

CHAPTER III

IRANIAN REVOLUTION IN THE YEAR OF 1979

A. History of Iran

The old name of Iran is Persia. It is one of the oldest countries in the world. Its history has been started since 5000 years ago. Iran is at a strategic intersection in the Middle East, Southwest Asia. The evidence of human existence in ancient times in the period of early Paleolitikum in the Iranian mountains has been found in the valley of Kerman Shah, and over this long history, Iran has been subjected to numerous invasions and colonized by foreign countries. Some references about history of Iran as such could not be eliminated to gain a suitable understanding toward developments happened forward¹.

History of Iran can be divided into two main periods; those are pre-Islamic Iran that lasted 13 centuries and Iran after Islam which lasted for 12 centuries ago till now.

¹ The main early civilizations occurred in the region that is now being country of Iran, is the civilization of Elarnit, who had settled in the southwest area of Iran since the year 3000 BC. In the year 1500 BC, Aryan tribes began to migrate to Iran from the North Volga River and Caspian Sea from Central Asia. Eventually the two main tribes of the Aryan, i.e. the Persians and the Medes, settled in Iran. One group lived in the Northwest, and builds the Kingdom of Media. The other group lived in South Iran, a region then by Greece named as Persis that became the origin word of the Persia. However, both of them, called their new land as the Iran, which means "land of the Aryans". Rere Zaskia, *Revolusi Iran*, 2005, Makalah Mata Kuliah Sejarah Asia Barat Daya, STKIP Setya Budi, p. 4

1. Iran in the Pre-Islamic Period

Long time before the 7th BC had been known as high civilization of Iran, such as the Elamites dynasty, but this is rarely discussed by historians. Pre-Islamic Iran is also divided into two main periods; those are *Achemedine* and *Sassanide*². In the year of 600 BC Persia had been ruled by Medes. A century later, around the year of 550 BC Persians was led by Cyrus overthrew the Empire of Medes and established their own dynasty known as the Kingdom of Archaemenia or Achemedine. In the 539 BC was still in a period of Cyrus reign, Babylonia, Palestine, Syria and the whole region of minor Asia to northern Egypt had been part of Kingdom of Archaemenia. King Cyrus was the King of pre-Islamic Persia who favored by people of Iran until recently. King Cyrus was famous with his bravery, tolerant, honest and as much as possible not to do violence³.

King Cyrus was replaced by Darius I. During his reign, the cruise lines were introduced, in conjunction with the start of currency system of gold and silver. The street of Kingdom from Sardis to Susa and postal system functioned by amazing efficiency rate. In his Prime, was about the 6th BC, the dominance regions of this Kingdom stretched to westward until region of Libya, to eastwards until to the region that was recently known as Pakistan, from the Gulf of Oman in the South to the Aral Sea in the North. Indus Valley was also part of Kingdom of Archaemenia.

² Nasir Tamara, *Revolusi Iran*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1980,p.23

³At the year 539 BC, the King Cyrus conquered Babylonia without battle and violence, even he was greeted with delight and enthusiasm by the people of Babylonia. *Ibid.*, p. 24

The art of Archaemenia gave influence to India, even later, Maurya dynasty from India and its ruler, Asoka, very probably reflected the influence of Archaemenia. As also happened in Asia Minor and Armenia, the influence of Persia was very strong and long survive after the collapse of Archaemenia dynasty. There are some words absorbed by Armenia language from Iranian language words, so some time researchers thought that Armenia language was part of Iranian language, instead a separate unit of Indo-European language. In about 520 BC, Persians did the invasion to region that now is known as Southern Russia, South Eastern Europe and practically ruled those regions⁴.

In about 330 BC, when Persia was led by Darius III, Alexander of Macedonia conquered this Kingdom after defeated the number of Persian armies in the battle of Arbela. This victory was the end of Archaemenia and Persian Empires also became part of the Empire of Alexander⁵. More than ten years after the death of Alexander in 323 BC, a Commander, named Seleucus built a dynasty that ruled Persia from the year of 155 BC. After it, the Parthians took the control of Persia. Their reign lasted until 229 M. The Parthians built a huge empire through East part of Asia Minor and Southwest Asia. During 200 years of their last rule, the Parthians had to do battle with Romans

⁴ Rere Zaskia, *op cit.*, p. 6

⁵The conquest of the entire Kingdom of Archaemenia by Alexander was regarded as a great tragedy by the Iranian, a fact that reflected in the national epic by Shah Nameh, written by Firdausi, a poet, in the early 11th century M. *Ibid.*, p.7

in the west and the nation of Kushan that now was known as territory of Afghanistan.

Around the year of 224 M, a Persian named Ardhasir overthrew the Parthians and took over the Kingdom. After more than 550 years, under the authority of foreign nation, the Persians ruled Persia anymore. The Sassanid dynasty lasted more than 400 years. At that time, cultural and arts of Iran developed so did roads, irrigation and building. But, the war between Persians and Romans still continued, colored some of reign of Sassanid regime. Sassanid civilization reached the glory period in the 6th century. During the time, Sassanid Empire along with China, India, and Byzantium were the fourth largest civilization in the world. Persians won several battles with Romans and conquered again the territories that were part of Archaemenia Kingdom. The Persian army actually had ruled until the border of Constantinople in which at that time was the capital of Byzantine Empire (Eastern Roman Empire), but they were defeated and forced to resign all of area they had conquered⁶.

However, during the regime of Shahpur I, a religious leader, a new movement emerged when Mavi declared himself as the last and greatest apostle of Jesus. In the end, he was sentenced to death. His religion then was called Manicliaeisme. Under Sassanid dynasty, extreme exploitation and oppression of people came to the peak. Slavery had exceeded the limit and entered a period of crisis. The migration of poor peasants had penetrated the cities, as the result of

⁶The Sassanid Empire more organized than his predecessors. Zoroastrianism became the legal State religion.

constitutional reformation proposed to reinstate the Shah's Regime⁷⁷. He rejected the idea of constitutional Reformers group and Nationalist Front that brought idea to Shah's back in power, but did not have authority to rule the Country. For Khomeini, Iranian government must be free from the Shah is a final decision.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156

authority altogether. Having firmly rejected the idea of the separation of religion and politics as intiled by imperialist plotters, Khoemini argues that during the occultation of the Imam, the right to rule devolves upon the qualified Ulamā. The doctrine of the Imāmate regarded that all political authority in the lost time of Imām is not a legitimate government. Thus, the concept of wilayah al-Faqih is a constitutional that means to its non-legitimate levels are within the acceptable limits. While during Shah's governed, Scholars not at all included in the system of government. Their powers were limited to spiritual leadership in certain areas. The Shah himself as the leader of Iran was not a scholar and also not a devout Shī'ah.

As the people comply with ulil amrī, Muslims also have the duty for a government as the constitution had been useless without executive power to force the implementation of Islamic law, and this is the position of the state, as the core implementation of the God's law. Thus, the whole systems of the country should be left to the scholars. About a year later, Khomeini attempted to reduce this juristic pluralism to a unitary theocratic leadership to be installed by an Islamic revolution⁷⁵.

The second thought of Khomeini is when Iran was governed by Shah it was controlled anti-Islamic government namely the U.S.⁷⁶. This obviously affected the majority of Iranian people whom devout Shī'ah Muslims. The last thought of Khomeini is his rejection to all of

⁷⁵ Said Amir Arjomand, *op cit.*, p. 192

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155

tyranny and feudal nobility unbearable. However, in the cities they were still treated as slavers. The accumulated oppression suddenly exploded in the form of revolutionary movement under Mazdak leadership.

Mazdak was a great revolutionary at that time. His movement was being the case in the early Christian movement flourished under such conditions and had the content of communistic. His teachings demanded a fair distribution of prosperity, having no more than one wife, fight for Elimination of nobility and feudalism. Mazdak's revolutionary ideas rooted strong among slaves and poor peasantry. His movement survived for 30 years from 494 M to 526 M. During the reign of King Noshirwan, Mazdak's movement brutally suppressed and thirty thousand of his followers destroyed, but Noshirwan had been forced to carry out social and agrarian reform. Mazdak's revolutionary movement was one of the most inspiring struggle classes in the history of Iran. This tradition left a deep imprint on the long trek of Iranian revolutionary movement⁷.

2. Iran in the Islamic Period

In the mid of 7th century AD, there was an event changing the fate of Iran. The Arab armies conquered the country and most of Iranian people later believed in Islam. The reason for rapid success of new religion that was not difficult to search for. In addition to all of this amazing achievement, Sassanid Empire was characterized by the

⁷Sarbini, *Islam Ditepian Revolusi*, Pilar Media, Yogyakarta, 2005, p. 119-120

presence of extreme repression against to the people. Through introduction of Islam, the Arabs changed beliefs of ancient Persia, Zoroastrianism, and since that time until today, Persians became Muslim. However, their Islamic characteristic was different from other Muslims. They filled it with specific culture of Iran and believed heterodox Shī'ah as form of their Islam as well as used it as a weapon for fighting Arab rulers⁸.

At the time of Umayyad dynasty, Imām Husayn ibn Ali got married to the daughter of Iranian King, therefore he was considered as the successor and the father of Iran Kingdom. From the year of 750 till 9th century, Iran was ruled by Abbasid dynasty. The fall of Abbasid dynasty made weakened Arab's control and Iran broke into a number of small kingdoms under various rulers of Iran.

In the mid of 11th century, Seljuk Turks from Turkestan had conquered large parts of Iran. Seljuk Turks and other Turkey's tribes ruled until the year of 1220. At the same year, Mongols was led by

⁸For several centuries, Arabic language replaced Pahlavi language (middle Persian language), a language that used by the Persians during the reign of Sassanid. The implementation very unfamiliar language for the Persian community has hampered the development of creative literature and Persian poetry. And it is clear here that the national spirit back to the forefront by itself. The first literary field that broke in dependence on Arabic after two centuries dominated culture is poetry. No more doubt, this is results of the power of oral traditions in poetry delivery. Nevertheless, the influence of the Arabic language was still strong, and when Arabic language comes back as a written language in the 9th century, the works of literature written in Arabic script. For around five centuries, the majority of works written by the Persians in the fields of theology, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, mathematics and even history was written in Arabic language. However, since the mid of 8th century, Iran has become a center for the arts, literature and science world. Nasir tamara, *op cit.*, p.27

he gave spirit and effected to the Iranian people continually in order to revolt against the shah's government.

