

12. Historians emphasize the complexity and severity of the social, economic, and military crises in a war-torn nation to explain the rise of Bolsheviks to power. Their appeal certainly came in part from their Marxist ideology, but their ability to portray reality convincingly was crucial. While the Provisional Government stressed the "rule of law" as well as the virtues of civil liberties and continued to work for victory on the battlefield, millions of Russians struggled with insecurity, food shortages, and unimaginable hardships. Their style of government offered little to the poor masses but protected the interests of elites, thus enabling the economic relationships of bourgeois capitalism. Many were, therefore, willing to give up constitutionalism in the future for the promise of real change now, especially if that included serving the interests of workers and peasants.

13. Like the Lvov government in February, Lenin's regime began to rule in the middle of a disastrous war and a disintegrating economy, while struggling to strengthen and defend its hold on political authority. Overcoming such challenges would require the acceptance of a peace with Germany, followed by swift mobilization for a brutal civil war. The Bolsheviks' descent into authoritarian dictatorship and the implementation of their revolutionary agenda for transforming the former empire began in the final moments of World War I, and the consequences and impact of their revolution would profoundly influence the events of the twentieth century.

TEXT B The Islamic Revolution in Iran

1. To understand the political forces and factions which led to the 1979 Iranian Revolution one should begin with the post World War II period. Social and economic difficulties of this period had taken their toll on Reza Shah's regime (1926-1941) and this weakness had provided the opposition with the rare opportunity to expand its activities.
2. During the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi in Iran, educational and judicial reforms laid the basis of a modern state and reduced the influence of the religious classes. A wide range of legal affairs that had previously been decided by the Shi'ite religious courts were now either administered by secular courts or overseen by state bureaucracies, and, as a result, the status of women improved. The custom of women wearing veils was banned, the minimum age for marriage was raised, and strict religious divorce laws (which invariably favoured the husband) were made more equitable. The number and availability of secular schools increased for both boys and girls, and the University of Tehran was established in 1934, further eroding what had once been a clerical monopoly on education. Vast oil deposits were discovered in the country and petroleum revenues were to fuel Iran's booming economy for the next quarter of a century.
3. However, Reza Shah was selective on what forms of modernization and secularization he would adopt. He banned trade unions and political parties and firmly censored the press. His grandson, Shah Reza, continued to firmly silence any opposition with his secret police, SAVAK, which developed into an omnipresent force within Iranian society and became a symbol of the fear by which the Pahlavi regime was to dominate Iran.
4. The period 1960–63 marked a turning point in the development of the Iranian state. Industrial expansion was promoted by the Pahlavi regime, while political parties that resisted the shah's absolute power were silenced and pushed to the margins. In 1962 the shah introduced the land reform law. Under this program, the landed minority was forced to give up ownership of vast areas of land for redistribution to small-scale farmers. The former landlords were compensated for their loss in the form of shares of state-owned Iranian

industries. Small farmers and workers were also given a share in industrial and agricultural profits, and cooperatives began to replace the large landowners in rural areas as sources of capital for irrigation, agrarian maintenance, and development.

5. The land reforms were the beginning of the shah's "White Revolution," an ambitious program of social, political, and economic reform. Put in effect in 1963, these reforms eventually redistributed land to some 2.5 million families, established literacy and health corps to benefit Iran's rural areas, further reduced the autonomy of tribal groups, and advanced social and legal reforms that enhanced the liberation of women. In subsequent decades, per capita income for Iranians skyrocketed, and oil revenue fueled an enormous increase in state funding for industrial development projects.
6. The new policies of the shah did not go unopposed, however; many Shi'ite leaders criticized the White Revolution, claiming that liberalization laws concerning women were against Islamic values. More important, the shah's reforms diminished their power. The development of secular courts had already reduced clerical power over law and the reforms' emphasis on secular education further eroded the monopoly of the '*ulama*' in that field. Most importantly, land reforms initiated the breakup of huge areas previously held under charitable trust (*vaqf*) administered by members of the '*ulama*' and formed a considerable portion of that class's revenue.
7. In 1963 a relatively obscure member of the '*ulama*' named Ruhollah Musawi Khomeini—a professor of philosophy at the Fayziyyeh Madrasah in Qom spoke out harshly against the White Revolution's reforms. In response, the government raided the school, killing several students, and exiled Khomeini.
8. Land reform, however, was soon in trouble. The government was unable to put in place a comprehensive support system and infrastructure that replaced the role of the landowner, who had previously provided tenants with all the basic necessities for farming. The result was a high failure rate for new farms and a subsequent flight of agricultural workers and farmers to the country's major cities, particularly Tehran, where a booming construction industry promised employment. The extended family, the traditional support system in Middle Eastern culture, deteriorated as increasing numbers of young Iranians crowded into the country's largest cities, far from home and in search of work, only to be met by high prices, isolation, and poor living conditions.
9. Petroleum revenues continued to fuel Iran's economy in the 1970s. However, a decade of extraordinary economic growth and heavy government spending led to high rates of inflation, and the buying power of Iranians and their overall standard of living stagnated. Prices skyrocketed as supply failed to keep up with demand, and a 1975 government-sponsored war on high prices resulted in arrests and fines of traders and manufacturers, diminishing confidence in the market. The agricultural sector, poorly managed in the years since land reform, continued to decline in productivity.
10. The shah's reforms also had failed completely to provide any degree of sharing of power. The sole political outlet within Iran was the Majles, dominated by two parties, both of which were obedient to and sponsored by the shah. Traditional parties such as the National Front had been marginalized, while others, such as the Tudeh Party, were outlawed and forced to operate in secret. Protest all too often took the form of violent activity by groups such as the Mojahedin-e Khalq and Feda'iyān-e Khalq, organizations with both Marxist and religious tendencies. All forms of social and political protest, either from the intellectual left or the

