Shi'ism

Exploring Muslim Societies in the Modern World

Reading (in conjunction with lecture materials)

- Arjomand, Said, Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran, Oxford University Press, 1989
- Beeman, William O. . "Iranian Revolution of 1979." In The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World. Oxford Islamic Studies Online.
- Kadivar, Mohsen. 'Routinizing the Iranian Revolution', in Kenny/ Moosa, 'Islam in the Modern World'
- Keddie, Nikki, Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution, Yale University Press, 2006
- Madelung, W.. "Shīʿa." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2015.
- Saud, Laith, 'Islamic Political Theology', in An Introduction to Islam in the 21st Century, eds. Aminah Beverly McCloud, Scott W. Hibbard, Laith Saud (Wiley-Blackwell)



Mashad Mosque of Gawhar Shad



Isfahan -
Ali Mosque



Calligraphic rendering of a prayer in praise to Ali (Lion)



Shiite Calligraphy symbolising Ali as Tiger of God

"... Whoever sets himself up as an Imam over the people must begin by teaching himself before teaching the people."

Imam Ali



Ashura Karbala 2015

- Press TV, Millions mark martyrdom anniversary of Imam Hussein in Karbala, 23 Oct 2015
- Daily Pakistan, Karbala 2015





Where are Shi'a Muslims found TODAY?

-Throughout the Muslim world: at least 10-13% of Muslims are Shi'a.

-In minority situations, where there is a Sunni majority, there can be oppression of Shi'a communities.

-Shi'a are found in:

Iraq (55%?) Pakistan (20%) Iran (95%+) India
Lebanon
Bahrain Yemen Morocco Kurdistan Kashmir Turkey Gambia
Nigeria
Indonesia Albania Malaysia Saudi Arabia Afghanistan Syria
Egypt Tajikstan Uzbekistan Zanzibar Kenya USA Canada
Germany Australia UK Azerbaijan

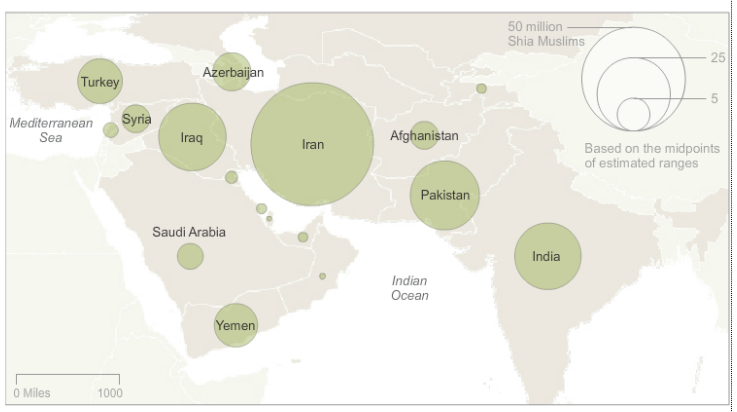


Between 116 million and 147 million Shias live in Asia, representing about three-quarters of the world's Shia population (note that Iran is included in the Asia-Pacific region). Meanwhile, nearly a quarter of the world's Shias (36 million to 44 million) live in the Middle East-North Africa.

Looked at in a different way, 12-15% of the Muslim population in the Asia-Pacific region is Shia, as is 11-14% of the Muslim population in the Middle East-North Africa region.

Most Shias (between 68% and 80%) live in four countries: Iran, Pakistan, India and Iraq. Iran has 66 million to 70 million Shias, or 37-40% of the world's total Shia population. Iraq, India and Pakistan each are home to at least 16 million Shias.

Source: http://www.pewforum.org/2009/10/07/mapping-the-global-muslim-population/



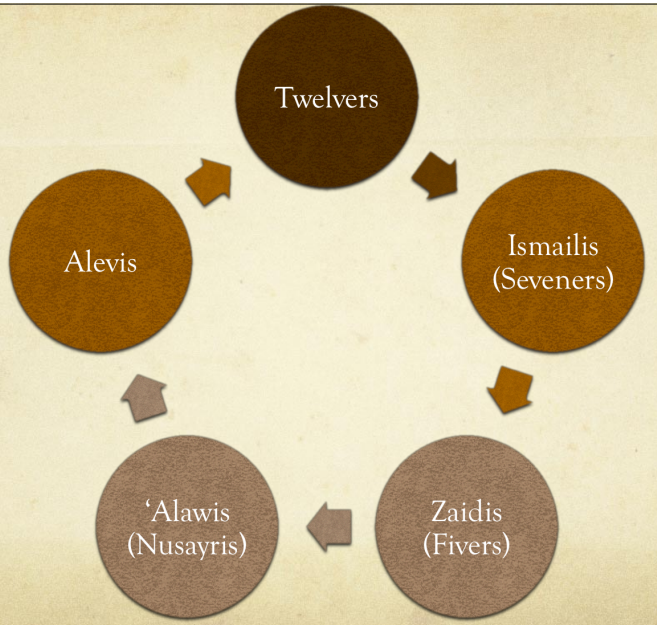
Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life • Mapping the Global Muslim Population, October 2009