His thought about Imām al-Mahdī was an ideology that supported Iranian revolution. According to him, this world divided into two parties, there are the oppressor and the oppressed, and Islam tended to the oppressed. Therefore, Imām al-Mahdī will come when the world is filled with tyranny. Imām al-Mahdī is the symbol of victory, symbol of Islamic partisanship for oppressed people⁷³.

While, about the loss of Imām al-Mahdī, his thought was explained in political concepts to criticize the shah's regime. According to Kalim Shiddique, there are three basic ideas from Khoemeni that made a successful of Iranian Revolution. The first is total and continuous opposition to the Shah's regime. He had consistently assumed that the Shah's regime was illegal government⁷⁴. This view based on the principle adopted from Imāmate doctrine in Shī'ah's.

In his bid to overthrow the Shah from exile in early 1970, Khomeini took a bold step by asserting that the *Wilayah al-Faqih* went beyond this specific types of authority and includes a general right to rule. The *Wilayah al-Faqih* thus assumed the meaning of the mandate of the jurist to rule. Khomeini extended the argument of the early *Usulī* jurists which were designed to establish the legal authority of the *Ulama'* on the basis of a number of tradition from the prophet and the Imams, to eliminate the duality of religio-legal and temporal

⁷³ Kalim Shiddiqui, *op cit.*, p. 157

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154

group to go ahead, because what they done are not hopeless something, but it is a path to certainty optimistic history.

Waiting make human have expectation over their future. The waiting humans are humans who are ready intellectually, physically and practically. For an example is the army waiting for the command from his superior. They are waiting to attention and do not waste time to play around. On this basis, Ali Shari'ati blamed Shī'ah community that was silent, passive and doing something without motivation.

3. Ayatullah Khomeini

Ayatollah Khomeini was the figure who led Iranian Revolution. His criticism to the Shah's regime had been started since he was young. His book, *Kasyful Asrār* was containing about the badness of Pahlevy's regime and his claims to Shah as an anti-Islamic government. In the spring and summer of 1963, He, as one who contenders for Burujirdi's positios, stole the thunder from the debating societies by challenging the Shah outright. The result was the unsuccessful uprising of June 1963 which was bloodily suppressed. In the 1963 he was jailed for eight months⁷². After he was return from jail, his opposition speeches more courageous. In the 1964, his speech about Iran's policy against American's troops made him exiled to Iraq and France. However, he was still in a relationship with a group of scholars and revolutionary Iran. His ideas continued to be smuggled into Iran through illegal tapes and pamphlets. From Iraq and France,

⁷² Said Amir Arjomand, *Ideological Revolution in Shi'ism*, State University of New York, New York, 1988, p. 190

Genghis Khan laid siege to the entire region and had ruined everything. Mongolians were famous as very cruel. They ruined whole arts and cultural center in Iran, killed the assassin and destroyed cities. Since the year of 1260, Iran was conquered by Hulagu Khan, a grandson of Genghis Khan⁹.

A century later, Timur Lang, the King of Turkey took control of Iran and destroyed Mongol Empire. In the last of 15th century and early 16th century, Shah Ismail was ordained as King of Safavid dynasty where the largest representation was Shah Abbas who reigned from 1587 to 1629. Shah Abbas and his successor's record were very influential in supporting the development of architecture and art. Isfahan which became the capital of Safavid in 1598 was known as one of city whose great civilization and development. At that time, the Persians liked calling Isfahan as *Nif-e-Jaltan* (half of the world).

The enforcement of Shī'ah as legal religion of Safavid dynasty was purposed to becoming united force in this Kingdom. It made Safavid rule possible connecting a sense of latent Iranian nationalism spread widely. On the other hand, it brought Safavid to the opened conflict with Sunni Ottoman Empire and made both empires fighting until two centuries.

Safavid dynasty ruled Iran until 1722. The 18th century was the period of invasion of Afghanistan troops. They invaded this country and took control of Isfahan. In 1730, Nadir Shah from Turkey attacked Afghanistan and became a King. He evidenced himself as a

⁹ Hulagu Khan is Buddha, however he still gave freedom to Iranian people to believed Islam. Even his later descendants believed Islam, and made Shī'ah known throughout the Kingdom. *Ibid*, p. 28

great conqueror. In the 1739 Nadir Shah conquered the city of Delhi in India. He plundered India and returned by carrying the treasure spoils. But Nadir Shah killed in 1747 in which afterwards followed by a chaos period with successive rulers of Iran were jockeying for power. Karim Khan Zand appeared and made Iran to be looked back in which Shiraz was its capital. But their descendants failed to build up Iran. In 1786, Aga Muhammad built Qajar Dynasty that ruled Iran. The center of Government was moved to Tehran.

Iran's modern era began with the appearance of Qajar regime. Qajar gained the power through a period of tribal unrest and anarchists. This dynasty ruled Iran from 1794 to 1925 with the weak concentrates of regime because it dealing with tribal provincial factors as well as its very high religious independence's level.

Qajar regime never had good consolidation. Its Army consisted of a number of small Turkoman bodyguards and most part of them from Georgia slaves. The Central was a Government Palace which was too weak in developing governmental country system effectively. Some provinces ruled became a number of factions of tribal, ethnic and local factions led by their local tribe figures. This new regime at all never reached legitimated level achieved by Safavid and never raised it rule totally¹⁰.

¹⁰ Foreign policy of Qajar that presented tobacco concession to Company tobacco of England resulted in protests that ended with cancellation of the special rights and the constituent revolution at the end of the Qajar dynasty. Starting from a disappointment then became movements and widespread into various different places. The most results of this radical movement was demanding of constitutional reform, and implemented in 1906. This revolutionary movement demanding democratic reforms, led by an

The waiting according to Ali Shari'ati is a principle of intellectual and human's instinctive. It means that the waiting is human nature. That's way the belief in messiah had been in human history since the old time. In anthropology, the principle of waiting for a better future is called futurism (understanding or thinking oriented to the future). This is an expression of progressive waiting principle. Because through futurism, human or people can find the rigid roles of status quo which always refers to the ways of the past administration⁶⁹.

The victory in the end of waiting period is a historical determinism. History moves towards the justice and liberation for the oppressed people⁷⁰. The question arises related to this issue is how Imām al-Mahdī can gain the victory in the whole of this world. The answer of this question is contained in the words of Imām Jafar As-Sadiq that load depth analyzes in the history and sociology. He said that, "the criminal power and oppression would spend so much energy to fight each other, so that they will be weakened militarily. Then it becomes so broke that it will lose the will to survive. At the same time, the oppressed group will rise up and take the opportunity in the weakness of the oppressors. Their strength source is belief and awareness"⁷¹. The trust over this historical determinism is the strongest source for the oppressed group to reach victory. This provision gives them the strength, belief and strengthens them to win in the future. The principle of positive waiting, in the other words makes the oppressed

⁶⁹Shahrouh Akhavi, *op cit.*, 373

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 372

⁷¹Ali Shari'ati.*op cit.*, p. 69

interpretation of social interests and responsibilities carried by this teaching.

Commonly, the principle of waiting (*Intidzār*) includes two types, there are negative and positive. The principle of negative waiting caused society suffered the damage, deterioration and justification toward authoritarian status quo. While the principle of positive waiting caused to the movement, the struggle of dignity, progressive and future-oriented. The concept of waiting composed of four basic components, such as the suppression or tyranny, the unseen (the loss of Imām's time), waiting (*Intidzār*) and liberation⁶⁸.

The negative waiting principle is belief that liberation or repair of all social problems will only be realized if Imām al-Mahdī has come, not through individual efforts. They are sure that human's actions or attempt to do rebellion on tyranny is wasting effort. They added that the damages were caused by the absence of a fair leader. Thus, during the absence of Imām al-Mahdī, the tyranny, destruction and injustice were something definite and natural, so the efforts to make it topple were futile. Thus, according to this perspective, the waiting period is justification for status quo and degradation for Muslims, and this is a deviation from the principles and teaching of Islam.

In contrary, four basic components in waiting period, is a strong factor to avoid negative waiting principle or can be positive principle. The principle of positive waiting is an ideology to erase all the damage, tyranny, authoritarianism government and make a power to progress the Muslims future.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52

However, Iran's modern country was born from an anarchic period which lasted from 1911 to 1925. During this period, intervention of foreign culminated. In World War I Russia's troops concentrated in a few provinces of north part, while the United Kingdom's troops occupied southern part of Iran. By destruction of regime Tsaris in 1917, the entire territory of Iran fell into United Kingdom and with the Anglo-Parsian agreement in 1919 Iran made a protectorate of of governmental of United Kingdom.

At the same time, Russia supported the movement of separatist group in Jilan and Azerbaijan Communist Party, Tabriz and Tehran. However, United Kingdom and Russia agreed on a cooperation of agreement with several requirements that were beneficial for Iran party. Russia agreed to withdraw from Jilan and shut down the debt and concessions to Iran; handed back the special rights had been given for foreigners in Iran. Russia disposed providing industry of fish catching in Caspian Sea and had right to immerse itself while Iran was threatened by other foreign powers. Due to support of this new

alliance class of merchants and religious institutions that get support from the bazāri (workers and traders), the shop keeper and others lower class element in that city. The monarchy was forced to formulate a constitution, where the rights of bourgeois-democratic, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and association were guaranteed. Traders and merchants were given the rights of representation in the Parliament to a limited extent. Some of public protests delivered on the occurred of the National Constituent in 1906. The membership of this constituent meeting was 26 % from the figure of art (craftsman), 15 % of traders, and 20 % from religious group. This Council reflects a coalition of scholars, merchants, and liberal western education group, created a constitution that formally still used until 1979. Sarbini, *op cit.*, p. 121

agreement, Iran canceled agreement in 1919 with United Kingdom that was unfair.

