Course Description: This seminar will take a thematic approach to the period from about the year 1800 (when a state with roughly the dimensions of modern Iran emerged) to 1989 (the end of the Khomeini era.) Recurrent themes of the course include problems of state building in the context of domestic weaknesses and external pressure, ideas about reform and modernization, the impact of reform by command from above, the role of religion in politics, and major upheavals, such as the Constitutional Revolution of 1906, the oil nationalization crisis of 1951-1953, and the Islamic Revolution of 1978-1979. The specific topics and readings are listed below. The seminar meetings are structured on the basis of reading and discussion for each week’s topic. Further information on the format is in the section “Course Readings” below. In addition to the weekly reading and discussion, students are expected to write a term paper which draws on their readings for the course. The term papers are due on Monday, April 28, 2014.) Details of the paper will be provided separately.

A student who already has a strong background in the history of modern Iran may prefer to focus on a research paper. Anyone who is interested in that option should inform me of that at the end of the first meeting. Early in the semester, such students should consult with me to define a suitable research project. The minimum criteria for a research project are: appropriateness of focus; availability of sources; use of primary sources for a significant proportion of the research; and appropriate language skills for reading the sources. Students taking the course for research are still expected to attend class and participate in discussions. However they may, if they wish, do lighter readings for class, such as an article or part of a book per meeting.

Course Prerequisites: Given that this is a graduate seminar, students are expected to have some background in the history of the modern Middle East in general or modern Iran in particular and to be ready to do graduate-level work.

Learning Outcomes: The main aims of this course are for students to learn more about major developments in modern Iranian history, gain exposure to major writings on the subject, and polish their analytical and writing skills.

Course Readings: Readings fall into two categories. The first consists of required readings for everyone in the course. Several of those readings are in books available for purchase in the bookstore; the other required readings are at the course’s Blackboard site, under the heading “Electronic Reserves.” The additional readings are not on electronic reserve. The required books are:

N.R. Keddie, Modern Iran (updated edition). This is a textbook designed to fill in the gaps and provide a context for the topics we will discuss in the seminar meetings. If you have an earlier edition of the book, you are welcome to use it, but you may have to make adjustments for different page numbers.

L. Ridgeon, ed., Religion and Politics in Modern Iran. This is a collection of excerpts from works by Iranians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Analysis of the ideas expressed in these excerpts is central to the discussions.

In addition, students are expected to read at least four additional books (or three books and a number of articles and book chapters that would equal a book.) These are to be drawn from the additional readings listed for the various topics. Students are free to select from among the additional readings according to their interests. If you wish to read something which is not on the syllabus, please check with me first.
One book which does not fit neatly into the syllabus but is an excellent study which is relevant to several of the seminar topics is R. Mottahedeh’s *The Mantle of the Prophet*. If you have not yet read this for another course, I would encourage you to do so.

**Grades:** in-class discussion: 30%; term paper (or research paper): 70%

**Policy on Make-up Exams, Extensions, and Incompletes:** Once in a while there are genuine emergencies which prevent a student from coming prepared to a class or submitting work when due. If you are facing such a situation, inform me of the problem as far in advance of the deadline for the work as possible. My office phone is equipped with voice mail so you can leave a message if I am not in when you call; if you prefer, you may contact me via e-mail. I retain the right to decide whether special arrangements are justified in any given case. There is nothing automatic about the process.

**Academic Integrity:** I personally support the GW Code of Academic Integrity. It states: “Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” For the remainder of the code, see: http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html

**Support for Students Outside the Classroom:**

**Disability Support Services (DSS)**
Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/

**University Counseling Center (UCC) 202-994-5300**
The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include:
- crisis and emergency mental health consultations
- confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals
  http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices

**University Policy on Religious Holidays:**
1. Students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance;
2. Faculty should extend to these students the courtesy of absence without penalty on such occasions, including permission to make up examinations;
3. Faculty who intend to observe a religious holiday should arrange at the beginning of the semester to reschedule missed classes or to make other provisions for their course-related activities