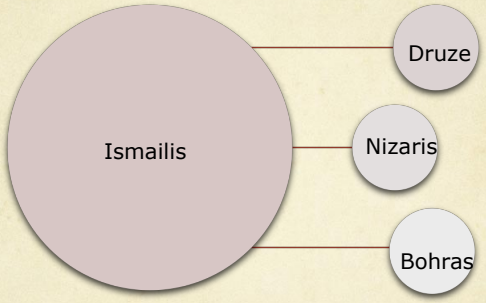
Countries with More Than 100,000 Shia Muslims

	Estimated 2009 Shia Population	Approximate Percentage of Muslim Population that is Shia	Approximate Percentage of World Shia Population
Iran	66 – 70 million	90 – 95%	37 – 40%
Pakistan	17 – 26 million	10 – 15	10 – 15
India	16 – 24 million	10 – 15	9 – 14
Iraq	19 -22 million	65 – 70	11 – 12
Turkey	7 – 11 million	10 – 15	4 – 6
Yemen	8 – 10 million	35 – 40	~5
Azerbaijan	5 – 7 million	65 – 75	3 – 4
Afghanistan	3 – 4 million	10 – 15	~2
Syria	3 – 4 million	15 – 20	~2
Saudi Arabia	2 – 4 million	10 – 15	1 – 2
Nigeria	<4 million	<5	<2
Lebanon	1 – 2 million	45 – 55	<1
Tanzania	<2 million	<10	<1
Kuwait	500,000 – 700,000	20 – 25	<1
Germany	400,000 – 600,000	10 – 15	<1
Bahrain	400,000 – 500,000	65 – 75	<1
Tajikistan	~400,000	~7	<1
United Arab Emirates	300,000 – 400,000	~10	<1
United States	200,000 – 400,000	10 – 15	<1
Oman	100,000 – 300,000	5 – 10	<1
United Kingdom	100,000 – 300,000	10 – 15	<1
Bulgaria	~100,000	10 – 15	<1
Qatar	~100,000	~10	<1
World Total	154 – 200 million	10 – 13	100

Note: Countries with an estimated Shia population of less than 1% of the country's Muslim population are not listed. The figures for Shias are generally given in a range because of the limitations of the secondary-source data (see Methodology for Sunni-Shia Estimates). Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Source: Pew





There is a rich religious, political and cultural diversity throughout the Islamic world.

Naturally, historical and cultural influences have interacted with the core values of Islam.

One of the most interesting examples of this can be found within the varied interpretations of Shi'a Islam.

The popular image of Shi'a Islam in western contexts has been informed primarily by developments in Iran since the Islamic Revolution of 1979 – where the symbols of Ayatollahs, veiled women, Holy War, and Holy Law proliferated in the media.

The images of soldiers marching with Ayatollah Khomeini's picture pinned to their chests, and crowds of men flagellating themselves in religious processions were frequently encountered media images of Shi'i Islam - further stimulated by news coverage of events including the Iran-Iraq War and the civil war in Lebanon.



Iran-Iraq War



Lebanon

This presented an image of Shi'a Islam as inherently warlike and hostile, with legal scholars and Ayatollahs 'dictating' holy law to the masses.

This stereotyped Shi'a Islam as authoritarian and restrictive, without acknowledging – as with other forms of Islamic expression - there is considerable diversity under the general banner of 'Shi'a Islam'.

In minority situations, where there is a Sunni majority, there can be oppression of Shi'a communities (and vice versa).

The position of Shi'a Muslims as victims of oppression has been highlighted in locations such as Iraq (during the era of Saddam Hussein in particular, despite being numerically in the majority) and in Saudi Arabia.

The term Shi'a is derived from "Shi'at 'Ali" – "the party of 'Ali (bin 'Abi Talib)", the group who (according to tradition) championed 'Ali as Caliph after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 (Abu Bakr was appointed).

The reality of this paradigm is far more complex and open to interpretation.

Salman, Abu Dharr, Miqdad = championed 'Ali as Caliph after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 (Abu Bakr was appointed)



Problems arose after Muhammad's deaths in 632 AD in deciding whom "those charged with authority" were to be. The first three caliphs were Abu Bakr (d. 634), 'Umar (d. 644) and 'Uthman (d. 656).

These Companions of the Prophet were selected by a committee from Muhammad's Meccan kinfolk, and – according to tradition - were judged eligible according to criteria based on acceptance of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and membership of Muhammad's Quraysh tribe.

The first three caliphs began to have practices and precedents attributed to them.

Whilst the process of Islam's expansion continued, certain flaws, administrative problems, and defeats led to suggestions that the caliphs' status was unfounded.

"O ye who believe!
Obey God, and obey the Apostle,
And those charged
With authority among you.
If ye differ in anything
Among yourselves, refer it
To God and His Apostle
If ye do believe in God
And the Last Day:
That is best, and most suitable
For final determination."
[Qur'an s.4:59)



In Shi'a hagiography, 'Ali bin 'Abi Talib - the fourth caliph - is seen as redeeming the failings of the first three caliphs.