In the 1925, Qajar dynasty was defeated by Pahlevi's Dynasty. There were internal and external factors caused it occurred. The most prominent internal factor was the weakness of Central Government and local movements. All of revolts were unable to stem and muted by Central Government as the main of security control, the longer of these revolts undermined the authority of Qajar dynasty and exploited by certain groups attacking to Qajar dynasty. The external factor emerged was the outbreak of World War I which made Iran as battle arena, although politically the position of Iran was neutral¹¹.

B. Pahlevy Dynasty

The revolution of Iran could not be separated from dictatorship of Pahlevy who led Iran during 54 years. Pahlevy's governmental was divided into two periods; the leadership of Reza Khan (1925-1941) and his son, Muhammad Reza (1941-1979). Through explanation of the way of their rule and Iran conditions during their leadership, it could be found some factors led to the outbreak of revolution in Iran.

¹¹ Russia insisted to maintain oil reserves in Baku and the Caspian Sea. The soldiers of Russia engaged in battle with the army of Turkey in northwestern Iran. The imperialist of United Kingdom, on the other hand, maintained their interests in the oil fields in Khuzestan. That quaint and chaos situations make Sayid Ziauddin Taba Tabai , a politician Iran ,and Reza Khan, an officer in the Cavalry, take advantage of the situation to launch an uprising of the Qajar dynasty. Rere Zaskia, *op cit.*, p. 9

human who can live 100, 130, and 150 years. So, it is possible if a human can live longer, around 1000 or 2000 years.

Ali Shari'ati, as part of religious intellectual group does not care about how science can prove the existence of Imām al-Mahdī. According to him, Muslims are better to examine how the influence of doctrine of Imām al-Mahdī trusting in their lives rather than arguing about the evidence of his truth. The most important thing for Muslims understands the positive and negative role for believing in Imām al-Mahdī, related with issues of individual or social promises as well their responsibility and behavior.

Instead of philosophical argument, theology, mystic or physiology to justify the existence of Imām al-Mahdī or to answer when and how he lost, how is his life now, what does he eat and other questions, it will better that the religious intellectual group find the deepest meaning and purpose of belief in the Imām al-Mahdī individually, community or nationally. That meaning and purpose then being understood and realized in the form of social responsibility and awareness to the fact of action on their life. This is the original spirit and the Islamic perspectives⁶⁷.

Furthermore, he discussed about the issues through Muslims perspective (as his concept return on its own personality) and also through sociological approach. The matters concerning to the Imām al-Mahdī have been clearly discussed in all literature of Shī'ah, from the Qur'an, Hadith and arguments of the Imāms, as well as the task of sociology is to discuss it from anthropological aspect, humanity, the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49

being better. It makes people have no awareness and social responsibility.

The second perspective is looking at Imām al-Mahdī from religious perspective⁶⁵. Belief in the messiah with all of his legend is the true doctrine for religious groups. That truth is supported by the Qur'an and the hadiths, as well through scholar's instruction. They believe in this doctrine because it is religious teaching. They are sure that they can take steps toward the reality of truth and justice if they believe it as a religious obligation. Therefore, they believe in the concept of Imām al-Mahdī without testing it and analyze it from another point of view, for example, logic, social and humanity. As far as it relates to the scholar's religion, then all religious traditions are always right. That is everything based on the Koran, hadith, or their Imām's word. For proving the truth of doctrine of Imām al-Mahdī, they stated that it has been described in the Qur'an and supported by authentic hadiths.

The third group is religious intellectual. This group saw the issue of Imām al-Mahdī through science as a way to justify the religious doctrines they believed. The first step is refuting the opinion of non-religious intellectual⁶⁶. According to them, the science of physiology, biology and other science do not limit how many year people can live. In some parts of the world, there are varieties of human age. For example, for average people live 35 until 55 years, but there are

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40

1. Era of Reza Khan Pahlavy

Reza Khan during Qajar dynasty was an official in the Cossack Brigade who ruled as a military Commander and Minister of Defense¹². Because of his position, he was able to consolidate his influence among the military and police forces. In February 1921, Reza Khan strengthened his position by settling an internal movement. He tried to strengthen the leadership of scholars and got their support when he tried tearing down of Qajar dynasty. The Committee appointed Reza Khan as the supreme ruler of Iran on December 12th, 1924, and on April 25th, 1925, he was raised as Shah (King) of Iran¹³.

Under Pahlevy's regime, for the first time in the history of Iran, formed a strong concentration of government. This State was then built with nationalist ideology. Under the rule of authoritarian, the State enacted a modernist program of economic and cultural westernization persistently. This concentrated State controlled tribal society, even during a certain period managed to rule of scholars. The first step of Shah Reza Khan was building a modern military force¹⁴.

¹²Since the reign of the Qajar Dynasty, that is the last of 19th and early 20th century, Iran became the political domination of other states, especially the United Kingdom and Russia. During the last rule of Qajar Dynasty, through capital and entrepreneurs, the United Kingdom has a major role in policing this country. The United Kingdom also incite Reza Khan to destroy Qajar Dynasty. Philip Hiro, *Pertarungan Marxisme-Islam*, terj. M.Khoirul Anam, Inisiasi Press, Jakarta, 2005, p. 398

¹³ Nasir Tamara, *op cit.*, p. 44

¹⁴Pahlevy regimes trying to maintain traditional military pattern that consist of a number of regiments are competitive rather than forming the unity of the military. Modernization of Shah Reza Khan followed the modernization pattern of Musthofa Kemal Ataturk in Turkey. All of human life aspects in Iran were modernization following the ways of the western. It

After becoming a King, Shah Reza Khan strengthened his position as the leader of military and secular power center.

The massive modernization program was also carried out by Shah Reza's regime. Among of them were in the field of education, industry and agriculture. If seeing social structures in Iran that relatively was weak at that time, such as the low purchasing power of society, the state finally became decisive as initiator of economic development, people's welfare, economic and social modernization. A very strong State intervention in all dimensions or areas of Iranian people's lives had made reinforce of Reza Khan's Autocracy.

This regime also attempted to suppress elements of tribal force. It was for the first time of Iran in which this country controlled over all of territory as a whole with paralyzing power of tribal community elements. The tribes were forced to settle down (not nomadic) and political power of tribal chief (khan) was taken over by the state.

To establish State control of economic modernization, the State conducted a legal administrative system and secularization of education. Reza Khan was trying to reduce the role of scholars with remodel some systems being applicable in Iran. In the 1928, Shah Reza Khan enacted some of laws shifted the position of religious law. In 1932, the Parliament arranged a new law that moved official registration documents to Secular Courts that finally thus made no important of Religious Courts. In 1934, the Government established Department of Wakaf and Department of Education for replacing the

was caused of his amazement to Mustofa Kemal's ideas who said that Islam and Arab culture has hampered progress. Sarbini, *op cit.*, p. 131

Islamic progress can be developed by understanding the religious doctrines in depth. During this time, these doctrines are confined to the field of jurisprudence and understood only superficially. So that other aspects are not fully known. The teachings of Islam like tauhid, Shafa'at, ijihad, taqwa as the Hajj, Zakat, Jihad and many others are the issues that have deep meaning and dimensions in the aspect of sociology, economics, and political dimensions of other practical. One of doctrine used by Ali Shari'ati to develop an Islamic progressive among Iranian people was Imām al-Mahdī, his lost and the waiting period (*Intidzār*)⁶³.

During the loss of the Priest, the true Islamic teaching is an Islamic intellectual movement in progressive and has militant to social forces. To express his belief, Ali began by explaining the doctrine of Imām al-Mahdī through three different ideological perspectives. The first is the view of non-religious intellectual⁶⁴. They assume that the messiah is may not exist and just a fantasy. It is based on the impossibility that human can live 1000 until 3000 years. Furthermore, they assume that from a social point of view, belief about the messiah is contrary to the advancement and human's responsibility. The reason is that the social good, awakening human consciousness, the elimination of the governmental authoritarian system and others social problems solving does not include in human's responsibility. But it happened when Imām al-Mahdī has come to change the world for

⁶³Ali Shari'ati, *Islam Agama Protes*, Terj. Afif Muhammad, Pustaka Hidayah, Jakarta, 1995, p. 50

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 31

that became the basis of a revolution did not necessarily come from class consciousness, but also from religious consciousness. Religion in this context was surely not the religious common, but religion that had experienced the ideology process, so that having revolutionary forces⁶¹.

According to his personal opinion, his biggest contribution in the revolution was through lectures and political sermon in any meeting. His ideas addressed to the intellectual and the young of Iran generation. His great popularity was marked by the presence of 3.400 students in each session of his lecture in Marsyad. So that, it could be taken that between the 1950s until his death in 1977, his ideas were already familiar among intellectuals and the youth of Iran.

Ali considered that the influence of the West was a threat to Iran and Islam. He also saw that the concept of “return on its own personality” had not been widely recognized by religious followers. To be more easily understood, this concept was changed to be “back to the culture and ideology of Islam”. Islamic ideology is the belief that would be the source of society’s life⁶². By addressing Islam as an ideology, Iran would be free from western culture that had been looking at them as the ultimate truth and denied other cultures.

Islam as a tradition had developed and successfully built a high civilization for more than a thousand years. However, nowadays, Islam suffered a setback. Thus, according to Ali Shari’ati, Muslims need to develop an Islamic progressive that could raise the awareness.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87

⁶² Lato Hardi, *Revolusi Islam Iran: Sebuah keniscayaan Politis dan Theologis*, <http://www.blogger.com/postedit.g.blog.ID=1432457897>.

role of Scholars. The law of 1936 required all judges had a degree (Bachelors) title from University of Tehran or foreign University, which did not allow the Scholars to reinstate judges in Courts.

In the field of education, the state applied secular education system. The Government oversaw religious schools, reduced subsidies funds, and through other steps, Pahlevy’s regime tried herding scholars under State control. In 1934, Teacher Training Act (the law of formal teacher) built a number of new Universities and Ministry of education imposed a new curriculum for schools of theology. Even, to emulate religious education, technical schools was established by Ministry of education, Health, Agriculture, Industry, Defense and Ministry of finance.

