

IRAN

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
0a	IRN	-10		1	1	1800	10	7	1906	1	1	1
0b	IRN	-77	14	10	8	1906	2	21	1921	-77	-77	-77
0c	IRN	-88	5	2	22	1921	12	13	1925	-88	-88	-88
0d	IRN	-7	9	12	14	1925	3	21	1935	1	3	2
0e	IRN	-8	6	3	22	1935	9	16	1941	1	3	1
0f	IRN	-66	4	9	17	1941	3	2	1946	-66	-66	-66
1X	IRN	4	7	3	3	1946	8	19	1953	6	5	6
1O	IRN	-10	24	8	20	1953	1	17	1979	1	1	1
2X	IRN	-77	1	1	18	1979	3	15	1979	-77	-77	-77
2Xa	IRN	-88	3	3	16	1979	12	2	1979	-88	-88	-88
2O	IRN	-6	16	12	3	1979	8	3	1997	3	3	2
3X	IRN	3	6	8	4	1997	1	11	2004	6	4	6
3O	IRN	-3	0	1	12	2004	5	26	2004	5	3	3
3Oa	IRN	-6	5	5	27	2004	6	11	2009	3	2	3
3Ob	IRN	-7	10	6	12	2009	99	99	9999	3	2	2

PITF Problem Events:

- 1) 08/53-08/53 (ARC 08/53)
- 2) 10/77-12/92 (REV 10/77-02/79; ARC 01/79-01/82; ETH 04/79-08/85; REV 06/81-01/83; GEN 06/81-12/92)
- 3) 01/04-05/04 (ARC 01/04-05/04)

1X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: March 3, 1946 (withdrawal of occupation forces)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

The need for a supply route to aid Soviet forces in their resistance to the Nazi German invasion during the Second World War and fears that the ruler of Iran, Reza Shah, would provide crucial oil supplies to German forces triggered a coordinated invasion of Iran by British and Soviet Allied forces on August 25, 1941. Iranian defenses were quickly overpowered by the Allied forces and Reza Shah was forced to abdicate on September 16, 1941. His 21 year-old son Mohammed Reza Khan was named Shah the following day and agreed to rule as a constitutional monarch; the former Shah was forced into exile. Soviet forces occupied the north and British forces secured the oil fields in the south. Following the formal surrender of Japanese forces and the end of the Second World War on September 2, 1945, the provision for withdrawal of foreign forces contained in the 1942 Anglo-Soviet-Iranian Treaty was invoked, calling for complete withdrawal by March 2, 1946. Soviet forces were slow to withdraw and their support for the Tudeh Party and Azerbaijani and Kurd separatists in the north sowed general discord and regional rebellions in the aftermath of the war. The occupation also stimulated increasing activism and polarization among monarchists, republicans, and conservative Islamists over competing visions of the future Iranian state and, particularly, over the issue of oil nationalization. The March 7, 1951, assassination of the monarchist Prime Minister, Gen. Ali Razmara, signaled a shift of popular support away from the monarchy and toward the National Front opposition, led by Dr. Mohammed Mosaddeq. Mossadeq was elected prime minister by the Majlis on April 28, 1951, and the Nationalization Law was approved on May 2, 1951. Widespread unrest continued through early 1952 and martial law was imposed on March 30, 1952. Escalating rivalry between the Majlis and the monarchy led to a public announcement by the Shah on February 28, 1953, that he was leaving the country indefinitely; this triggered large

demonstrations, counter-demonstrations, and riots by supporters of the monarchy, the National Front, and the Tudeh. A coup plot was uncovered on March 1 leading to the dismissal of the Army Chief-of-Staff and the arrest of hundreds; Mossadeq pressed the Majlis to continue the special powers of the government and place further limits on the authority of the monarchy.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Monarchists* — Supporters of the monarchy included the traditional and Westernizing elite and, most importantly, the command corps of the armed forces. The monarchists largely favored continuing the Anglo-Iranian oil agreement.
- *Republicans* — Although created by the 1906 constitution, the *Majlis* (lower house of congress) exercised only limited authority under the weak and ineffective Qajar dynasty and no independent authority under the autocratic Reza Shah. The forced abdication of Reza Shah and the foreign occupation during the Second World War provided political space for the mobilization of the republican opposition as the National Front, under the leadership of Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq. The republicans adamantly promoted oil nationalization in the aftermath of the foreign occupation.
- *Conservative Shia Islamists* — The Shia clergy, led by Mullah Kashani, strongly opposed both Soviet and Western foreign influence in Iranian politics and they largely supported the republicans in the key issue of nationalization of oil production; they sided with the monarchists, however, in their support for the Shah.
- *Communists* — The Tudeh party drew support from the Soviet Union and became Iran's most organized and militant political group during the period of the foreign occupation, especially in the north and urban centers. Following an assassination attempt on the Shah, the Tudeh was outlawed, but it continued to organize active resistance to central authority.

10) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: August 20, 1953 (military coup)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Adverse Regime Change: August 1953

Tensions between the Mossadeq government and the monarchy had paralyzed parliament by early 1953 and reached the breaking point in mid-July 1953 when all the deputies associated with the National Front resigned, leaving only 23 sitting members in the Majlis (the Senate had been dissolved on October 23, 1952). Mossadeq held a public referendum on August 3 to dissolve the Majlis and call for new elections; the referendum was ignored by the opposition. Just before midnight on August 15, forces of the Imperial Guard attempted to arrest Mossadeq and key members of his government but were initially repulsed by forces loyal to the government. The Shah fled the country on August 16; prior to his departure, he issued an imperial decree naming Gen. Fazulla Zahedi as prime minister to replace Mossadeq. The period of parliamentary rule in Iran ended on August 19, 1953, when a military forces loyal to the Shah forcibly ousted Iran's embattled government and arrested Mosaddeq. Public demonstrations were immediately banned. The Shah returned on August 22 and quickly instituted absolute rule backed by a brutal, secret police (the National Intelligence and Security Organization, SAVAK). Relations with Britain were quickly mended and the oil nationalization dispute was resolved on September 14, 1954, with the granting of compensation to Britain for the oil nationalization and

an agreement to allow an International Consortium to control the distribution of Iranian oil on the world market. Iran joined the anti-communist Baghdad Pact on October 11, 1954.

Revolutionary War: October 1977 – February 1979

Beginning in October 1977 Islamic and political groups began staging massive demonstrations against Shah Reza Pahlavi's government. When repression failed to control the opposition, the Shah left the country in January 1979, leaving behind a nascent one-party state (Iran Resurgence party, Rastakhiz). The spiritual leader of the Islamist opposition, Ayatollah Khomeini, returned from exile with the stated intent of establishing an Islamic state in Iran. Between January and February 1979, militant forces loyal to Khomeini waged a successful war against the monarchists and security forces loyal to a republican, National Front government led by Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar that had taken over in a last ditch attempt to prevent an Islamist takeover.

2X) Date of Change to Factional-Autocratic: January 18, 1979 (abdication of the monarchy; collapse of central government)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

Adverse Regime Change: January 1979 - January 1982

On January 17, 1979, the Shah and his family fled Iran and a new National Front government was formed under the leadership of Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar, who called for the release of political prisoners and the unification of opponents to the Shah to form a government of national unity. Ayatollah Khomeini returned, but immediately rejected Bakhtiar's offer of a unity government and, instead, created his own central authority, appointing an interim prime minister, Mehdi Bazargan, and waging war against government security forces. Bakhtiar's provisional government collapsed on February 11, 1979, when the Iranian military withdrew its support.

Identify Main Factions: Same as previous factional period, March 1946-August 1953.

Changes within Factional-Autocratic Period:

2Xa) March 16, 1979 (transitional government) – In March 1979, fighting among Marxists, democratic reformers, and Islamist militants subsided and a provisional government dominated by Ayatollah Khomeini's supporters emerged. Khomeini divided governing duties between the Revolutionary Council, which had the power to pass laws, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, led by interim-Prime Minister Bazargan, which was empowered to administer the government. These bodies and the Assembly of Experts for the Constitution, also dominated by Khomeini's allies, began drafting a new constitution while forces loyal to Khomeini initiated a campaign of repression against leftists, republicans, and other opponents to Shia Islamic theocratic rule.

Ethnic War: April 1979 - August 1985

The Kurdish minority took advantage of the deteriorated security situation and revolutionary regime change in Iran and initiated a rebellion for regional autonomy in April 1979. The conflict continued through the early 1980s; fighting diminished in 1984 and the rebellion was effectively ended by August 1985.

2O) Date of Change from Factional-Autocratic: December 3, 1979 (new government; repression of opposition)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

On June 18, 1979, Khomeini's provisional government drafted a new constitution, which was substantially rewritten by the Council of Experts in November 1979. While the constitution was being drafted the provisional government, led by reformist Prime Minister Bazargan, resigned, leaving the Revolutionary Council to oversee the transition to the new constitutional government, which called for a Supreme Leader with extensive executive powers, an Assembly of Experts that elects the Supreme Leader, a 270-member parliament (Majlis), a Guardian Council with veto power over electoral candidates, and a weak president, elected every four years. Khomeini assumed the post of Supreme Leader on December 3, 1979. Abolhassan Bani Sadr, an independent candidate who won the presidential elections of January 25, 1980, was sworn in on February 4. Bani Sadr was impeached by the Khomeini-controlled Majlis on June 21, 1981, and was replaced by Mohammed Ali Radjai of the Islamic Republic Party (IRP); Radjai was assassinated in August 1981 and replaced by an Islamic cleric, Sayyed Ali Khamenei, also of the IRP.