Such literature suggests that 'Ali - who was Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law (married to daughter Fatimah) - was intended by Muhammad as being his chosen successor

Through the scheming of the appointment committee he was unable to become caliph until 656 CE.

During his brief Caliphate, 'Ali was in conflict with the governor of Syria and the Kharajite 'outsiders', who believed that any pious worthy Muslim could become Caliph - not necessarily from the correct 'pedigree.



After 'Ali's death, his first son Hasan bin 'Ali bin 'Abi Talib resigned the right to succession.

There is considerable disagreement as to why this occurred.

There may have been a military treaty with Mu'awiya, financial compensation, or a promise of Hasan succeeding Mu'awiya.

Hasan's brother Husayn bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib put forth his own claim for the caliphate after the death of Mu'awiyah.

In 680, Husayn and his supporters were forced to flee from Makkah, and the Caliph Yazid. Stopping in Karbala' en route to Kufa (in modern-day Iraq), Husayn's small force was starved and denied water before a momentous battle in which - according to Shi'a tradition - Husayn's supporters showed great piety and courage.

Outnumbered, they were defeated and there was a slaughter - Husayn was decapitated, and tradition states there were seventy-two martyrs.

Only Husayn's son 'Ali survived.

The stories of what occurred play a significant part in Shi'a Islamic expression.

The Battle of Karbala' took place on Ashura Muharram - 10th day of the first month in the Islamic calendar.

This became a day of mourning for Shi'a Muslims.

Mu'awiya sought revenge for his cousin Caliph 'Uthman's murder.

This led to a battle between two massive armies in 37/657 at Siffin - some sources say 70,000 died - before Mu'awiya suggested that the "combatants resolve the question by consultation of the Qur'an".

Soldiers hoisted copies of the Qur'an upon their lances.

Ultimately, the situation between Mu'awiya and 'Ali did not resolve itself - and 'Ali was struck by a poisoned sword at Kufa mosque, dying two days later in the year 19th Ramadan 661 AD by Abd al-Rahman bin Muljam. It is thought by some commentators that he was buried in Najaf.



Husayn's head may be buried:

- at Najaf (beside his father)
- outside Kufa
- at Karbala with the rest of his body
- at Medinah
- at Damascus
- at Cairo.



Many legends and supernatural attributes are given to Husayn: verses in the Qur'an are interpreted by Shi'is as referring to him.

The high regard for martyrdom within Shi'ism is linked to Husayn's death, annually 'recreated' in Ta'aziyah passion plays.

Sunnis may also respect Husayn as Muhammad's grandson, and because of his martyrdom for a high religious ideal.



Husayn's son 'Ali survived, to carry on the Shi'a leadership of Imams.

The Shi'a regard Muhammad, Imam 'Ali, Husayn and his descendants as being infallible leaders - whilst the Ahl al-Sunnah ('People of Tradition') saw the caliphs as fallible, only following Muhammad and the first four caliphs.

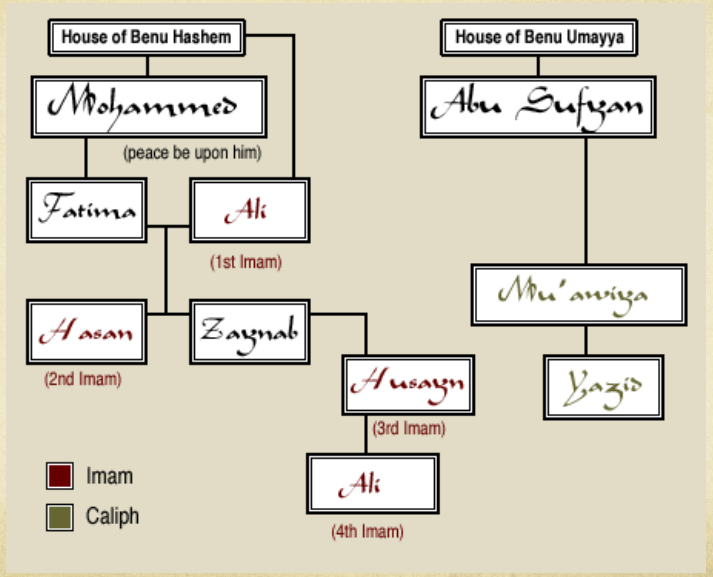


Ali's second son, Yahya ibn al-Hosain
d.680AD

a Mahdi - 'rightly guided one'

.





SIGNIFICANT DIVISIONS IN EARLY SHI'ISM

(1) ZAIDIS, founded in 900 AD by the descendants of the fourth Caliph Husain, in Yemen. They rever the fifth Caliph, Imam Zayd ibn Ali. They invest authority and sanctity in descendants of Imam Ali and Muhammad's daughter Fatima.

(2)ISMAILIS: Following a dispute over the successor to the sixth Imam, Ja'far as-Sadeq, one faction opted for his son Isma'il to continue the line of living Imams. The Isma'ilis subsequently fragmented at frequent subsequent intervals, forming such diverse groups as the Druze (the Assassins), the Fatimids, and the followers of Aga Khan.