Religion of Majusi defined jointly with Islam. The Government chose the name pre-Islam (Pahlevi) and pre-Islamic symbols (Lion and Sun)¹⁵. In 1928, a set of rules that restricting religious clothing fashion, and obligated western clothes for men and in 1935 forbade using veil especially chador¹⁶.

In 1934, the Government controlled religious donations. As it was done in Egypt and other developed countries, the scholars lost their primary sources of power and wealth because their position was replaced by the Court, lawyer, judge, notary, and modern secular teachers. The measure of reforming is undertaken to the Shah Reza

¹⁵ Officially Reza Khan was Muslim, but he was very respect Majusi and Zoroater that worship fire. In fact, he was also rumored hate to the Shī’ah Muslims scholars in Iran. *Ibid.*, p. 44

¹⁶ Clothes that covered all of body part, except two eyes. It was worn by the Iranian women. Dilip Hiro, *op cit.*, p. 399

benefit to the middle and upper class as well as socio-economic gap widen new and culture between Western group and referencing only the majority of Iranian people, especially traditional elite.

Modernization Program had been proclaimed by Shah Reza Khan since he came to power in the end could not be said to be successful. It could be seen from these reasons; *first*, most of economic activity in industrial sector monopolized by Governments that did not observe the quality and ultimately unable to compete with foreign products and lost the market. *Second*, over-centralization as well as slowness of bureaucracy had spawned an unhealthy situation to encourage economic growth. *Third*, agricultural renewal programs run half-measures and then inflicting *landlordism*, the gap between the role of landowners and farmers increasingly widened¹⁷.

Due to the outbreak of World War II, development programs run by Reza Shah stopped totally. Shah's sympathy to Nazi when happening War Word II was not a secret anymore. This fact was the reason for the Allied forces to intervene against to Iran¹⁸. Allied countries which became the opposition of Nazi-Germany wroth against to Iran, finally the United Kingdom and Russia occupied Iran

¹⁷Rere Zaskia, *op cit.*, p 11

¹⁸Iran Government under Shah Reza Khan has good relations with Germany in 1928, with way more leverage the economical service and technique of Germany. And this tendency increased when Adoff Hitler came to power in Germany, so in 1939, 41% of Iran's foreign trade was with Germany. German People who live in Iran like engineers, merchants and others, increased to 2000 people. Propaganda Hiltler-Nazi was very successfully with emphasizing the backdrop Aria's nation on both of these societies, as well as their struggle against the freedom and equality under the enlightening leadership. Whereas Iran, when World War II in 1939, declared himself as a neutral State. *Ibid.*, p.12

His first translation work was Abu Zar by Jawdat as-Sahar. The first edition of this book published in 1955 under the title of Abu Zar e-Qifari: Khoda-Parast-e Socialist. From this book, Ali Shari'ati -as a member of IPP were inspired by the ideas of socialist movement-wanted to show Abu Zar as a symbolic figure. Through Abu Zar, Ali wanted to show Islamic progressive through his revolutionary movements. Through this figure, Ali also wanted to release Iran's intellectual from the blind imitation of the West. His second book translation was also took radical Islamic figure, namely Husayn al-Kasf Gita. Shari'ati showed this character as a figure that was radical and involved in politics. He directed the Muslims to fight the injustices with ownership sense of their dignity. Kasf al-Gita awakened the Muslims by informing that Islam contemned the silence and passive attitude toward the oppressor.

His article series of moderate mazhab started to be published in November 25th 1954 in Khorasan newspaper. The main idea of his article series was that Islam could become a practical way for the Muslims problems. His thinking and ideology made the young Shari'ati gained a reputation and recognition. Between April until September 1955, his writing dominated the Khorasan newspaper and at the end of May 1955, he began to deliver his political ideas through radio broadcasting on weekends in the Marsyad's radio. After his return from Paris, he participated again in the Nationalist Front and led several political activities from younger generation of Iran. His political speeches led to the ideas of physical movement against the ruler. In his thesis, Ali Shari'ti said that the collective consciousness

society and to articulate their political grievance, facilitating in the mass popular uprising directed by clergy⁵⁹.

Ali Shari'ati was a lecturer of Sociology at Marsyad University. He completed his studies at Sorbonne University, France, in the field of sociology. In his living times in Iran, he was active in the struggle against the Shah. His political career had started since he was a student at the teacher's training Institutions. The young Ali Shari'ati became part of political organization which pro-Mosaddeq. In the 1953, he and some of his friends became part of pro-Mosaddeq party called by the League. The League itself was later merged with NMR (National Resistance Movement of Iran). During this period, his name had been popular in the NMR in the branch of Marsyad. He was best known as the leader of the largest group in the NMR in Marsyar, such as a group of Student University. Ali Shari'ati was known as the originator of the idea of moderate Mazhab. In February 26th 1954, the League eventually became underground party. It was renamed to IPP (Iranian's People's Party) which was also still being part of the NMR⁶⁰.

Although during this period he was known as an agitator and political leader, but his biggest concern was to write. Since 1951 to 1955, his works could be divided into three categories: translation, social and political articles, theoretical and also biographical that was published in Khorasan newspaper and the last was his poetry.

⁵⁹ Shahrough Akhavi, *'Ali Sari'ati*, State University of New York Press, New York, 1989, p. 369

⁶⁰ Ali Rahmena, *'Ali Syariati; Biografi Politik Revolusioner*, Erlangga, Jakarta, 2000, p. 53

and forced Reza Khan to take off his position and being replaced by his son, Muhammad Reza Shah, the first King of this dynasty. Pahlevy died in exile, South Africa, and her corpse arrived in Tehran on May 7, 1950.

2. Era of Mohammad Reza Pahlevy

Mohammad Reza Shah was crowned as the King on December 17th, 1941. At that time he was still 20 years old. Intervention of foreign countries such as Russia and United Kingdom was still too strong in Iran. His appointment was inseparable from the influence and support of allied countries. As when he came to power, his government under the control of these two countries. In the early years of his reign, he got support from the Scholars. At that time, many people still regarded monarchy as secularism protector and the threat of communism. In addition, Reza Khan needed support on getting sympathy of the society.

As the War World ended, Iran was in squeezed position by several powers of big countries. Meanwhile, Russia and United Kingdom could be removed by United States as the dominant force in World War II and the middle of busy observed areas of influence or maintained domestic socio-economic issues respectively that later United States came in due to big powers in Iran. The entry of Americans in Iran was throughout the entering of their advisors in various sectors of governmental activity, including in the military field. In addition, the intervention of United States that was so great also imposed other fields, such as economics, industrialization, and

trade. Apparently, the United States wanted to make Iran as its doll state in the Middle East like what had done against Israel¹⁹.

Before the 1950s, the relationship with the United Kingdom still could not be stopped because Iran and the United Kingdom were still bound to the Anglo-Persian agreement. As up to that time Iran was indirectly under the rule of two countries.

The main reason of the United Kingdom and the United States scrambled interventions in Iran was economic dominance over oil processing. The United Kingdom through big stake in AIOC (Anglo Iranian Oil Company) had right to cultivate Iran's oil for many years. Due to many technicians came from the United Kingdom therefore the benefit divisions more tended to the United Kingdom. More than two-thirds of the company's profits were taken by United Kingdom, and the rest belonged for Iran. On the other hand, the United Kingdom still cut other supporting means, such as security maintenance, environment and other pieces related to production process. Inequalities of oil division continued until 1951. When the heads of Iranian Governmental ruled by Prime Minister Muhammad Mosadeq, a leader of Front Nationalist, he arranged policy to nationalize oil companies under the goal to reduce and to eliminate Western colonial

¹⁹ One of phenomenon that make Russia's influencing shifted in Iran was the courage of Mohammad Reza Shah banned the Tudeh Party activities (Communist Party) in 1949 with the reasons that the party's involvement in the attempt assassination to Reza Shah. This political step absolutely was very supported by the United States, because U.S wants to remove completely the influence of Russia and United Kingdom in the Iran. And from that time, Iran were in the United States ultimately influence. *Ibid.*, p. 46

ولقد كتبنا في الزبور من بعد الذكر ان الارض يرثها عبادي الصالحون

“And before this We wrote in the psalms (Zabur) after the message (given to Moses), after We wrote (in Lauh al-Mahfud), that the earth shall inherited to my righteous servants”. (Q.S.Al-Anbiya': 105)

By these explanations, it can be concluded that Imām al-Mahdī according to Muthohhari Murtadlo is an idea about the optimism toward human's future that in this world there are two powers, the good and the evil, inside of them there are always two parties, the oppressed and the oppressive. While God promises a victory for the good people and the oppressed group who always fights for the truth. Thus, the waiting period to the coming of Imām al-Mahdī should be filled with the build's waiting period in which society always expects to the God's mercy for fighting the truth and against to tyranny. The better of human's future realization of God's promise and good result of human's good deed.

2. Ali Shari'ati

In the 1970s, the opposition against the Shah was getting stronger. Iranian people increasingly awaked that during this time Iran had experienced cultural alienation and depended on the West. The process of modernization in Iran also produced a politically conscious corpus of social thought in Shī'ah, mostly associated wit Ali Shar'ati. This body of ideas did much to mobilize many segment of Shī'ah

the desired results automatically. Form of this waiting is clearly contrary to the principles of Shī'ah.

While *the second* type of waiting is built waiting. The description in the Qur'an about the stories of right side and oppressed victory is a chain of the struggle between the good and the wicked sides. Imām al-Mahdī is a symbol of victory for the good side as well as for the good and faithful person as it is explained in QS 24:55⁵⁷.

وعدالله الذين امنوا منكم وعملوا الصالحات ليستخلفنهم في الارض كما استخلف الذين من قبلهم وليمكنن لهم دينهم الذي ارتضى لهم وليبدلنهم من بعد خوفهم امنا. يعبدونني لا يشركون شيئاً ومن كفر بعد ذلك هم الفاسقون.

