arrested. For the first time in the past 39 years of the Islamic Regime, citizens were chanting "death to the dictator" - an apparent reference to Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. Iranians protest in the streets of Tehran, the capital of Iran. President Donald Trump expressed his support for the protests in a series of tweets. What are the spiritual ramifications of the current situation in Iran? For the past 10 years Iran has experienced a tremendous move of God as we witnessed tens of thousands of Muslims convert to faith in Christ. The Islamic Regime has tried tirelessly to put a stop to this great move of God. They have shut down churches, arrested thousands of believers, imprisoned many of them, and some have even been executed. The only church available for these new Iranian believers has been Christian satellite TV. Thank God for TBN. In when Millions of people took to the streets to demand a recount amid allegations of widespread fraud, Ayatollah Khamenei, the Supreme Leader, insisted the result was valid and ordered a crackdown on dissent. Many members of the opposition party were killed and thousands more were detained. Now, we do not desire for them to be oppressed, but oftentimes natural hardship betters a people-group because of the spiritual ramifications of that hardship. But today, I feel different. I feel it is time for the establishment of the church in Iran. If this Islamic Regime falls to the citizens, it means that God is allowing His church to be established in Iran. It is important to think in terms of the Church and salvation of souls when we read historical events and political changes. God is preparing an army of Ex-Muslims to evangelize the Islamic world! If indeed this is the time for a political change in Iran, our prayers today need to be that a proper, and right government is established in Iran! We greatly appreciate your support of TBN. Your support is making it possible for millions of people to come to the knowledge of the truth. Thank you for your prayers and thank you for your support.

Chapter 3 : Iran in Turmoil

Popular street protests in dozens of cities, triggered by Iran's economic woes, are different from any since the revolution.

Thousands of Iranians protesters defied government bans on demonstrations and massed in the streets of Tehran July 9, confronting police and paramilitary forces, on the tenth anniversary of student revolt. JULY 25

“Iran is still wracked with turmoil a month and a half after the hotly disputed presidential elections. Aggressive attacks on demonstrators by police along with the militarized Revolutionary Guard pasdaran and paramilitary militia basij under the command of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei were able to wear down the largest protests in three decades” but only for a while. And they were unable to quell the deep anger that has now spread to millions and shaken the Islamic regime to its core. On July 6, mothers and sisters of the more than 2, people who have been arrested protested outside the notorious Ervin Prison, which is overflowing with political prisoners. On July 9, the tenth anniversary of the student revolt at Tehran University, thousands flooded into the streets, stopping traffic, lighting fires and defying motorbike-mounted basiji. On July 13, a general strike paralyzed much of the province of Kordestan and other Kurdish areas, shutting down shops and transportation in Saqez, Mahabad, Bokoan, Sardasht and elsewhere. Protesters surged through avenues and boulevards of central Tehran, and gathered outside the ministry of the interior, the state broadcasting agency and Evin Prison. After several hours, police and auxiliaries managed to disperse the protesters with tear gas and baton attacks and use of taser guns. At least one death was reported, more than demonstrators were arrested. Hundreds of thousands of anti-government demonstrators protesting election fraud took to the streets again on July 14. Police and basij militia attacked with tear gas. Meanwhile, there is furious maneuvering going on behind the scenes in the Islamic ruling circles. Although there were leftists among the initial organizers, and many of those protesting the rigged vote are secular, the protests carefully hewed to the political limits laid down by the theocratic regime. An Iranian newspaper reported that when people tried to chant secular slogans, fellow protesters silenced them. Heavy-handed repression may yet stifle the opposition, but if the struggle deepens against an increasingly militarized regime, the Islamist political control of the protests could be called into question. The leaders of the competing camps are well aware of this. The candidate himself, although theatrically declaring his willingness to be a martyr, bowed to the pressure of the government saying he would no longer call for unauthorized marches. Asked what the goal was, he replied: Contrary to the pro-Mousavi propaganda of the Western media, Ahmadinejad and his faction still have a sizable base in the military apparatus and some support among the urban poor. Yet they have conflicting interests. Moreover, Obama and the U.S. In this explosive situation, revolutionary Marxists must first warn against and combat all imperialist intervention in Iran. At the same time, we put forward a program to mobilize the Iranian working people independent of and against all the factions of the theocratic regime. We have detailed how Mousavi is a longstanding component of the Islamic regime. Leftists who politically back either side in the fight among the Islamic rulers are condemning the Iranian working masses to further impoverishment amid a worldwide capitalist economic crisis. All the leaders are committed to the Islamic Republic, a regime of clerical capitalism whose very existence required the wholesale extermination of the Iranian left. Today the inveterate opportunists are still tailing after one or the other camp among the feuding ayatollahs. This is not a game. The future of millions of Iranian working people is at stake. The poll takers concluded that most likely none of the candidates would win an outright victory, forcing a run-off. This is a far cry from the 62 percent for Ahmadinejad claimed by the Iranian government and upheld by Petras. In a place like Iran where you can easily land in jail for opposing the government, many people would be naturally reluctant to express their political choice to an unknown caller. The WWP also cites the Rockefeller Brothers poll without saying who financed it, or giving the actual numbers. But it goes further, seeking to deny that the Iranian regime killed protesters. Government security men beat man protesting vote fraud in Tehran, June 14, as supporters rush to his aid. AP The Marcyites have spent so much time singing paeans to the Kim dynasty in the North Korean deformed workers state that they have gone positively delusional. Could something like their scenario happen? One of the most