(3)TWELFTH IMAM SHI'ISM (ITHNA 'ASHARIYYA)

Ja'far as-Sadeq's younger son Musa al-Kasim became seventh Imam, and maintained a branch of Shi'i Islam known as Jafarism.

Alawis (Nusayris, negative term)
Syncretic, 12-er Shi'a branch based in Syria, 12% of Syrian population; ruling group



Alevis

Mystical branch of Shi'ism, influenced by Sufism

Strong link to Kurdish identity

Turkish Alevi-Bektash

Persecution of Shi'a led to 'underground activities, in which funding was established covertly, and secret practice of Shi'a rituals undertaken.

The tradition of al-Ghayba - a concealed Imam or Mahdi - became prevalent. This Imam would rise to defeat the oppressive Caliphate, lined to the hadith of - al-Qaim bi-l sayf "the one who will rise with the sword".

A further hadith suggested that Muhammad has said there would be twelve Imams after him.



Occultation of the Twelfth Imam.

The Twelfth Imam, Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Askari (869-940) was four or five when his father died (possibly through poisoning), and remained hidden - in what's known as the lesser occultation.

To keep the decision making process going, during his lifetime Muhammad al-Askari was represented by four safirs. It was believed that Muhammad al-Askari did not die, but remained hidden to rise again as al-Qaim bi-l sayf.

This remains the belief of the Jafaris, who were now known as Twelfth Imam Shi'ites - al-Ithna Ashariyya. It had been prophecised that "...the Mahdi of my nation is Muhammad" i.e. Muhammad al-Askari, not Muhammad ibn Abdullah of the Quraish in Makkah.





WALKING OVER TO THE SHRINE OF HUSAYN BNI ALI, KARBALA, IRAQ



karbala slideshow





Mashad,
Khorasan, Iran







Karbala, the site of the Prophet Muhammad's grandson Hussain ibn Ali's martyrdom in 680 C.E. and one of the most important religious sites for Shi'a Muslims, has been rendered in 3-D.

Battle of Karbala 3D

Battle of Karbala

Karbala Google Earth

Religious figures interacting with sacred spaces have been depicted in 3-D animation: a representation of Imam Hussain is shown in Mecca, as part of an animation of his journey to Karbala (hasanabbas.com).



Individual clips filmed by pilgrims can be found alongside more professionally produced movies, as part of propagation efforts relating to visiting shrines.

These in themselves can be informative and illustrate others undertaking religious experiences: an example of this can be found in film of the Shrine of Syeda Masooma in Qum, a site for ziyarat (shine or tomb visitation) in Iran; this long clip shows pilgrims in prayer, film of the shrine and mosque, and is accompanied by an audio recording of the musibat (lament) of Fatima (Prophet Muhammad's daughter)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BxoBtvHrGyU



Mashad is an important shrine in Iran, being the home of the shrine of Imam Reza (the eighth imam), and has been presented as a 3-D Game (Mashhad Imam Reza Mosque 3D Game, 2012).

Also in this Press TV documentary Kingdom of Hearts



There are numerous clips showing ritual practices, notably the representation of Muharram in Mashad, and the recitation of noha poetry and prose praising the imams and their families (3D Noha).

The practices within Ashura (the tenth day of Muharram), including the self-flagellation by pilgrims, can be located online.

Ashura - Euronews



Many videos showing the Ta'ziyeh passion plays - ritualistic performances depicting the martyrdom of Imam Hussain - can be viewed

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8aKAPL9Fkz4 (Tehran)



A visit at The Shrine of Imam Reza by an animal



Saff matam nauha , http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_d-E0wxRww

28 safar Babul ilm 2011.mp4, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W7YZLPtZ6wY



Many Shi'a communities draw on the Internet to network to their members worldwide: the Dawoodi Bohra have utilised the Internet extensively to network to their communities internationally.

Mumineen.org

Progressive Dawoodi Bohras

Blank, J. (2001). Mullahs on the Mainframe: Islam and Modernity among the Daudi Bohras. Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press.



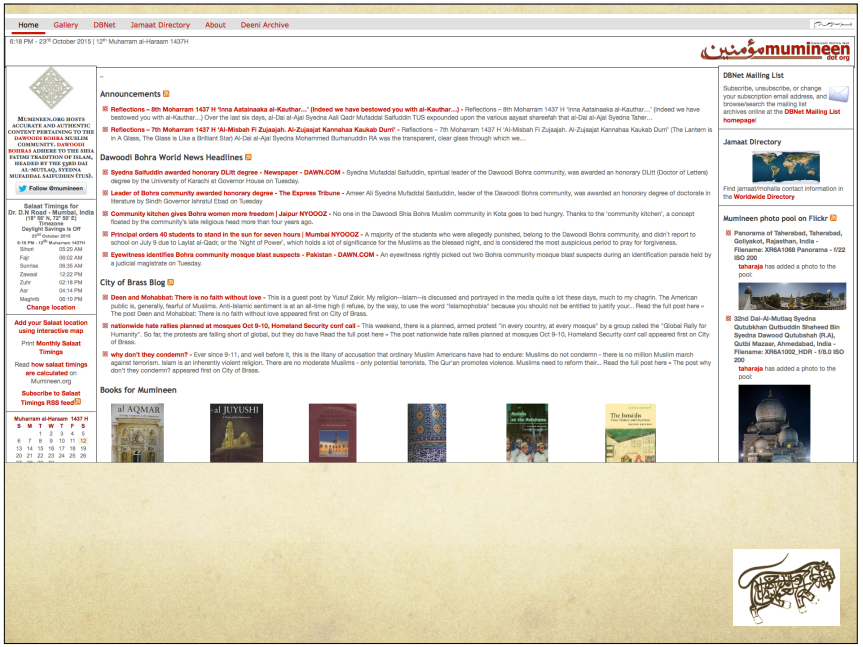
The communities have origins in Yemen, a base in India, and members worldwide.