[NOTE: for other university policies on teaching, see http://www.gwu.edu/~academic/Teaching/main.html ]

**Security:** In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

**Topics and Readings:**

**Jan. 13 Background:**
Keddie, ch. 1
M. Satrapi, “How Can One Be Persian,” on Blackboard under Satrapi
R. Aslan, “From Here to Mullahcracy,” on Blackboard under Aslan
Additional reading:
M. Tavakoli-Targhi, M., *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography*

Jan. 20 Martin Luther King Day – GW holiday

Jan. 27 Problems of State Building in Nineteenth Century Iran
Keddie, pp. 37-45 and 50-59
Ridgeon, ch. 2
S. Cronin, “Importing Modernity: European Military Missions to Qajar Iran,” on Blackboard under Cronin military mission
excerpt from *Economic History of Iran*, on Blackboard under Economic history of Iran
S. Bakhsh, “The failure of reform: the Prime Ministership of Amin al-Dawla, 1897-8,” on Blackboard under Bakhsh

Additional reading:
E. Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, ch. 1
J. Afary *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (also pertinent to several topics below)
A. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe. Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1851-1896*
S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, ch. 10
M. Atkin, *Russia and Iran, 1780-1828*
S. Bakhsh, *Iran: Bureaucracy and Reform under the Qajars: 1858-1896*
R. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, ch. 10
______, *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804-1946*
______, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864-1914*
______, “The Roots of the Ulama’s Power in Modern Iran,” in N. Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis*
A. Khazeni, *Tribes and Empire on the Margins of Nineteenth-Century Iran*
______, *Qajar Persia*, especially chs. 1, 2, 3, and 7
A. Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran: Culture, Power, and the State, 1870-1940*, chs. 1 & 2
R.K. Ramazani, *The Foreign Policy of Iran, 1500-1941*, chs. II-IV
M. Ringer, *Education, Religion and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran*
Strelianov, P.N. [Kalabukhov], Kazaki v Persii 1909-1918

Feb. 3  Advocates of Change in Nineteenth Century Iran
Keddie, pp. 45-50, 58-66, 170-178
Ridgeon, ch. 1
J.R.I. Cole, “Iranian Millenarianism and Democratic Thought in the 19th Century,” on Blackboard under Cole
Additional reading:
B. Alavi, “Critical writings on the renewal of Iran,” in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, eds, Qajar Iran
H. Algar, Mirza Malkum Khan
A. Amanat, Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844-1850
S.A. Arjomand, The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam, ch. 11
M. Bayat, Mysticism and Dissent: Socioreligious Thought in Qajar Iran
J.R.I. Cole, Modernity and the Millennium: The Genesis of the Baha’i Faith in the Nineteenth-Century Middle East
A.K.S. Lambton, Qajar Persia, ch. 8
H. Sedghi, Women and politics in Iran: veiling, unveiling, and reveiling
A. Tabari, “The Role of the Clergy in Modern Iranian Politics,” in N.R. Keddie, ed., Religion and Politics in Iran

Feb. 10  Constitutional Revolution
Keddie, pp. 66-72, 179-183
Ridgeon, ch. 3
Additional reading:
E. Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, ch. 2
J. Afary, Iranian Constitutional Revolution
A.M. Ansari, Modern Iran Since 1921, ch. 1
S.A. Arjomand, “The Ulama’s Traditional Opposition to Parliamentarianism, 1907-1909,” Middle Eastern Studies (April 1981)
F. Azimi, The Quest for Democracy in Iran, ch. 1
M. Bayat, “The cultural implications of the Constitutional Revolution,” in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, eds., Qajar Iran
S. Cronin, ed., Reformers and Revolutionaries in Modern Iran. New Perspectives on the Iranian Left, ch. 3
A.K.S. Lambton, Qajar Persia, chs. 10 and 11
V. Martin, Islam and Modernism. The Iranian Revolution of 1906
R.K. Ramazani, The Foreign Policy of Iran, 1500-1941, ch. V
H. Sedghi, *Women and politics in Iran: veiling, unveiling, and reveiling*
W.M. Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia*