vexing problems for opportunists is to keep their audiences apart. They try to practice what in capitalist business schools is called market segmentation. But with their segmented marketing, the Marcyites tiptoe around such issues. Seeking recruits from the milieu of the Democratic Party in the U. In the July 12 elections, Tudeh called to support Mousavi, the former prime minister who presided over the execution of hundreds if not thousands of their own comrades! Today Tudeh has become thoroughly social-democratized, and is as shamelessly reformist as ever, capable only of sabotaging revolution. There are a number of problems with this construct. Families visiting unmarked graves at Khavaran grave site in south Tehran. Khavaran is the burial place for many of the thousands of political prisoners who were executed in when Mir-Hossein Mousavi was prime minister. Marxists always underline the class character of democracy, stressing that bourgeois democracy defends the rights of exploiters against the working people they exploit. This is not by accident. They called to overturn the announced election results, which is quite different. This is the basis of the system of velayat-e-faqih, in which the Supreme Leader has veto power over everything. No doubt many of those protesting the rigged vote could be won to the need for revolutionary struggle against mullah rule. In many semi-colonial countries, a minuscule ruling class faces a vast mass of poor and working people such that it cannot hope to maintain its power by anything resembling democratic means. That is one reason why throughout the Near East military dictatorships, monarchies and oligarchical regimes abound. Iran under the iron heel of the shah or the mullahs is no exception. Thus we of the League for the Fourth International fight for a workers and peasants government that initiates socialist revolution, in Iran and beyond. And not for the first time. These forces dismantled working-class organization and divided the left " and later, violently smashed it. Today the ISO is singing a different tune, but their methods are the same. How they know what the majority of protesters believe is left unexplained. A third piece says: Beginning of a Revolution , which waxed lyrical: Khomeini and his allies argued that national unity was needed to defeat the US. Any dissenters were enemies of the revolution. But revolutionary Trotskyists, then organized in the international Spartacist tendency, which included the founders of the Internationalist Group, were not taken in by this maneuver, writing: The same line is taken by the United Secretariat USec , followers of the late Ernest Mandel, which for decades has masqueraded as the Fourth International. Again, this is hardly the first time that the Mandelites have made common cause with the Cliffites: This only shows that the USec has long-since become reformist " now codified in the formation of the New Anticapitalist Party NPA in France which makes no pretense of Trotskyism, and in which the heirs of Mandel and Cliff comfortably cohabit. Each tendency has its own particular formula. When that hour strikes the whole world will shake! If Lenin and Trotsky had that line, there never would have been a Bolshevik Revolution. What position Marxists should take toward Islamism has been at issue in the left for decades. The current upheaval in Iran poses the question point blank, but it is also vital in formulating a revolutionary program for struggle throughout North Africa, the Near East, elsewhere in Asia and in imperialist countries like Britain. In Egypt, for example, since there has been a series of strikes of textile workers, miners, postal workers and other government employees, along with protests over U. In all these issues the question of what attitude to take toward the Muslim Brotherhood is unavoidable, as it is the largest opposition force under the dictatorship of Mubarak. Trotskyists must warn against making political blocs with the Islamists and sharply combat their influence in the working class. Elsewhere in the Near East, Cliffites and Mandelites have both supported making political alliances with Hezbollah in Lebanon. Likewise, in Iran today, giving political support to the pro-Mousavi mobilization means accepting the limits imposed by the clerical bonapartist regime. Such is the price of admission to a political bloc with Islamic reaction: Trotskyists, in contrast, defend Iran under the Islamic Republic " as well as Iraq under Saddam and Gaza under Hamas " against imperialist attack and threats, while politically fighting Islamism. Various opportunists justified their capitulation to Khomeini by arguing, as did the U. Islamism is a political doctrine for a theocratic state which communists fight tooth and nail as we insist on the separation of church and state. Christian fundamentalists oppose this fundamental bourgeois-democratic principle as well, as do Zionists with their anti-democratic proclamation of a Jewish state. In the West under feudalism, when the Holy Roman Empire dominated Europe, as well as under the reformers Luther and Calvin, the unity of church and state was as pronounced as in the Muslim caliphates. Capitalism in its ascendant phase overcame this medieval political