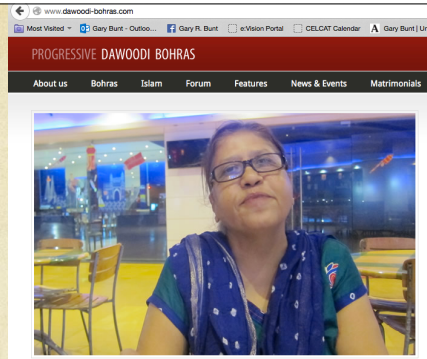
Their websites integrate news of religious leaders on their pages with targeted advertisements for community related products. News items are fully documented with photographs, which are archived online. Social activities are recorded through a blog.

Video and photographs of ritual activities are uploaded regularly, with substantial minutiae of detail - whether it be from Texas, Kuwait or Mumbai - blended together to form a single online community.

Malumaat.com, http://www.malumaat.com
Mumineen.org, http://www.mumineen.org







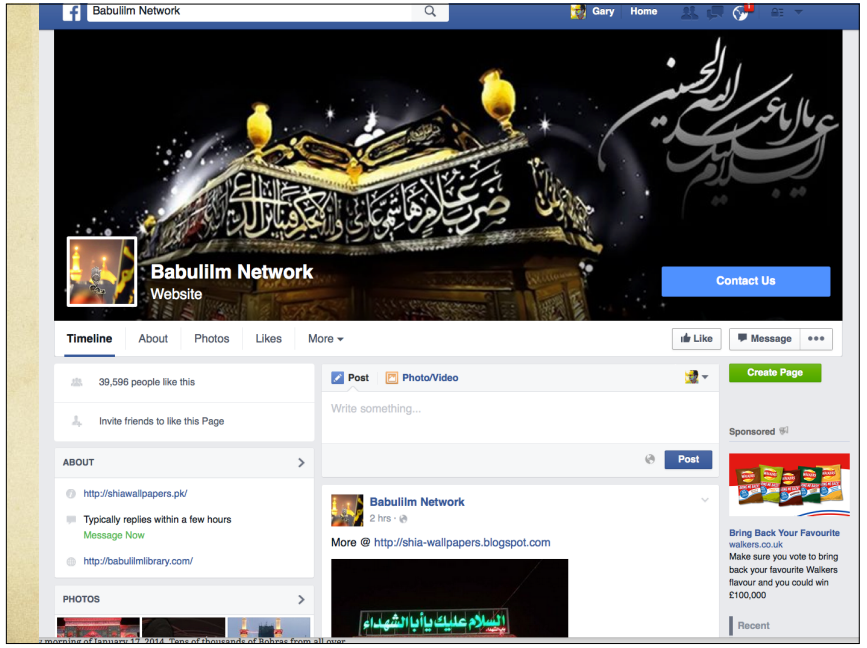


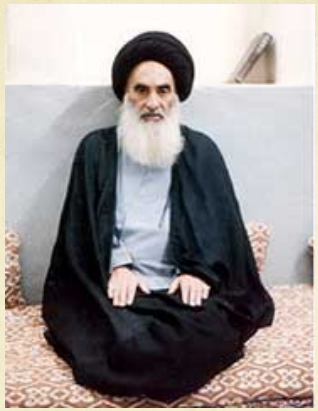
The Dawoodi Bohra are one offshoot of Ismaili Shi'ism, which itself is well represented through a number of online channels. These range from the offices of the Ismaili spiritual leader the Aga Khan, through to the academic channels of the Aga Khan University and related institutes, to the numerous online fora and gateways associated with Ismaili Shi'ism - all of which link through to the Ismaili imamate leader Prince Karim Aga Khan. Ismaili.net is a long-standing hub for the communities, with archives on religious issues, education, and diverse Ismaili issues.

The Babulilm Network has numerous nodes within cyberspace: in Pakistan, its Facebook page was used extensively to bring together its communities; a conference on the Qur'an was archived and photographed; the site linked to political commentary, and discussions on the status of Shi'a Muslims in Pakistan.