Feb. 17 Presidents’ Day – GW holiday

Feb. 24 WW I and its aftermath
Keddie, pp. 73-80
Ridgeon, pp. 71-79, 86-89
H. Katouzian, “The Campaign Against the Anglo-Iranian Agreement of 1919,” on Blackboard under Katouzian campaign
H. Katouzian, “Nationalist Trends in Iran, 1921-1926,” on Blackboard under Katouzian nationalist

Additional reading:
T. Atabaki, *Azerbaijan*, ch. 2
________, ed., *Iran and the First World War*
R. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, ch. 12
S. Cronin, ed., *Reformers and Revolutionaries in Modern Iran. New Perspectives on the Iranian Left*, chs. 4 and 5
G. Lenczowski, “Foreign powers’ intervention in Iran during World War I,” in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, eds., *Qajar Iran*
R.K. Ramazani, *The Foreign Policy of Iran, 1500-1941*, chs. VI-VII
B. Shaffer, *Borders and Brethren. Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity*, ch. 1
M. van Bruinessen, “Kurdish Tribes and the State of Iran: The Case of Simko’s Revolt,” in R. Tapper, ed., *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan*
S. Zabih, *The Communist Movement in Iran*, ch. 1

March 3 The Rise and Rule of Reza Shah Pahlavi
Keddie, pp. 80-104, 183-186
Ridgeon, pp. 79-86
S. Cronin, “Resisting the New State: Peasants and Pastoralists in Iran, 1921-41,” on Blackboard under Cronin peasants

Additional Reading:
E. Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, ch. 3
S. Akhavi, *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran* (also appropriate for several topics below)
A.M. Ansari, *Modern Iran Since 1921*, chs. 2-3
________ and E.J. Zürcher, eds., *Men of Order. Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, chs. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10
F. Azimi, *The Quest for Democracy in Iran*, ch. 2
A. Banani, *The Modernization of Iran. 1921-1941*
S. Cronin, *The Army and the Creation of the Pahlavi State in Iran, 1910-1926*
________, *Soldiers, Shahs and Subalterns in Iran: Opposition, Protest and Revolt, 1921-1941*
________, ed., *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941*
March 10 Spring Break

March 17 World War II and Domestic Political and Intellectual Ferment
Keddie, pp. 105-123
Ridgeon, ch. 4 and pp. 89-90
F. Scheid Raine, “Stalin and the Creation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party in Iran, 1945,” on Blackboard under Scheid Raine
T. Atabaki, “The Rebirth of the Autonomous Movement in Azerbaijan,” on Blackboard under Atabaki

Additional reading:
E. Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, chs. 4, 6-8
A.M. Ansari, *Modern Iran Since 1921*, ch. 4
F. Azimi, *The Quest for Democracy in Iran*, ch. 3 (also relevant to next topic)
R. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, ch. 9
L. Fawcett, *Iran and the Cold War: The Azerbaijan Crisis of 1946*
A.R. Ghassemliou, “Kurdistan in Iran,” in G. Chaliand, ed., *People Without a Country*
R. Herman, “The Role of Iran in Soviet Perceptions and Policy, 1946-1988,” in N.R. Keddie and M.J. Gasiorowski, eds., *Neither East Nor West* (this is also relevant to some topics below)
B.R. Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East* (select appropriate chapters)
Pezeshkzad, I., *My Uncle Napoleon* [this is the most important Iranian novel of the second half of the twentieth century. It’s set in the early 1940s and says a lot about attitudes toward the English as well as Iranian society.]
R.K. Ramazani, *Iran’s Foreign Policy, 1941-1973*, chs. I-VII
S. Zabih, *The Communist Movement in Iran*, chs. 3 and 4
March 24 Oil Nationalization Crisis and Mosaddeq
Keddie, pp. 123-131
Ridgeon, pp. 90-94
A. Mahmud, “The Little Native Boy,” on Blackboard under Mahmud boy
M.J. Gasiorowski, “Conclusion. Why Did Mosaddeq Fall?” on Blackboard under Gasiorowski
Additional reading:
E. Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, ch. 5
A.M. Ansari, Confronting Iran, ch. 2
M.J. Gasiorowski, Modern Iran Since 1921, ch. 5
R. Cottam, Nationalism in Iran, ch. 15
M.J. Gasiorowski and M. Byrne, Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran
background on the oil industry in Iran in C. Issawi, ed., The Economic History of Iran. 1800-1914, pp. 311-326
S. Kinzer, All the Shah’s Men
R.K. Ramazani, Iran’s Foreign Policy, 1941-1973, chs. VIII-X
S. Zabih, The Communist Movement in Iran, chs. 5 and 6