order; today, decaying capitalism fosters such reactionary currents. What is striking about the political response of the left to the Islamic regime in Iran is the phony ingenuousness. When there are new developments in the class struggle, Marxists respond, as scientists do, by a series of approximations as they work out a program. This was the case with the rise of imperialism, the appearance of fascism and the popular front. In the post-World War I period, communists were very tentative in responding to bourgeois-nationalist and pan-Islamic movements, with little prior experience to go on. But by this was not a novel question, and the answer was no mystery for genuine Marxists. As early as the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, the question of what attitude to take toward Islamist forces was hotly debated. Yet with the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern, communists around the world were indoctrinated with the stagist program. They kept on making alliances with bourgeois nationalists and strongmen for decades. The result was the bloodbath in which the army, together with Islamist death squads, murdered an estimated one million Communists, trade unionists, members of the Chinese minority and others. The Islamists proceeded to suppress the left and workers movement, picking off the various organizations one by one. The defeat of the Iranian workers uprising of late 1978 and early 1979 was the result of Stalinism, but not just of the treachery of the Stalinist Tudeh party that sold out to Khomeini as it had earlier sold out to the shah in the interests of Kremlin foreign policy. The key is to begin cohering the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist party that draws the lessons of the disastrous experience of the past, in order to open the way to a victorious struggle for an Iranian workers republic in a socialist federation of the Near East. Shia Islam rejects the legitimacy of the first three caliphs khalifa "rulers of the community of believers" who are considered by Sunni Muslims to be the successors of Muhammad.

Chapter 4 : Shah flees Iran - HISTORY

Iran Turmoil: Revolution Or Not? Are the new and old news media too quick to feed off one another and start suggesting that the turmoil in Iran is or could become a revolution?