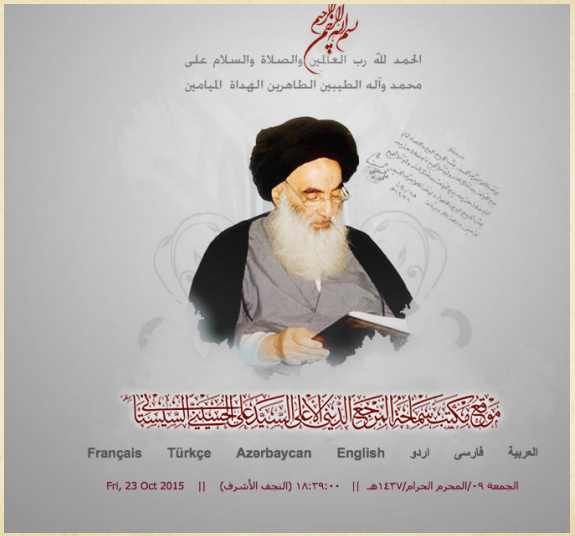
The Babulilm Network also operates a portal, with resources, multimedia, dua and news from Shi'a communities in Pakistan. There is an emphasis on festivals and religious performance. Its Pakistan identity was emphasized through the use of flags, and empathy with political-religious views against a 'US agenda'.

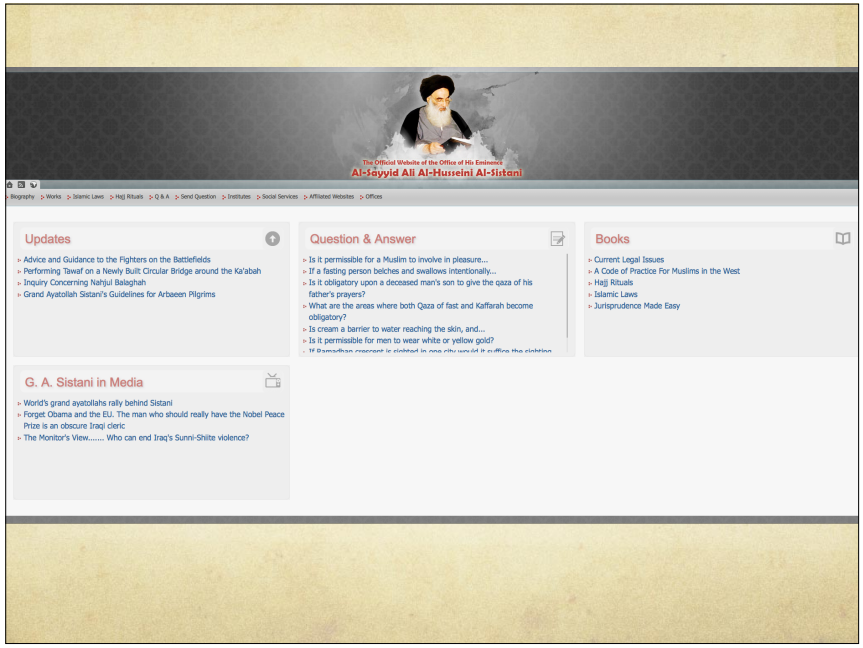
Babulilm Network, http://www.facebook.com/babulilmnetwork , Quran O Ahlebait Conference in Karachi Report, 26 Mar 2012 http://www.city21.tv/2012/03/26/quran-o-ahlebait-conference-in-karachi-report/, Babulilm Library , http://babulilmlibrary.com/





Sistani







Iran

Exploring Muslim Societies in the Modern World





Saffavid Shi'i institutions included:

- sermons
- the Ta'ziyah Passion Play
- the legends of martyrs
- songs, sayings and poems
- the Sufrah feast
- visits to the tombs of Shi'i saints
- pilgrimages.

Iran

- Prior to 1501, Persia was predominantly Sunni (although its leadership had been Shi'i).

It incorporated present day Central Asia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Caucasia.

- In 1501 Persia was conquered by the Shi'i Saffavids, whose influence changed the structure and the religious affiliations of the country.

some late C19 industrialization limited. Bazaaris class consciousness; constitutional change sought; socio-economic change sought

•Constitutional revolution 1906
•Limits monarch power
•Signed by Mozaffar od-din Shah
•Parliament acquires power
•Private property sanctity
•Freedom of press, speech, assembly
•Bank-e-Melli to replace Russian/British banks

1911 coup of Mohammad Ali Shah (1872-1924)



landlord/tribal khan's position stable
bazaaris position diminished

1925: Reza Shah (1878-1944)

accession to throne
landlords' role increases v. bazaaris
bazaaries out-of-industrialiation efforts

Reza Shah:
•Firm state control
•Industrialisation
•Tribal khan/landlord power broker
•State-religion hierarchical separation
•Pre-Islam Iran culture revival
•Army reorganised/disciplined
•Road/rail building
•Taxes on tea/sugar finance railway
•State industries (cotton, silk, wool, textiles, chemicals, oil,
•Foreign trade nationalised



FALL OF REZA

Abdicates 1941: dies in exile 1944

3 zones: British in south; Russians in North; Tehran unoccupied
agreement re defence



Mohammed Reza (b 1919)

US aid + allies significant.