“God has promised, to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that he will surely grant them in the land, inheritance (of power), as he granted it to those before them, that He will establish in authority, their religion the one which he has chosen for them, and that He will change (their State), after the fear, in which they (lived), to one of security and peace. They will worship Me (alone) and not associate aught with Me, if any do reject faith after this, they are rebellious and wicked”

(Q.S. An-Nur: 55)

The appearance of Imām al-Mahdī is a gift or reward from God for the oppressed and the weak group which still fight to defend the truth. Imām al-Mahdī is also their media creating a government as promised by God. The appearance of Imām al-Mahdī means realization of God's promises to the righteous people. As explained in the QS 21: 105⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115

powers toward petroleum sector and returned oil to the Iranian society²⁰.

Muhammad Mosadeq's policy made the United Kingdom was very angry as the conflicts between two countries were inevitable. In October 16th, United Kingdom broke his diplomatic relation with Iran and took all of his technicians. Iran was being shortage of oil processing technician and asking France for help. But in European Nations, relationship turned out to be more powerful, so that France refused providing assistance. The U.S which initially supported Mosadeq, then switched supporting the United Kingdom. All of Mosadeq's policies made Muhammad Reza Shah angry, and by the help of United State, he dropped Mosadeq²¹. The resigning of this Prime Minister also meant that Iranian societies would do intervention again from other countries.

By the decline of Mosadeq, U.S replaced United Kingdom's position and ruled Iran in all fields. Due to powering petroleum field, it meant that U.S. had much controlled to the fields associated with the State. In the system of modern despotism, all powers of administrative, financial, and military were being stronger because of oil²². Oil concessions toward western imperialist made colonialism turned into Iran in a major way. The weakness of traditional social group caused the birth of new bourgeois groups. They worked in governmental institutions and enjoyed most of the benefits of oil processing results.

²⁰ Sarbini, *op cit.*, p. 130

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49

²² *Ibid.*, p. 111

During Mohammad Reza Shah's governance, the country's working was to serve the interests of capital owners. Contradictions often occurred in the field of economic, social and political as the results of big influence among countries and bourgeoisie groups²³. The wealth of country that mostly generated from oil processing was only enjoyed by a small group of elite political society and bourgeoisie. Hence, the lower social groups criticized the State because they didn't enjoy the proceeds oil sale.

The modernization sponsored by State gave political and economic changes impacting to length. The program of Shah's regime was concentrating to the development of secular and nationalist country and these programs were directed toward modernization of society in line with western modernization. About 1960 and 1980, the Government took measurement on consolidating their autocratic Government, reformed landholdings structure, modernized economic industry, strengthened military forces to secure their regional supremacy and reformed the country's social structure as well.

Through United States support, Shah wanted to build Iran by reforming economic field and introduced seven-year planning aimed to improving economic income in agricultural sector. This was the steps to realize his ambition in making Iran as a modern State that was on part of European countries. His first step made Iran as industrial state and reformed agricultural system.

In agricultural reform, about 1962-1964 and 1968, the landlords were forced by the law to sell surplus land to the small land owner and

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 112

over the correct side⁵⁴. Through these stories he also revealed that the cruel person is person who looking for selfish and pleasure, whereas those who fought for the truth is they are the oppressed and the depressed. Thus, the characteristic of the struggle is a humanitarian and moral, not material or fighting for classes. The expectation about the appearance of Imām al-Mahdī is the spirit in achieving a better future by fighting for that truth. This expectation is also reflection of Islamic values in accordance with the aspirations of humanity.

Furthermore, he also explained about the result of the different opinion about Imām al-Mahdī's reappearance. The result of this problem is there are two types of awaiting or *Intidzār*. *The first* is the wrong expectation in waiting time that is the belief that Imām al-Mahdī's appearance depends on widespread of tyranny, discrimination and disaster. Crime and tyranny are truly ridden this world before reappearance of Imām al-Mahdī. As Imām al-Mahdī will come as the strength for saving the truth, not as a defender of the truth⁵⁵.

By this basic, they hate each changes action because it's inhibiting the reappearance of Imām al-Mahdī. According to Murtadlo Muthohhari, this is a form of semi-dialectical opinion, because it considers the damage as a condition preceding the divine victory⁵⁶. This idea opposed the revolution tried by human because it is considered as half-revolution. They really let tyranny and the damage without doing anything. They are not trying at all and just expecting

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84

also active in changing the function of al-Jawwād mosque, which was originally only worship place, became a center of political activity⁵².

Since Khomeini exiled in Iran, he continued to build a relationship with him. He began to be active in mobilizing scholars and a group of intellectuals to continue to oppose the Government. His rational thoughts on Islam delivered through his lectures, political sermon and writings. According to him, Islam is a path, not a home as a place to stop. Thus, he argued that the doctrine of Islam, especially Shi'ah's doctrine has a side that can be practiced, so that could be a way for Muslims to achieve the progress, not the opposite.

Imām al-Mahdī according to Murtadlo Muthohhari is a victory for being truth. This correlated with the opinion that peace and justice will triumph over evil and tyranny, the establishment of Islam throughout the world, the enactment of human values and the establishment of an ideal society which will be realized through the leader of late period called Imām al-Mahdī⁵³.

While the time for waiting of Imām al-Mahdī is called the awaiting period or *Intidzār*. The appearance of Imām al-Mahdī for Murtadlo Muthohhari is a prohibition to despair of God's mercy, because Imām al-Mahdī is the symbol of victory promised by God. This God's promise described in the Qur'an through the history of the past, like the story of Pharaoh and Moses, Isa and his enemy's group, as well as Muhammad and Quraish. All of these stories ended with a victory

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 60

⁵³ Murtadlo Muthohhari, *Menguak Masa Depan Umat Manusia Suatu Pendekatan Filsafat Sejarah*, Terj. Masykur Ab, Pustaka Hidayah, Jakarta, 1991, p. 63

officials. However, in practice, it had been a lot of irregularities, so that the distribution of land was not as good as expected. Even, the new land owners caused capital shortage, having no authority to the agricultural technology, and forced the government to work hardly in order to maintain and to improve agricultural output. The peasants who absolutely having no land, got very low income, so that it was insufficient working on the farm even for paying rent (indemnification) of landholdings. They did not accept the land distribution. This finally led them to move to the city in order they could get more decent income there²⁴.

Actually, main goal of agricultural programs launched by Shah was to establish business corporation units and private agribusiness in large-scale sponsored by the state. This agricultural corporation required the farmers to unite their lands and joined with larger companies, even they would be benefitted because their lands were produced mechanically.

The rapid growth of industry made the competent workers increased rapidly. As the result, there was the increase of urbanization. From 1956 to 1971, millions of rural people migrated to the cities. In the mid of 1970s, an average of 380.000 people emigrated each year that finally led to a bad impact on agricultural sector, where production had decreased and price of food getting increased. The real impact of massive immigration was the increasing of the slum shacks popping up everywhere. The acute inflation was very detrimental to

²⁴ Rere Zaskia, *op cit.*, p. 14

the workers, farmers and lowly bourgeoisie. Thus, poverty became a major problem in Iran²⁵.

Land reformation planned by Shah was certainly failure as this policy Iran could not fulfill the need of foods in its own country. As the result, Iran had to import food ingredients in large numbers.

Pahlevy's regime policies increasingly extended State control over many fields that was formerly the territory of scholars. The reformation that ever conducted by Muhammad Reza Shah's father governmental in the fields of education, law and religious donations in the 1930s, later accompanied with reformation in the field of land in the 1960s which further restricting to wealth, income, and the power of Scholars. Anyway, as a group in which its position had strengthened through close tied with political elite, the separation between education and society led to the difference of thought and identity between elite group and modern secular thinker with religious scholars. When the power was increasingly centralized in the hands of Shah and secular elite group, the relationship between Scholars and State got worse²⁶.

Iran under Mohammad Reza Shah's rule was a quasi-constitutional monarchy. According to the theory, Iran was governed by a new version of constitution of 1906 that was created for determining constitutional restriction for monarchy and Islamic traits from these countries. Although it had a modern constitution, Iran was not secular State in the sense of separating state with religion. The

²⁵ Nasir Tamara, *op cit.*, p. 135

²⁶ Sarbini, *op cit.*, p. 131

contribution to the question posed to Shī'ah by modern thought and socio political ramifications of change⁵⁰.

Murtadlo Muthohhari was a student of Ayatollah Khomeini, Ayatollah Burujerdi and Alamah Tabataba'i. After completing his high study in Qum, he was appointed as a Philosophy's lecturer in the Faculty of Theology of Tehran University in 1954. Later he was appointed as the Chairman of Philosophy Department and as a Professor in the similar University. In addition, he was also extensively active writer on social and political philosophy⁵¹.

As a modern scholar, in addition to be active in the field of education, he was also active in political field. His political goal was to oppose Shah of Iran and dropped him off. His political career started since he became the student of Khomeini. In the 1960, he got along with other Scholar built communities of *anjuman-i mahana-yi dini*, namely the community of scholars who interpreting Islamic teachings and actualizing it in the human's daily life, so that it became a problem solving for society. Since June 6th 1963, he began to instruct the importance of opposing ruler, later joined in several organizations, such as *Jami'ayi Ruhayuna-i Mubarris*. In the 1965, he was with Ali Shari'ati and several other intellectuals formed an Organization *Husainiya-yi Irshad* in North Tehran. It was the headquarters for the rise of Islamic intellectuals in Tehran. He was

⁵⁰ Murtadlo Muthohari, *Shi'ism in History*, State University of New York, New York, 1989, p. 402

⁵¹ Syafi'i, *Memahami Teology Syi'ah : Telaah atas Pemikiran Murtadlo Muthohhari*, Rasail, Semarang, 2004, p. 57-59

coordinating the masses, they have a major role in influencing the thinking way of Iranian people. The thought of Ali Shari'ati and Murtadlo Muthohhari as part of a *raishanfikir* group (religious intellectuals) had much influenced and formed the ideology of intellectuals. While, Khomeini's thought had influenced in the ideology formation among religious groups, middle class, such as traders, laborers and workers. It should be noted that in Iran, the middle-lower class was very close to the Scholar. So, explaining their opinion about Imām al-Mahdī was important in the close times to Iranian Revolution.