The clergy first showed itself to be a powerful political force in opposition to the monarchy with the Tobacco protest. Talbot for a full monopoly over the production, sale, and export of tobacco for fifty years. Press conference on international oil policies. Niavaran Palace , Tehran , Persian Constitutional Revolution[edit] Main article: Persian Constitutional Revolution The growing discontent continued until the Constitutional Revolution " The revolution led to the establishment of a Parliament and approval of the first constitution. Although the constitutional revolution was successful in weakening the autocracy of the Qajar regime, it failed to provide a powerful alternative government. Consequently, within the decades following the establishment of the new parliament, a number of critical events took place. Many of these events can be viewed as a continuation of the struggle between the constitutionalists and the Shahs of Persia, many of whom were backed by foreign powers against the parliament. He established a constitutional monarchy, deposing the last of the Qajar shah in and introduced many social, economic, and political reforms during his reign. A number of these reforms led to public discontent which provides circumstances for an Iranian revolution. In , dozens were killed and hundreds injured in the Goharshad Mosque rebellion. However, he would avoid entering into political issues, as did other religious leaders who followed him. Hence, no widespread anti-government attempts were organized by clergy during the Reza Shah Rule. It was the most profitable British business in the world. Most Iranians lived in poverty while the wealth generated from Iranian oil played a decisive role in maintaining Britain at the top of the world. In Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh pledged to throw the company out of Iran, reclaim the petroleum reserves and free Iran from foreign powers. Mosaddegh nationalized the Anglo-Iranian oil company and became a national hero. The British, however, were outraged and accused him of stealing. The British demanded punishment by the World Court and the United Nations, sent warships to the Persian Gulf and finally imposed a crushing embargo. One European newspaper, the Frankfurter Neue Presse , reported that Mosaddegh "would rather be fried in Persian oil than make the slightest concession for the British". The British considered an armed invasion, but U. Truman refused his support. Prime Minister Winston Churchill decided for a coup. Mosaddegh, however, learned of their plans and ordered the British embassy shuttered in October All British diplomats and agents had to leave the country. President in November changed the U. On 20 January , U. Allen Dulles , told their British counterparts that they were ready to move against Mosaddegh. In their eyes, any country not decisively allied with the United States was a potential enemy. Iran had immense oil wealth, a long border with the Soviet Union and a nationalist Prime Minister. A fall into communism and a "second China" terrified the Dulles brothers. Operation Ajax was born, deposing the only democratic government Iran ever had. Leftist and Islamist groups attacked his government often from outside Iran as they were suppressed within for violating the Iranian constitution, political corruption, and the political oppression by the SAVAK secret police. It consisted of several elements including: Through land reform, the essence of the White Revolution, the Shah hoped to ally himself with the peasantry in the countryside, and hoped to sever their ties with the aristocracy in the city. What the Shah did not expect was that the White Revolution led to new social tensions that helped create many of the problems the Shah had been trying to avoid. Their resentment towards the Shah also grew since they were now stripped of organizations that had represented them in the past, such as political parties, professional associations, trade unions, and independent newspapers. The land reform, instead of allying the peasants with the government, produced large numbers of independent farmers and landless laborers who became loose political cannons, with no feeling of loyalty to the Shah. Many of the masses felt resentment towards the increasingly corrupt government; their loyalty to the clergy, who were seen as more concerned with the fate of the populace, remained consistent or increased. As Ervand Abrahamian pointed out: Instead, it paved the way for an Islamic Revolution. In theory, oil money funneled to the elite was supposed to be used to create jobs and factories, eventually distributing the money, but instead the wealth tended to get stuck at the

top and concentrated in the hands of the very few. Movement of 15 Khordad The post-revolutionary leader "Shia cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini" first came to political prominence in when he led opposition to the Shah and his White Revolution. Khomeini was arrested in after declaring the Shah a "wretched miserable man" who had "embarked on the [path toward] destruction of Islam in Iran. In November Khomeini was re-arrested and sent into exile where he remained for 15 years, until the revolution. Ideology of the Iranian Revolution[edit] Main article: Ideology of the Iranian Revolution People of Tehran in the demonstrations of 5 June with pictures of Ruhollah Khomeini in their hands.