Working class grew + urbanization stimulated.

1943-5 political activities increased several parties; old PM Sayyed Zia ad-Din forms National Will party (old Islamic customs, non-reform, traditional appeal, British supported:

ulama, merchants, landlords, tribes) Left wing Tudeh party.

+ Mohammed Mosaddeq nationalist group (middle group). Ango-Iranian Oil Company influence + allies.

1951: Mossadeq becomes premier. Coalition of secular/religious nationalist parties 'National Front'.



- Bazaari growth due to weaker state
- Mossadeq period (1951-3) = bazaari growth (Mossadeq policy)
- Shah's power diminished
- Oil nationalisation
- Power bloc supported by US/UK overthrows Mossadeq = bourgeoise/bazaaris in check again

- Revolution: 1953 (CIA Engineered)
- US assistance [$40m) + economic/ military; dependence = US control



Mohammed Reza Shah:

pro-Western, economic development sought. Election 1954: candidates chosen by Shah. Opposition groups go underground.

The Tudeh (Islamic) party go underground. Security forces executions, legislation: anti Communist. + oil agreement. Land reform (1960) to divide large estates.

1960 elections: vote fraud; new elections. PM Eqbal resigned; new government formed by Shah, under Jafar Sharif Enami. Succeeded by Ali Amini (of independent opposition) following strikes and demonstrations (by teachers). National Front government April 1961. Jan 1962 first land reform decree, students protest suppressed by army and police.



US sought to make Iran capitalist through fiscal and social reforms

profits went (in some cases) to Jews/ Bahai;

clergy become better organised, stable,
Khomeini on rise



[A Tabari, The Role of the Clergy in modern Iranian Politics, chap in N Keddie (1983)

- Old class system dismantled
- Village capitalism (state bank assistance, rural co-ops, mechanised agriculture)
- New power bloc: court; landlords; bourgeoise
- Mullah's power broken
- Bourgeoise include:
- Landlords to whom government owned factories were sold
- Dependent bazaaries



Pahlavi Foundation:

•Shah's charity
•Bazaaris clamped down on (traditionally autonomous)
•Village system destroyed
•Rapid industrialisation
•Peasants migrate to cities
•Low productivity
•Lack of skilled personnel
•Port shortages
•Massive loans from World Bank



CONFLICT 1:

1963 June 5 demonstration:
Khomeini (1962) not against agrian reform; against local election bill; anti-equal women's right/suffrage (anti-shariah); 'holy book' not Quran in swearing in ceremony

Government backs down

Not all out opposed to regime

Sought Shah's adoption of Islamic policies

CONFLICT 2: v. referendum: land reform, suffrage, land nationalism, workers profit: Khomeini sought Islamic programme; 3 June denounces Shah; 5 June Qom/Tehran riot after arrest of Khomeini; student bazaaris in group = rapprochement.

Khomeini starts to assert that clergy had to assume power - "If rulers to follow Islam, faqihs to rule".



Khomeini (1902-89)

Had written anti-Shah materials in 1944.

Late 50s was associated with Qom, political quietist

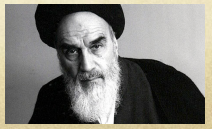
1963: preaches against shah in Qom religious school

Mar 63: madrasa attacked by paratroops and SAVAK. AK arrested.

After release, resumes anti-government stance. Attacks US and Shah, although presents himself as defender of monarchical constitution.

Arrested on anniversary of Husayn's martyrdom.

Demonstrations in Tehran, spread to other cities.



Uprising. Demonstrations suppressed, loss of life (Hundreds). No initial political link with National Front.

Partial reforms: but shah increases security forms, arrests religious/ nationalist opposition; economic growth + policy suppressed problems.

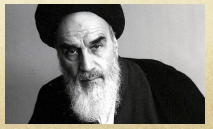
Khomeini attacks parliament, seeks boycott.

Arrested Oct 63-May 64.

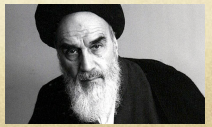
Exiled to Turkey, 1964 > goes to Iraq, 1965.

Teaches, preaches (tape recorded).

Exiled to France, 1978



- Monarchy is radically condemned, as un-Islamic
- Husayn died a martyr attempting to stop Islam degenerating into monarchy
- Quran and Sunna gives humanity "all the laws and principles needed by man for his happiness and perfection."
-
- Society needs Imams and Prophet.



They give in full adalat - the virtue of justice

Then faqih/foqaha pl. jurists rule

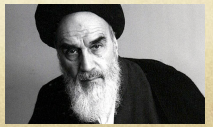
Islam is endangered by perverse doctrines: Christianity, Zionism, etc.

Ulama must purify Islam

Islam should be made known

Cut ties, remove agents of Shah

Only God has the right to property.