March 31 Pahlavi Rule – Modernization by Command from Above
Keddie, pp. 132-169
S. Ebadi, Iran Awakening, pp. 3-32, on Blackboard under Ebadi
J. Green, “Social Mobilization and the Pahlavi Development Ethos,” on Blackboard under Green
E.J. Hooglund, “Caesar’s Will,” on Blackboard under Hooglund Caesar
F. Kazemi, “Village Life and Flight to the City,” on Blackboard under Kazemi
Additional reading:
E. Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, ch. 9
A.M. Ansari, Modern Iran Since 1921, chs. 6-7
F. Azimi, The Quest for Democracy in Iran, chs. 4, 7-9
M. Behrooz, Rebels with A Cause. The Failure of the Left in Iran, chs. 1-2
R. Cottam, Nationalism in Iran, ch. 16
W.M. Floor, “The Revolutionary Character of the Ulama: Wishful Thinking or Reality?”, in N.R. Keddie, ed., Religion and Politics in Iran
M.J. Gasiorowski, “Security Relations between the United States and Iran, 1953-1978,” in N.R. Keddie and M.J. Gasiorowski, eds., Neither East Nor West
E. Hooglund, Land and Revolution in Iran, 1960-1980
F. Kazemi, Poverty and Revolution in Iran
A. Najmabadi, Land Reform and Social Change in Iran
R.K. Ramazani, Iran’s Foreign Policy, 1941-1973, chs. XI-XVI
H. Sedghi, Women and politics in Iran: veiling, unveiling, and reveiling

April 7 Pahlavi Rule – Voices of Discontent
Keddie, pp. 188-213
Ridgeon, pp. 149-156, chs. 10 and 11
Additional reading:
E. Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, ch. 10
_________, The Iranian Mojahedin, chs. 3-6
S. Akhavi, “Shariati’s Social Thought,” in N.R. Keddie, ed., Religion and Politics in Iran
S.A. Arjomand, The Turban for the Crown, ch. 5
M. Bayat-Philip, “Shiism in Contemporary Iranian Politics: the Case of Ali Shariati,” in E. KEDOURIE and S. Haim, eds., Towards a Modern Iran
M. Borujerdi, Iranian Intellectuals and the West
H.E. Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism: The Liberation Movement of Iran under the Shah and Khomeini (especially section II)
B. Hanson, “The Westoxication of Iran,” International Journal of Middle East Studies (February 1983)
R. Khomeini, Islam and Revolution, H. Algar, trans. and annotator
V. Nasr, The Shi’ah Revival, ch. 3
A. Rahnema, An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shariati

April 14 The Revolution of 1978-1979
Keddie, ch. 9
V. Moghadam and A. Ashtiani, “The Left and revolution in Iran,” on Blackboard under Moghadam and Ashtiani
Additional reading:
E. Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, ch. 11
_________, The Iranian Mojahedin, ch. 7
A.M. Ansari, Confronting Iran, ch. 3
_________, Modern Iran Since 1921, ch. 8
S.A. Arjomand, The Turban for the Crown, ch. 6
F. Azimi, The Quest for Democracy in Iran, ch. 5
M. Behrooz, Rebels with A Cause. The Failure of the Left in Iran, chs. 3-4
M.M.J. Fischer, Iran From Religious Dispute to Revolution, ch. 6 and Epilogue
M.E. Hegland, “Islamic Revival or Political and Cultural Revolution?”, in R.T. Antoun and M.E. Hegland, eds., Religious Resurgence
B. Shaffer, Borders and Brethren. Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity, ch. 3