Chapter 5 : Breaking: Turmoil in Iran | TBN Nejat TV

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Eleven years ago, in her *In the Name of God*: That period saw the establishment and consolidation of the institutions of the Islamic Republic, the devastating war with Iraq, economic decline, revolutionary excesses, and an ultimately futile attempt to export the revolution to other countries. In *The Last Great Revolution*, Wright picks up the story a decade later, as Iran finds itself in the midst of a new social, political and cultural upheaval. Wright appropriately devotes much attention to this protracted political battle over the future of the Islamic Republic. In April, Karbaschi was arrested on embezzlement charges. Following a highly publicized and politically motivated trial, he received a five-year jail sentence subsequently reduced to two years. Similarly, in June, Nouri was impeached by parliament after only ten months in office. In the fall of , the assault against the reformers intensified when several dissident writers were murdered. Throughout the book, the author relies heavily on extensive interviews with Iranians from all walks of life. For instance, the book features discussions with former Tehran mayor Karbaschi; Ayatollah Mohajeri, a standard-bearer of the reform movement since Khatami selected him as minister of culture and Islamic guidance; philosopher Abdul Karim Soroush, whose modernist Islamic ideas are having a major impact throughout the Muslim world; and Vice President Massoumeh Ebtekar, the spokeswoman for the students who captured the U.S. Drawing on her first-hand knowledge of the country and its people as well as on her ability to place current developments inside Iran in broad historical and comparative perspective, Wright significantly enhances our understanding of a country that is changing faster and more thoroughly than at any time since the triumph of the Islamic revolution more than two decades ago. Since the Constitutional Revolution of , Wright argues, Iranians repeatedly have sought to free themselves from autocratic rule and foreign control. In , a peaceful attempt to do so was thwarted. And, while the revolution of did succeed in dismantling dynastic rule and asserting Iranian independence, its promise to foster an era of greater freedom was left unfulfilled. Instead, a coterie of radical clerics around Khomeini hijacked the revolution and proceeded to establish a theocracy. Still, Wright observes, the revolution sowed further seeds of empowerment. For one thing, it mobilized large segments of the population, which until then had remained on the fringes of politics. Wright shows at some length how this phenomenon has affected women. Meanwhile, tradition-minded fathers became less concerned that sending their daughters to institutions of higher education might expose them to values and lifestyles they deemed offensive. These changes in perceptions and attitudes, Wright argues, help explain why Iran is among the countries that have made the most progress toward closing the educational gap between boys and girls. Today, she notes, over 40 percent of university students are women compared with 28 percent in , as are more than one-third of the faculty on campuses. More generally, Wright shows that changes taking place under the Islamic Republic have promoted greater participation by women in political and social affairs. But, as Wright observes, by failing to take back the two critical rights they had historically opposed for women — education and voting privileges — conservative clerics made it inevitable that women would come back to press their own demands, as they have done with increasing vigor since the mids. The result, Wright notes, has been the rise of a distinctive brand of activism, one shaped and dominated by women from socially conservative, often rural backgrounds. This movement has a broader base than under the shah, when its appeal was limited to Westernized, upper-class women and high-school and university students. Its growing impact is reflected in the success of publications explicitly aimed at women and in the fact that the broader media now routinely relate stories that illustrate the plight of women under the Islamic Republic. Women themselves are increasingly running for public office. Some of them competed in the parliamentary elections 14 won seats , while of the 5, women who took part in the February local contests were elected. Wright is also particularly effective in capturing the intellectual and artistic ferment taking place inside Iran. Consequently, while they accept the premise that the preservation and promotion of certain religious values should play an important