Ali Shariati (1933-77)

Sociologist of religion

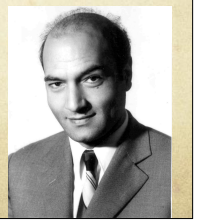
Iranian intellectual

Significant ideologue of Revolution

Influenced by al-Afghani, Iqbal, Freud.

Wants to translate symbols of Shi'ism into action

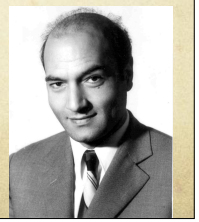
"everyday is Ashoura, every place is Karbala."



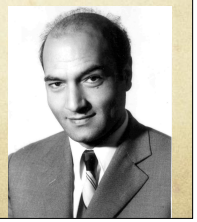
"Shariati wished to be a politico-religious thinker in the context of Third World liberation struggles. He felt acutely the problems of colonialism and neocolonialism and attacked especially cultural colonialization, which alienates people from their roots. Iran is especially exposed to this danger ...

"Shariati saw in Islamic humanism the sole ideology that could save Iran and all oppressed people. Islam should be followed, not in the degraded form found in contemporary Muslim societies, but in the form of Mohammad's ideal society, which the Umayyads had plunged into decadence and tyranny."

N. Keddie, Roots of Revolution, 217.



"Shariati presented a strong distinction between 'Alid Shi'ism' (from Ali, the first Imam) and 'Safavid Shi'ism'. Alid Shi'ism represents original Islam and is a movement of progress and revolution, with no division between intellectuals and the people - Islam in its progressive and dynamic phase. The Safavids, in making Shi'ism the state religion, degraded it into an institution, making it a means of political enslavement and turning it from its original aim - the search for justice and sacred duties. 'Safavid Shi'ism' opposed Iranians to Ottomans; it mixed ethnocentrism and supernationalism with Shi'ism. Aberrant forms of worship were, says Shariati, borrowed from Christianity in Safavid times, like the theatrical plays on the martyrdom of Hosain (ta'ziyeh), which he says are copied from Christian 'mysteries.'"



Vulnerable monarchy: indecisive (illness? of Shah); ineffective use of army; largely local until Jan 16 1979 departure.

Army intact: no war defeat
No financial crisis
No peasant insurrections





Khomeini





Return of Khomeini to Iran (BBC News)

Iran Revolution

Not just coercion
Normative factory + legitimacy
Links to anti-foreign policy

Revolution was urban phenomena: no peasant role



A coalition: Shi'i clerics & middle class

Arjomand draws many parallels with fascism and revolution:

"The Islamic Revolution constitutes a wry comment on the debate among historians as to whether the early modern revolutions were conservative or modern, reactionary or progressive." [206]

- modern trappings of revolution:
- equality
- social justice
- political expression (IF NOT ANTI 'ISLAM')

- Majlis constitution

- Technology interest (TV, press)
- Seminars and congresses



Iranian revolution has socioeconomic basis:

Mismanaged economy
Agricultural failure
Inflation
Oil-revenue decline
Political repression

1976: regime incapable of running state

Shah liberalisation policies (= conditions for effective opposition)

POWER:

traditional bourgeoise >
> bazaari, anti western system, pro-theocracy
traditional petty bourgeoise >

bazaari: bureaucracy = prevention of natural growth into strong group

OTHER POINTS TO CONSIDER:

1979-81: hostage crisis in Tehran (444 days, until Jan. 81).

Iran-Iraq War: 1980-1988 - 700,000 Iranian casualties

Khomeini d. June 3, 1989: buried in Tehran.

Funeral film

April 1988: US Navy launches attack that destroyed two oil platforms.

July 1988: US Navy shoots down Iranian passenger jet in Persian Gulf, killing 290 people

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Hoseini Khamenei
'Mawlay' = guide (b.1940, 1989-)

Head of Govt Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (b. 1934, 1989-1997)

1997: Mohammad Khatami elected president - seen as a 'moderate', he beat hardliners backed by conservative clergy (backed by Khameinei). Calls for dialogue.

Hosts Organisation of the Islamic Conference Dec. 1997

Mohammad Khatami (1943-)

'Reformist' scholar, political philosopher (influenced by Ghazali)

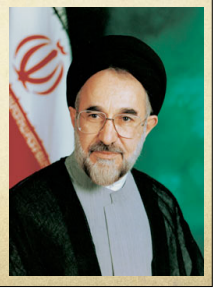
President 1997-2005

Liberalism/reform approach

Free market

Engagement with free market

Seeks inter-civilisational dialogue



Presidents of Iran

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad 2005-2013

b.1956
Hardline, anti-American policies
Pro-nuclear
Hostile to Saudi Arabia, Israel, US, UK
Human rights abuses (dress code issues, sexuality)
Attacked by traditionalists, reformers, Revolutionary Guard
'Green Revolution' of 2009 'failed', suppressed by Ahmadinejad



Hassan Rouhani (2013-)

b.1948
Diplomat
Ijtihad cleric
Negotiator on nuclear issues
'moderate'
Glasgow Caledonian University PhD (on shari'ah)
Impact of 'Green Revolution' led to his victory in 2013 election (religious, not conservative)