1. Murtadlo Muthohhari

Muthohhari is, without a doubt one of significant contemporary Shī'ah social thinker. Unlike Shī'ah political ideologist and activist, he was at the same time a renowned and accomplished jurisconsult, theologian, philosopher and social thinker. His work covers diverse topics from the complexities of Shī'ah philosophy to the role of Islam in politics to the question of women's right in the context of Islam. Although he never produced an ideology like Khomeini, nor did he advocate systematic reform and interpretation as Shari'ati, his ideas played an important role of history of modern Shī'ah thought. As representative of more moderate and traditional response to the problems that had also pulled Khomeini and Shari'ati into the political limelight. He acted as a catalyst for the politicization of the more moderate religious element. His idea, meanwhile, remain important

King must be a follower of Shī'ah Isnā Ash'ariyah and became the patron of those beliefs. Parliament should include five leading scholars in its membership to ensure that there was no legislation having conflict with Islamic law.

The determined constitutional was intended to limit Shah's power and made him being responsible to the Representatives Council. However, Mohammad Reza Shah, once again holding power in 1953, ignored the constitution. Instead, he built a country based on his personal authority, identified Iranian nationalism with Pahlavi's dynasty as well as limited space and oppressive scholars. The relationship between Government and society in political participation changed from cooperation into opposition and suppression.

Another impact of modernization program proclaimed by the State was the influence of western culture toward traditional culture of Islam in Iran. Iranian people felt that their native culture was banished and forced to accept foreign cultures. One of the biggest mistakes of Muhammad Reza Shah was his desire to make Iran as a modern state was not based on 95% of Iranian people whom had believed in Islam, which very high regarded toward Shī'ah's cultural values. Shah's desire to see the progress in Iran was only redirected in the pattern of consumer societies. The good habits in industrial country such liquor, egoism, individualism, hedonism, other entertainment venues, was obviously not good in the side of Islam.

The massively influx of western culture among Iranian society was together with the process of industrialization in this country. In other side, Iran used to be proud of their traditional culture. Since the

beginning of 1960s, the government of Iran began to bring foreign technician staffs to Iran. Their coming, especially the staffs of the United States, became one of factors in widespread influence of western culture in Iran. Until the 1978, the number of Americans who worked in Iran reached 60.000 people, excluding those from Japan, Korea, Europe, Filipina and others²⁷. Their arrival led to the cultural clash that was very brutal. The foreigners who resided in Iran did not want to live like the way of Iranian, because they considered that it was old-fashioned. They lived as like their living way in their country that finally widespread influenced of western culture such as pornography, alcohol, pop music, film, entertainment venues that was very pronounced among city dwellers, especially the youth generation. According to the scholars, it was considered as a threat to Iranian religious values.

Their presence also caused resentment of Iranian people, because they had usurped Iranian's place in the field of employment. Most of them were representatives of giant corporates from their country, so that their abilities were superior to the Iranian society. This imposition of western culture became an important factor in the Iranian revolution. The 90% of western culture brought to Iran was not the best culture. Iranian people felt that their culture was raped by other cultures supported by the government in order to support the success of development program. However, these programs also failed in providing justice toward Iranian people.

²⁷ Nasir Tamara, *op cit.*, p. 73

are political elite, a bourgeoisie or groups of middle and upper, capital owners, Shah's army, and other advantaged groups. *Second* is the group of Contra-Shah. They are in the opposition group consisting of traditional religious groups, middle lower class of society such as labors, traders and workers, students, Nationalist Front and other minority groups such as Tudeh Party, Feedayen and Mojahidin Khalq. Before they came together in a comprehensive opposition under Khomeini's leadership during the times of the 1960s and 1970s, their ideology and movement was formed by core figures involved in the revolution.

These core figures were not only responsible for coordinating masses at the uprising, but the most important thing was their thoughts and opinions formed the basic assumptions or revolutionary ideology to the masses. Finally, the mass -appropriated with their each tendency- had basis ideology as the basic of their uprising. It's more than the displeasure action that had been long crystallized because they received unfair treatment from Shah's governance. However, their protests gained justification through Shī'ah's doctrines which they profess. One doctrine affected the masses was figure's thought about doctrine of Imām al-Mahdī.

However, because there were too many involved figures, the writer limited to the most important figures and popular in the Iranian Revolution. They are Ayatollah Khomeini, Murtadlo Mutohhari and Ali Shari'ati⁴⁹. Through their thoughts and political action in

⁴⁹ Lato Hardi, *Revolusi Islam Iran: Sebuah keniscayaan Politis dan Theologis*, <http://www.bloggert.com/postedit.g.blogID=1432457897>.

E. Doctrine of Imām al-Mahdī as Political Driving Force in the Thought of Iranian Revolutionary Figures

Iran and its Shī'isme are a relationship that can't be separated. In the phase of its history, Shī'ah -especially Shi'ah Istnā Ash'ariyah- and its traditions has been rooted firmly in the Iran society. The main identity of Shī'ah is their belief about Imāmate. In Shī'ah Istnā Asyariyah, this belief is expressed in the concept of the 12th priests as Muhammad Ibn Hasan who has been disappeared, believed as Imām al-Mahdī.

Their belief that the 12th priest never die and only *ghaib* for a while, make them have a different concept about leadership. During disappearing time, Muslims Shī'ah is led by *Mullah* or *Mujtahid*, such as scholars whose specific religious capabilities. Duties of these scholars are to interpret the Qur'an and the Hadith as well as to formulate new laws that are beneficial for human's life. In short, the scholars have similar duties as the priests, but their position is not as the priests, because only a temporary replacement during the disappearance of the priest. Regarding to this point, it can be conclude that the scholars have an important role in the living of Shī'ah in Iran. Meanwhile, the two Kings of Pahlevy's dynasty tried to destroy the traditions and beliefs through Westernization. Except the economic and social factors, westernization also becomes a major factor in the outbreak of revolution in Iran.

The successful of Iranian revolution is inseparable from the role and opinions of figures who involved in it. In the Shah's era, Iranian people divided into two groups. *First* is the group of Pro-Shah. They

Another method to enforce their powers was throughout directly attendance secret police agent called SAVAK (Organization of information and security of the region)²⁸. Main duty of SAVAK was looking for anti-Shah accomplices among military and looking for Shah's enemy. People whom caught would convict without trial. They only had one accusation that anyone who hostile and contrary to the Shah was a terrorist therefore must be punished²⁹.

C. Resistance of the Opposition

Modernization program posed several impacts that were really notable to Iranian people. It increased the intellectual's cadre, officials, military, company's manager and labor expert under western education or in a modern education system. Since the beginning, the program aroused anxiety of scholars which eventually leading to resistance of traders, scholars, artisan, and intellectual left group that opposed Shah's regime, dependence on foreign power, and some of policies led to economic losses for the farmers and for lower middle class. Moreover, the movement of opposition sought to oppose the authoritarian of governance models.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58

²⁹ It was hard to know how much the number of agents. At the very least, SAVAK consists of 4,000 of spies and 50.000 of informants. Before the resistances were executed, they were tortured in a way that is totally inhumane. All reviewers who watched the proceedings since 1965 said that prisoners have been tortured to gain confessions. The torture was in the form of beatings, electric shock, the hot water spraying usually done by the SAVAK. In 1975, the Iran National Front published chronicle of repression that mentioned victim's names of SAVAK. It was suspected that more than 100 people were killed in every year. Nasir tamara, *op cit.*, 59

Until the 1970s, there was no an effective opposition, but the critics to the Pahlevy's regime had been appearing in the 1960s. At that time, the opposite movements being widespread, but as this movement was not coordinated, so their movement could be broken easily. Tudeh Party and National Party were crushed by SAVAK. The minority of Kurdish, Arabic and Baluchi were attacked because of their desire to form a regional autonomy. Some of militant guerrilla groups, such as Marxist Feda'iyani Khalq and Mojahedin Khalq did rebellion in order to struggle Syi'ism, nepotism, imperialism and capitalism. The resistances were raising terrors but unable to pull out of Shah's power in Iran. In February 1971, nine members of Marxist Feda'iyani Khalq that had heavily armed attacked and seized the nearest Postal Gendarmarie in the hamlet of Siahkal in northern areas³⁰.

The Mojahedin-Khalq's military activity followed the operation of Siahkal. Mojahedin launched series of daring attacks on the sensitive targets such as dams and electrical installations to sabotage Shah's celebration. During the last summer and early autumn in 1971, SAVAK arrested 105 people who were suspected as members of a city guerrilla organization. Some of people detained, sixty-nine was

³⁰ After nineteen days Ali Akbar Farahani-Safa'i was besieged government forces, the Commander of the Siahkal operation, along with the Jalil Enferadi and Houshang Nayeri, captured by local people and handed over to the military, the rest were killed and captured. Even before the attack on Siahkal outpost, a number of activist members of Marxist Feda'iyani Khalq were captured by authorities in Tehran and Gilan. On March 16, 1971, the Government reported the names of the thirteen people who faced the firing squad, accused of engaging in Siahkal insurrection. Rere Zaskia, *op cit.*, p. 16

decided to get side with Khomeini⁴⁷. In May 13th, the media officially proclaimed that Bachtiar had resigned because the parties had lost the supporters. Bazargan was also appointed as the provisional governmental by Khomeini⁴⁸.

The main factor in the revolution that could not be doubted was the direct interference of Iranian society in every historical event. At the usual situation, the nation, in the form of monarchy or democracy, lifting himself over the society and history was made by the specialists in such matters, such as Kings, Ministers, bureaucrats, members of parliament and journalist. But in the crucial movement, when the old order no longer could be accepted by the community, they would destroy the barriers restricting them from the political arena, putting aside their traditional representatives, and creating the cornerstone of early working for a new regime with the interference of their own work.

The basis material of Iranian Revolution lied in the advancement of productive forces and the changes had been made in Iran's capitalism throughout previous period. Shah lost support of all mass groups, such as farmers, intellectuals, workers, labor, middle class from various layers and also his armies. The country was broken by a hard movement by the masses.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 239

1906. By the falling of illegal governance, Iran would build Islamic Republic.

Khomeini also revealed that the duty of Revolutionary Council was to form an interim governmental on preparing Constitutional Council for planed draft of Islamic Republic constitution of Iran. Then the draft would be submitted to the society in a referendum, for being approved or not.