role in defining national priorities and objectives, they fiercely oppose the notion that men of religion should be entrusted with affairs of state. They also denounce the stifling of innovative thinking about religion and consistently challenge rigid interpretations of Islamic doctrine, particularly on issues related to personal freedoms. Most importantly, they oppose two tenets of the Islamic regime that are dear to the conservative clergy: Still, they are not seeking to bring down the Islamic Republic, merely to alter its course. Their outlook reflects their own political and intellectual journey. They all have impeccable revolutionary credentials; many having been jailed under the shah for opposition activities. Most are lay intellectuals who actively supported Khomeini well into the s; others, like Mohsen Kadivar, are themselves clerics or former clerics. It was then that they turned away from the ideological zeal that had inspired them, and became far more pragmatic and sensitive to the merits of pluralism and democracy. By accepting a role for Islam in the public sphere, their ideas can appeal to religiously oriented individuals including clerics eager for a more liberal, flexible interpretation of their faith. But since they also urge a separation of politics and religion, they have a natural following as well among secular-minded individuals striving to open up a religious system. The film industry, in particular, has gained international recognition for imagination and resourcefulness in addressing universal themes from a distinctly Iranian perspective, and through plots that focus on the vagaries of contemporary daily life in Iran. By producing its own artistic genres instead of mimicking the West and merely importing its cultural expressions, Iran has allowed interest in the arts to spread to new social strata â€” a phenomenon to which Wright devotes much attention. Once banned books, plays and films originating in Europe and the United States are now being allowed back in, though gradually and selectively. All in all, by combining a keen eye for detail with the ability to highlight critical trends, Wright captures the nuances of a complex political and social landscape that defies easy generalizations and quick judgments.

Chapter 6 : The Last Great Revolution: Turmoil and Transformation in Iran | Middle East Policy Council

The nationwide protests that began in Iran in December continue. This is a major wake-up call for Iran's authorities and the international community. Although denied by many through the past four decades, Iran is literally a political, social and economic time bomb closing in on a colossal.

Overnight, the year changed from to A short, sharp period of economic contraction and decline in 1978 following a considerable period of economic growth, that according to scholar of revolutions Crane Brinton creates disappointment much greater "than if people had been left in poverty all along. Efforts to please the opposition were "too little too late," [76] but no concerted counter-attack was made against the revolutionaries either. The shah was careful to meet with each of his top aides and generals individually. In the absence of a fully functioning shah, the system could not function. Success of modernist Islamists Abolhassan Banisadr and Ali Shariati in presenting an Islamic ideology that "appeared modern, liberal and appealing," and in so doing won over much of the Iranian middle class. OPEC had Iran and Iraq sat down and made to work aside differences, which resulted in relatively good relations between the two nations throughout the s. In the Shah made a request to then-Vice President Saddam Hussein to banish the expatriate Ayatollah Khomeini from Iraq, who had been living there in exile for the past 15 years. In light of keeping up good relations with Iran and that Khomeini was not overly supportive of the current Iraqi regime, Hussein agreed to do this. From this point Khomeini moved to France, where he better coordinated the nascent Islamic Revolution. External factors[edit] Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union long competed with each other for the domination of Iran. Britain maintained its control of the Iranian oil industry for a long time using its alliance with power bloc, landlords and courts and was able to reduce the power of the US and the Soviets in Iran. On the other hand, the United States and the Soviet Union were mainly interested in logistically important location of Iran and wanted an oil concession in northern part of Iran. The US also, could reduce the influence of the communism in Iran by its more open presence in Iran. Therefore, the Shah, with some pressure from the Kennedy administration, opted for Amini group, which had no popular base, but a full US support and a clear reform program. Despite having a reformist ideology, Amini did not gain popular support from the National Front, identified with Mossadegh, and the Tudeh Party. In , Amini resigned and Alam, a faithful friend of the shah who had no intention of reform but to consolidate the power of the monarchy, became the new prime minister and laid the ground for the Shah to reestablish his dictatorship in early The paralyzing crisis of the state made the Shah concerned about the future of his throne. Although, very undesirable for Shah to introduce another round of liberalization policies, the first round being in the early s, he had no other choice but to do so. Therefore, in the early Shah announced liberalization policies to gain the US support once again and resolve the crises of the state. In the mid , Shah allowed open discussion forum for the Rastakhiz Party to discuss the social issues publicly. As Amjad quotes Tocqueville in his book, the political liberalization following a long period of repression results in a social upheaval and revolution. In the Iranian case, although the aim of the policy was to appease the oppositions and gain the US support, instead it provided the suitable condition for the opposition to organize its forces against the regime. Following the liberalization policies, the network of 80, mosques run by , mullahs played a crucial role in mobilizing the people against the regime. Doubts about causes[edit] Charles Kurzman, author of *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran* [] has postulated that the explanations offered by observers for why the revolution occurred "are only partially valid," and that "the closer we listen to the people who made the revolution - the more anomalies we find. Moderate religious leaders Mohammad Kazem Shariatmadari called for calm and a stay-at-home strike which prevented more casualties to commemorate 40 days later. Could we have said in early that because Iranian culture includes a forty-day mourning cycle, the country was more likely than other countries to undergo a revolution? Rather, a knowledgeable observer would probably have noted that this mourning cycle had been put to protest purposes only once in Iranian history, in , and that movement had come to naught. But this does not explain why "there was very little oppositional activity" in the recession of 1976 when unemployment and inflation were at similar levels to those of In November , as the shah ingratiated himself with Jimmy Carter, liberals were in