April 21 Islamic Republic – Domestic
Keddie, ch. 10
Ridgeon, chs. 12, 13, 14
H.E. Chehabi, “The Political Regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Comparative Perspective,” on Blackboard under Chehabi
S. Ebadi, Iran Awakening, pp. 39-49, on Blackboard under Ebadi
V.M. Moghadam, “Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents: Toward a Resolution of the Debate,” on Blackboard under Moghadam feminism

H. Golshiri, "The Victory Chronicle of the Magi," on Blackboard under Golshiri

**Additional reading:**

E. Abrahamian, *The Iranian Mojahedin*, chs. 8-11

Alfoneh, A. “The Revolutionary Guards’ Role in Iranian Politics,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2008

S.A. Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown*, chs. 7-10


F. Azimi, *The Quest for Democracy in Iran*, chs. 10-11

S. Bakhsh, *The Reign of the Ayatollahs*


E. Hooglund, ed., *Twenty Years of Islamic Revolution*


V. Martin, *Creating an Islamic State. Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*

V. Nasr, *The Shia Revival*, ch. 4

V.F. Nowshirvani and P. Clawson, “The State and Social Equity in Postrevolutionary Iran,” in M. Weiner and A. Banuazizi, eds., *The Politics of Social Transformation in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*

A. Najmabadi, “Power, Morality, and the New Muslim Womanhood,” in M. Weiner and A. Banuazizi, eds., *The Politics of Social Transformation in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*

B. Shaffer, *Borders and Brethren. Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity*, pp. 142-154

H. Sedghi, *Women and politics in Iran: veiling, unveiling, and reveiling*

S. Zabih, *The Left in Contemporary Iran*, chs. 3-5

**April 28**

**Islamic Republic – International**

E. Hooglund, “The Islamic Republic at War and Peace,” on Blackboard under Hooglund Islamic Republic

S. Ebadi, *Iran Awakening*, pp. 57-66, 76-78, 82-86, on Blackboard under Ebadi

A. Mahmud, “Scorched Earth,” on Blackboard under Mahmud Earth

**Additional reading:**


J. Amirahmadi and N. Entessar, eds., *Iran and the Arab World*

A.M. Ansari, *Confronting Iran*, ch. 4


H.E. Chehabi, *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*

________., “Iran and Iraq. Intersocietal Linkages and Secular Nationalisms,” in A. Amanat and F. Vejdani, eds., *Iran Facting Others: Identity Boundaries in a Historical Perspective*


________., *Iran’s National Security Policy: Capabilities, Intentions and Impact*


A. Ehteshami and R. Hinnebusch, *Syria and Iran*

R.O. Freedman, “Gorbachev, Iran, and the Iran-Iraq War,” in N.R. Keddie and M.J. Gasiorowski, eds., *Neither East Nor West*

________, “The Iranian Revolution and Great-Power Politics: Components of the First Decade,” in N.R. Keddie and M.J. Gasiorowski, eds., Neither East Nor West


________, “The Policy of the Reagan Administration toward Iran,” in N.R. Keddie and M.J. Gasiorowski, eds. Neither East Nor West

E. Karsh, ed., The Iran-Iraq War


P. Kornbluh and M. Byrne, The Iran-Contra Scandal

D. Menashri, “Khomeini’s Vision: Nationalism or World Order?”, in D. Menashri, ed., The Iranian Revolution and the Muslim World

V. Nasr, The Shia Revival, ch. 5


T. Parsi, Treacherous Alliance: the Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran, and the United States

L.G. Potter and G. Sick, eds., Iran, Iraq, and the Legacies of War

F. Rajaee, ed., Iranian Perspectives of the Iran-Iraq War


April 30 Film: Under the Moonlight (a film exploring various issues in Iranian society in recent years)

This is a Wednesday, but the GW Academic Calendar makes it a make-up day for Monday classes (because of the Monday holidays during the semester)