In February 5th 1979, Khomeini appointed Bazargan as Prime Minister to emulate Sachpur Bachtiar, because he did not want to resign⁴⁵. In February 9th, he announced his governmental programs planning at the University of Tehran. The program included transferring of power from Bachtiar to Bazargan, realizing of a referendum to ratify the new constitution, controlling the running of government and new constitution, electing of Majelis as well as establishing Islamic Republic of Iran as permanent governance⁴⁶.

The day after this incident, which was dated February 10th, the soldiers who getting side with Bachtiar, attacked the Air soldier in Fahrad. The attack occurred because Air Force had expressed its support to Khomeini. As a result, physical movement broke out in Iran. At that time all the people participated to the movement. Physical contact between society who was pro-Khomeini and Pro-Bachtiar conducted until February 12th. The event ended with the success of people in defeating the army, because most of them finally

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 229

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235

ried during the spring of 1972, Muhammad Hanifnejad, Saeed Mohsen, Ali Asghar Badi'zadegan, the founder of Mojahedin Khalq, along with six members of Central Committee (Cadr-e Markazi) from that organization were executed in April and May 1972.

Not only a small group of radical Marxist militant such as Feda'iyani Khalq and Mojahedin Khalq who performing resistance (opposition) acts against the power of Shah, but the opposition also came from activists group of Islamic politics. One of them was led by Ayātullah Kasyani who commanded to revoke secular laws and to implement Islamic law. However, the biggest political force opposing Shah's regime was National Front led by Mohammad Mossadeq reflecting the strength of modern nationalism that more secular at that time. Islamic groups became part of opposition which basically was led by Mossadeq³¹.

In the 1962-1963, Ayatollah Khoemeni, a radical person, thought that religion and politics was a side that could not be separated. He came as anti-governmental voice among minority of scholars. He considered that Islam and Iran were in danger and their power was weakened. Western modernization program conducted by Shah (particularly land law reform and women's suffrage) and closely bonding between Iran and the United States, Israel and multinational

³¹ It's like Tobacco protest action, Mossadeq brought coalition against Shah who gave oil concession to the United Kingdom and economic dependence in Iran, as well as explained the measures of nationalization to Anglo- Iranian Oil Company that belong to United Kingdom. As already mentioned in advance, this dispute led Shah fled into exile in Rome in 1953. However, he returned to Iran six days later with the helping of the United Kingdom and especially, the United States.

companies seen as a threat for Islam, Muslim's life and national independence of Iran³².

The clashes happened in Qum (March 22, 1963) and Mashad (June 3, 1963) leading to Khomeini were arrested on June 4, 1963. The social demonstrations led by Scholars in major cities were cruelly crushed. Khomeini was exiled to Turkey in 1964 and moved to Iraq in 1965 and later to France in 1968. Through Khomeini's departure, Mohammad Reza Shah considered that there was no longer problem for him in Iran. But, in his exile, Khomeini continued to teach and write. For example, *Hokumāti Islami* and loudly talked about his opposition toward Shah and condemned its policies which was "not in line with Islam". The tapes and pamphlets contained Khomeini's speech smuggled into Iran and disseminated through the mosques. Islamic ideologies that were holistic, showing Islam as a comprehensive and perfect way of life, could give guidance in socio-political life. Although the opposition was based on the traditional scholars who had longstanding to overthrow the monarchy, but in fact, the opposition contained of many innovations. In this case, Khomeini's struggle was the most radical of scholar's responsibility expression.

Mehdi Bazargan was another scholar who also laid to the revolution. In his speech in 1962, he stated that the involvement of scholars in actively politics could be searched it's basic in al-Qur'an and Shī'ah religious tradition. The religious claims then became the basis of mass movement in opposition to the Shah's regime. On a

³² Dilip Hilo, *op cit.*, p. 400

In a chaotic situation, Khomeini was rumored to return to Iran in January 25th, 1979. But in fact, his return delayed until early of February. He returned from his exile by tense, because previously there was a threat that the plane that took him home would be shot. Khomeini, whom heard the news, then took a regular aircraft operations keeping confidential and accompanied by dozens of international journalists, so the military could not do anything.

In Iran, 5-6 million people came together to welcome his return. For the Iranian people, Khomeini was a hero. Khomeini then delivered a speech under the point that the rule of Shah was illegal, because it was not in accordance with Islamic law, particularly Islam Shī'ah.

Since the arrival of Khomeini, the atmosphere was getting worse. The physical resistance between army and Khomeini's supporters happened anywhere. Iranian Revolution truly got victory when Shahpur Bachtiar, the Prime Minister resigned and handed Iranian government to Khomeini. His appointment itself along with the endorsement of the State Council appointed before Shah went to the U.S. Their jobs were to defend and to seek back Shah as Iran's commander⁴⁴. Before Bachtiar resigned, in February 3rd 1979, in front of international journalists, Khomeini announced his plans for the formation of Revolutionary Council and asked him to resign.

On this occasion, Khomeini emphasized again that the Shah and his government, including Bachtiar's administration was currently illegal. His government opposed with Iranian constitution that including Shiite Islamic laws and State constitution that was agreed in

⁴⁴ Nasir Tamara, *op cit.*, p. 225

In December 31st, General Azhari resigned from Prime Minister. The military violence did by the army started back. A dozen cities in Iran was being the target of their anger. The doctors then wrote a letter to the United Nations, in order to stop the violence happened in Iran.

A day after Azhari's resign, Shah then appointed Shapour Bachtiar as being Prime Minister⁴². In January 6th, after officially gained his position, Shapur Bachtiar then took strategic steps; the dissolution of SAVAK, giving press freedom, even convinced Shah to go out of the country until the crisis over⁴³. Finally, Shah decided to go out of the country. But before leaving Iran, he made State Council in January 13th. The Council amounted to 9 people and some of them were Shah's trusty person. It was intended that Shah could return to the lead over Iran when he returned and the crisis had been ages. In January 16th, after the State Council officially appointed, Shah went to Los Angeles. His return to the U.S. was welcomed by demonstration of Iranian people who were there.

The appointment of Shapur Bachtiar did not make the Government in Iran worked better. Although all of people's demands were being obeyed, as the erase of war law, stop oil sale to Israel and South Africa, as well as the demands about human rights. In January 19th 1979, millions of people protested, the demand was to resign Shapur Bachtiar and asked Khomeini to lead Iran. The unrest happened everywhere when Shapur Bachtiar told to media that he would not resign.

⁴² The raising of Shapur Bachtiar caused there was no one who wants to replaced the previous Prime Minister, Azhari.

⁴³ Sarbini, *op cit.*, p. 137

stretch of 1970s, Pahlevy's regime was increasingly in arbitrary from previous period. Military forces and secret police were the figures that being feared and hated at all, once because they launched an investigation, intimidation, imprisonment, torture, and killing of Shah's regime enemies³³.

The insurrectionist, not only criticized the government because of its dictatorial, but also the regime was incapable on managing the economy in right. The enormous of state revenue from oil sector used up to buy weapons for personal gain and a small group of elite government, while the inflation rate lowering living standard of most trader, artisan (craftsman) and factory laborers. Most of society lived in misery, especially because of the foreclosures, fines, and imprisonment. At the same time, in the 1970s was a period of famine for most farmer community. Millions of farmers left their villages to move to the cities, where they formed the ranks of jobless and oppressed masses³⁴.

Throughout the 1970s, the opposition to the Shah developed increasingly. The lack of political participation, the weakening of national autonomy because of greater dependency towards the west and loss of identity of the society, religious-cultural fostered disappointment that crossed political and religious differences. The issues concerning belief and identity, political participation and also

³³ Among those who had experienced it, i.e. Ahmadzadeh, founder of Marxist Feda'iyani Khalq, who faced a firing squad of the Shah on March 8, 1972. There was also Hamid Takovali and Saeed Ariyah, both of them was prominent of Marxist Feda'iyani Khalq, who was killed by security forces in the winter of 1971/1977

³⁴ Rere Zaskia, *op cit.*, p. 18

social justice became the discourse of the opposition. The scholars were visited by many secular scholars and Islamic scholars, because their opinions were very influential among intellectuals and students. Especially, from a historical point of view, their opinion about the dangers of nationalism and cultural alienation in Iran had gotten a wide response in many circles, whether secular-religious, traditionalists-modernists, the laity as well as the scholars.

The interpretation of Ali Shari'ati on the Islamic problem, as Catholic liberation theology in America Latin, had combined religion with third world socialist views. Shari'ati stressed that the collapse of western imperialism in Iran demanded national identity and religious culture of Islam in Iran. His vision was the focus of unity or national identity as well as social justice to break away of handling of imperialism world, including multinational companies, cultural imperialism, racism, class exploitation, and class difference *weststruckness*.

Political condition in Iran during Shah's regime, according to Shari'ati was western shadow's land which was a country that had no longer identity and experienced westernization in all of living aspects. Westernization according to Ali Shari'ati was all modernization projects had been done by Shah's regime in all facets of life in the community and the nation of Iran. Modernization in the renewal of economic, socio-cultural, educational, defense and security were the edges of secularization in society and life in Iran. Although Iran was formally confirmed its true identity as a state based on Islam-Shi'ah, but in reality was really far from Islamic basic principles.

politicians regarded that a government that was formed without approval of Khomeini would be useless⁴¹.

For the following days, demonstrations began to diminish, but work stoppages continued. The labor or worker class had significant roles in a series of resistance in the 1978-1979. The work stoppages strengthened in Abadan and BehShahr. The direct action of oil labor made Iran's economy getting decreased. This action caused a loss up hundreds of millions dollars. Shah's own party threatened to shoot workers had appeared it, but this threat was ignored by the workers and they continued to make it. The strike occurred in other sectors also, such as driver, officer transport, until finally the doctors and nurses involved in the strike action.

The economic demands of the workers were quickly transformed into political demands. Then the oil workers of Ahwaz held a strike, followed by non-oil labor in Khuzistan that joined the strike in late September. The labor of oil movement was a privileged group of working class, because they had most rolled in resigning the regime. When the rhythm of movement being intensified and extended a strike, his character also began to change. All fields of the new work was drawn into the struggle: the workers in public sector, teachers, doctors, hospital employees, clerk, post official clerk, sellular company and station of television, as well as the officers of company, railroad transportation, domestic airport and bank, all of them joined in the wave of giant churns.