retreat. Skocpol argued that the revolution diverges from past revolutions in three distinct ways: The revolution does seem to have been solely caused by excessively rapid modernization by the state that led to social disruption. The Iranian Revolution is the only modern revolution which was deliberately and coherently fomented by a revolutionary movement consisting of different social classes united under the leadership of a senior Shia cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. This was achieved through demonstrations and strikes advancing with fervor against even lethal military repression. The fact that the revolution was successful can only be explained by reference to sustained extraordinary efforts by the urban Iranians to wear down and undermine the regime. An endless succession of prayer-meetings and rituals were organized by both clergy and the laity. Bazaars also enjoyed ties with more modern sectors of Iranian society as many Iranian university students were from the merchant class. But since s, Shah aroused the defense and oppositions of the bazaar by attempts at bring under control their autonomous councils and marginalizing the clergy by taking over their educational and welfare activities. In the mass revolutionary movements during the traditional urban communities played an indispensable role in making sustained mass struggle possible. The workers relied on economic aid from bazaar during their strikes and the secular opponents depended on alliance with clerics and lay leaders of the bazaar to mobilize the masses. The next question is how as part of a unique historical precedence, millions of Iranians were willing to face death in the mass demonstrations against brutal suppression by the army and how the clerics could rise as the leaders of the revolution. This is explained by the potential role of the Shia beliefs and clerical organization in the Iranian society. As Shah aimed to marginalize the Shia clergy and eliminate their influence by its modernization policies, clerics in Qom and their followers developed a populist, anti-Imperialist interpretation of Shia theology to delegitimize Shah for his injustice and his reliance on the anti-Islamic foreign imperialists. With the inspiration found in Hussein, the devout Iranians consistently defied the army with an audacity unprecedented in European revolutions and despite sustaining casualties. This sustained resistance, gradually undermined the morale of the military rank-and-file and their willingness to continue shooting into the crowds, until the state and the army succumbed before the revolution. As such a very "traditional" part of Iranian life could forge a very modern-looking revolutionary movement.

Chapter 7 : The Last Great Revolution: Turmoil and Transformation in Iran by Robin Wright

Iran in Turmoil. For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party to Fight for Workers Revolution! Imperialist Hands Off! JANUARY 11â€”Since last June's re-election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, which was riddled with fraud, Iran has been gripped with protests and attendant government repression.

Chapter 8 : Iranian Revolution - Wikipedia

Like its earlier counterparts, Iran's Islamic revolution introduced a new ideology to the world's modern political spectrum. [In , the State Department held a closed-door conference on Iran.

Chapter 9 : Background and causes of the Iranian Revolution - Wikipedia

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