Revolutionary War: June 1981 – January 1983

Between June 1981 and January 1983 moderates represented by the National Front, and conservatives represented by the Islamic Republic Party (IRP), used terror and repression tactics in their campaigns for political control. The Ayatollah Khomeini consolidated control over the polity and defeated the moderate forces using brutally repressive tactics against the dissident Muslims (led by the People's Mujahedin of Iran) and other opposition groups.

Genocide: June 1981 – December 1992

The Ayatollah Khomeini, faced with ongoing conflict over political control, consolidated his power by executing a brutally repressive campaign against dissident Muslims, rebel Kurds, and prominent Baha'i leaders.

2X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: August 4, 1997 (political reform; dual executive)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

Supreme Leader Khomeini died on June 3, 1989, and was replaced by then-President Seyyed Ali Khamenei. During this time, however, the office of the president had assumed substantial authority over the administration of the republic. The election of the president thus gained greater prominence despite being controlled by the more conservative Islamic clerics since 1981. The May 1997 elections brought a reformist cleric, Seyyed Mohammed Khatami, to the presidency. Khatami was formally sworn in as President on August 4, 1997. Despite repeatedly losing political clashes with the conservative Islamic clerics, Khatami's political reforms and the popularity of the moderates he represented were tolerated by the Khamenei-led, conservative

clerics and provided an effective, dual-executive system with an expanded electoral support base (theocratic and elected executives). Supporters of his moderate-reformist coalition won a majority of parliament in May 2000 elections and Khatami was reelected to the increasingly independent office of president in 2001 with over 78% of the vote.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Islamic Conservatives* — Conservative Islamic clerics, led by followers of Ayatollah Khomeini and represented in politics by the IRP, were the dominant political force in Iran until the death of Khomeini in 1989. Khomeini's replacement, Ayatollah Khamenei, did not command the degree of loyalty and cohesion afforded to Khomeini by the conservative clerics. The election of the reformist cleric Khatami as president in 1997 challenged their unity and constrained their authority. The conservative faction managed to maintain control of the Council of Guardians and the Expediency Council; it supported a strict interpretation of Islamic law.
- *Islamic Reformists* — A coalition of leftists, business leaders, intellectuals, and women, among other groups, joined together to promote a reform agenda and elect Mohammed Khatami as president in the landslide election of 1997. This group favored the weakening of the Supreme Leader's control over government and society, promoted economic reforms, and advocated greater freedom of expression, relaxation of Islamic law, and political liberalization within the tenets of Shia Islam.
- *Non-Islamist Groups* — Non-Islamist groups remained barred from political participation.

2O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: January 12, 2004 (executive coup)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Adverse Regime Change: January 2004 – May 2004

The U.S. defeat of the Islamic Taliban government in Afghanistan in 2001 and subsequent invasion of Iraq in March 2003 led to a resurgence of unity within the conservative faction in Iranian politics. On January 11, 2004, the Council of Guardians, dominated by the conservative clerics, barred nearly half of the 8,000 candidates seeking permission to stand in the forthcoming parliamentary elections (including about 80 incumbent reformist deputies); although the Council of Guardians reduced the number of barred candidates to about 2500, the decision to bar the reformist candidates was ultimately supported by Ayatollah Khamenei. On January 25 the parliament approved a bill to overturn the disqualifications of candidates, but the Council of Guardians vetoed the bill. On February 1, a third of the members of the Majlis resigned in protest and most of the reformist groups boycotted the elections, which were consequently dominated by the conservatives.

Changes within Autocratic Consolidation Period:

2Oa) May 27, 2004 (new government) – Parliamentary elections were held on February 20, 2004, and were dominated by conservative candidates due to the decision by the Council of Guardians to ban nearly all of the reformist candidates and the consequent decision by the reformists to boycott the elections. The new, Islamic conservative-dominated Majlis convened on May 27, 2004. President Khatami could not stand in the June 2005 presidential election due to

the two-term constitutional limitation. On May 22, 2005, the Council of Guardians ruled to disqualify all but six of the 1,014 presidential candidates, including the top reformist candidates; they later relented and allowed two reformist candidates, one of whom declined to run. The June 2005 presidential election was won by ultra-conservative candidate Mahmoud Admadinejad in a tight runoff race against former-President Rafsanjani.

3Ob) June 12, 2009 (presidential election) – A presidential election was held on June 12, 2009, which resulted in a victory for the incumbent President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad who enjoyed the backing of the conservative clerics. The secular opposition rejected the results and claimed mass fraud, triggering mass demonstrations. The opposition was systematically suppressed, although it has been allowed to remain organized.