⁴¹ Nasir Tamara, *op cit.*, p. 196

Almost of Iranian people who consist of different background and political fractions gathered in that demonstration act. The secular groups, among others were represented by National Front and members of Tudeh Party synergized with Islamic-oriented groups, who were represented by supporters of Imām Khomeini and Ali Syariati. The workers-professionals, teachers-students, lecturers-students, farmers-fishermen, all of them continued since 1978 to February 1979 to against Muhammad Reza Shah.

Imām Khomeini kept pumping the spirit of resistance from his exile place. He routinely sent political speeches containing diatribes to Shah and his Islamic Shī'ah's thought about the concept of ideal leader for giving the spirit of the masses in opposite of the regime. The speeches were delivered in the form of cassette, recordings and pamphlets that were brought to Iran by Khomeini's agent. Khomeini then truly became an Idol to the demonstrators, especially after Ali Shari'ati died in 1977. So practically, Khomeini was a wish figure for resistance.

The doctor's movement in December 15th brought a new phenomenon in Iran. The soldiers began to dare to violate the orders of his superiors. Many of them were desertion. Even, they sabotaged the whole order of his superiors. However, Shah began to worry because of the situations. He tried to find a way out by forming a civilian government, but later it was rejected by politicians. All of

The ideas of Mehdi Bazargan, Jalal Ahmad and Ali Shari'ati had influenced generation of students and scholars. They came from traditionalist group and modern middle class in whom many of them graduated from secular universities in the science and engineering field. Most of them came from urban areas or those who came from villages that had moved into the city to obtain higher education and jobs. The students and young professionals who had Islamic-oriented joined with the scholars. So their coming in the waves of popular resistance against Shah was represented in the spectrum of ideologies and profession, including the writer, poet, journalist, Professor and students, liberal and nationalist Marxist group, secularists, traditionalist, and modernist.

D. Iranian Revolution

Revolution of Iran was not the only revolution had ever happened in that country. In the earliest, during the Sassanid Dynasty, Iranian people also conducted the movement known as revolution of Mazdak. There was also protest action related to the special rights conferred by Nasir al-Din Shah for the United Kingdom government. This problem was called tobacco concession. In the end of Qajar's reign, there was a constitutional revolution driven by middle groups. According to Muhammad Ali Shah, constitutional revolution was to form a parliament for being involved in the government together with the King, so that the King's power could be restricted. However, Iranian revolution was a culmination of revolution occurred in Iran. This revolution took the shape and characteristics of original culture of

Iranian people, such as the Islam that concerning to Shi'ah teaching. Hence, many observers called this revolution as the "Islamic Iranian Revolution".

The historians surely have different argument about when was the beginning of the revolution and some factors leading to the whole of the opposition had been split such as the group of theologian, Tudeh Party, National Front, and Fedayen Mojahedin Khalq finding united place, so that, it became a great power to defeat Shah's regime that was backed by superpower state, like the United States as well as having the soldiers with formidable military capability, namely SAVAK. The following are the phases of resistance of the opposition groups, until their unity and struggle reached a peak on the outbreak of revolution in February 11th, 1979.

1. The Rise of Resistance

The signs of Pahlevy Dynasty's decline could be seen over the last two years since 1977. It included in the revolutionary process. For the first time, the physical resistance occurred in the holy city of Qom in October 7, 8, and 9 of January 1977. This incident was a society's reaction to the insult of government toward Khomeini. The Information Minister at that time, Darius Hamayan, through one of pro-governmental newspaper said that Khomeini was a homosexual and paid by the secret service of the United Kingdom to attack Muhammad Reza Shah. In this incident, at least 60 people were killed.

Before happening event in Qom, a mutiny against the Government had been done by Iranian people. Since Jimmy Charter became the President of the United States, his idea about human rights was being

2. The Ripe of Revolutionary Situation

During forty days occurred movement protests and demonstrations in the bigger scale, until reached its peak Muharram 10th, approximately in December 1st, 1978. There were hundreds even thousands of people gathered in the streets to commemorate the day of Assyura, the assassination's day of Imām Husein in the Karbala. While shouting "Allahu Akbar" continuously from mosques, houses and roads in different areas, was also accompanied by the demands to resign Shah from his position. The demonstration was actually a ritual ceremony turned into a riot after the army blocked the streets and fired around the demonstrators.

The government recognized that the victims of that event just hundreds of people, but according to Tehran people, total of victims reached more than 4.000 people. As a sympathetic response to this incident, on 11-12 of December 1978, Iranian people were nominated as National Demonstrations. Around 3 million people protested against the Shah. December 13th, Shah then commanded the soldiers to provide resistance toward the masses. This command was received excessively by the army, then in every corner of Iran, they forced people to support the Shah, if they rejected it, the army would burn them. The army's action then caused many victims. It made the doctors in Iran, whom formerly supported the Shah because of their high salaries, turned to against the Shah. The doctors also expressed their support and joined under the command of Khomeini⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ Sarbini, *op cit.*, p. 135

4th, the army attacked some students. As a result of such action, in the following days, the mass of demonstrators made massive destruction on the gambling center, stream bath, cinemas, entertainment venues, governmental offices and other locations across Tehran.

Mohammad Reza Pahlevy then started to talk because he considered that the military was no longer able to quell the demonstrations. He tried to suppress a movement by talking in the media about his reason for lifting the governmental military. Meanwhile, the Media argued that his statement was admission of his fault. However, Shah's speech did not make people stop the movement. In the evening, Ayatollah Khomeini through his speech from France said that the only path was the resign of Shah and erasing his regime from Iran's administration. As neither the Government nor the military, could not solve the problems in Iran.

The State then back to took the tough action. The government banned the newspapers for publication, the reporters were arrested, also and damaged printing machines. In the morning after the incident, employees who worked in the newspaper totally did striking. A few days later, this striking was followed by all ministries, banks, offices and other public facilities. A general striking was still continued even though the government threatening that they would fire a gun to them, if they did not work again³⁹.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187-188

discourse around the world. At that time, Iran also became the target of Charter's criticism³⁵. Charter's idea was the beginning for Iranian intellectuals to criticize Muhammad Reza Shah, who had committed violations of human rights. In the 1977, pamphlets and leaflets containing the critics against the Government began spreading invisibly, especially around the universities in Iran³⁶.

In June 1977, 92 artists sent open letter to Shah that demanded the freedom of thinking, writing and arguing. In the same month, three figures of National Front, such as Karim Sanjabi, Darius Furuhar and Shapour Bakhtiar criticized Shah about deteriorating economic conditions as well as the failure of some development projects. Front National which had been tightly-lipped over 25 years finally demanded to abolish the dictatorship of government, dissolution of single party, freedom press and also to release political prisoners. Their critics and demands had been heard throughout Iranian.

In July 1977, about 140 lawyers asked for closing of military prison and liberation of military prisoners. In October, the Union of writers and artists in Iran made cultural events under the theme of freedom held for 10 days and 10 nights, thousands people gathered in the Goethe Institute to participate in this event. It marked the birth of intellectual movement.

³⁵ The Charter's idea about human right then became the foreign policy of U.S. Iran, that in factual as a country that was heavily dependent on the U.S., inevitably must be comply with these policies so that the U.S. still help Iran. Then, Shah liberated 362 of his political prisoners in February, 1977.

³⁶ Nasir Tamara, *op cit.*, p. 147

The coming of Charter to Iran in the end of 1977 and early of 1978 had made an issue of human rights in Iran that was getting heavily discussed. But, eventually Iranian people were disappointed because Charter more impartial to Mohammad Reza Shah. A month after the coming of Charter, there was a demonstration in Tabriz, 100 people died and 650 people arrested and tortured. More than 120 lawyers publicized these events.

From that point, the courage to criticize the Government had been spreading throughout Iran. The role of the intellectual and National Front were replaced by scholars, because they had more control of masses. On May 2nd, 1978, for the first time, Ayatollah Syri'at Madari³⁷, the scholar who was considered as the moderate, suggested to the movement and infraction of the State's laws and imposed Islamic law.

To response to the growing of protest action in Iran, the Government announced the law of war (SOB) on 7th of September. From 06.00 a.m until 6.00 p.m, people were not allowed leaving home, and everybody who collide it, would be shot directly. Afterward, the law of war was announced on the radio and mass media in Iran. The twelve cities in Iran would be ruled by a military governor. Although there was a danger, the Scholars (mullah) kept instructing people to do rebellion. At this event, physical resistance between the soldiers and the military was inevitable. This event was known as "Black Friday". About 4.000 people killed in this incident.

³⁷At the time, Ayatollah Khomeini was in exile, so Ayatollah Shari'ah Madari was regarded as the highest religious leader in Iran.

On October 6th, the governance pushed Khomeini to move his exile from Iraq to France. This was Shah's effort to cut off communication between Khomeini and Iranian people³⁸.

Mohammad Reza Shah absolved 1.200 of political prisoners in October 1978, it was a form of his mercy at his anniversary celebrations. But, a lot of people commented that the reason of Shah was the intense demonstration. Testimony of the detainees about the troop's despotism subsequently published in newspapers. During the next three weeks, the press had an important role in informing demonstrations and strike in Iran.

Meanwhile, the name of Khomeini began to well-known in Iran. Through the tapes and his speech recorded from France or the phone which was then reproduced in Iran, Khomeini continued to support Iranian people. Tapes, pamphlets and leaflets containing ideas of Khomeini to conduct strikes, demonstrations and resigning Shah, had been widely circulated at that time. In October 10th, the newspaper Ettela'at printed her picture for the first, so that newspaper instantly could sell 1.200.000 exemplars, whereas usually it was only printed 300.000 exemplars.

On October 29th, Amol city, a small town on the Caspian Sea, which was famous as a quiet and prosperous city also occurred movements. All society in the city did rebellion along the streets against the government and army. Every day since October 15th to November 5th, thousands people gathered in universities for discussing about the Iran's future without any fear to the soldiers. In November

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 150