religious right, were subject to censorship, surveillance, or harassment by SAVAK, and illegal detention and torture were common.

11. For the first time in more than half a century, the secular intellectuals, many of whom were fascinated by the populist appeal of Ayatollah Khomeini, abandoned their project of reducing the authority and power of the Shi'ite '*ulama*' and argued that, with the help of the clerics, the shah could be overthrown.
12. In this environment, members of the National Front, the Tudeh Party now joined the '*ulama*' in a broad opposition to the shah's regime. Khomeini had continued to preach in exile about the evils of the Pahlavi regime, and an increasing number of unemployed and working-poor Iranians—mostly new immigrants from the countryside, who were disillusioned by the cultural vacuum of modern urban Iran—turned to the '*ulama*' for guidance. The shah's dependence on the United States, his close ties with Israel and his regime's unsuccessful economic policies increased the influence of opposition propaganda on the masses.
13. In January 1978, angered by what they considered to be disrespectful remarks made against Khomeini in a Tehran newspaper, thousands of young *madrasah* students took to the streets. They were followed by thousands more Iranian youth—mostly unemployed recent immigrants from the countryside—who began protesting against the regime. The shah reacted with violence. Many people were killed by government forces in the ensuing chaos. Despite all government efforts, a cycle of violence began in which each death fueled further protest, and all protest—from the secular left and religious right—became unified under the mask of Shi'ite Islam.
14. During his exile, Khomeini coordinated opposition to ensure the shah's overthrow. In January 1979, the shah and his family fled Iran and on February 1, Khomeini arrived in Iran amid wild celebrations.
15. On April 1, following overwhelming support in a national referendum, Khomeini declared Iran an Islamic republic. Elements within the religious group quickly acted to exclude their former left-wing, nationalist, and intellectual allies from any positions of power in the new regime, and a return to conservative social values was enforced. The family protection act, which provided further guarantees and rights to women in marriage, was declared invalid, and mosque-based revolutionary groups known as *komitehs* (Persian: "committees") patrolled the streets enforcing Islamic codes of dress and behaviour, and enforcing the social conformity to the ideology of the revolution. Throughout most of 1979 the Revolutionary Guards, a religious militia formed by Khomeini, intimidated and repressed political groups not under control of the ruling Revolutionary Council and its sister Islamic Republican Party, both clerical organizations loyal to Khomeini.
16. The militias and the clerics they supported made every effort to suppress Western cultural influence, and, facing persecution and violence, many of the Western-educated elite fled the country. In time they suppressed most of the regime's left-wing and moderate opponents. The Assembly of Experts (Majles-e Khobregan), overwhelmingly dominated by clergy, adopted a new constitution the following month. Moderates, such as provisional Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and the republic's first president, Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, were steadily forced from power by conservatives within the government, thus, establishing a dictatorship of the religious leaders.

Writing Section (30%)

Planning (15 minutes) – Writing (50 minutes)

- You are going to write an essay of between 300 to 350 words in response to the following question.

What are two benefits to a person of obtaining a university education?

- Before writing your essay, you have **15 minutes** to write a plan on the opposite page.
- The box below lists some of the major benefits of having a university degree. It is provided to help you generate and develop ideas for your essay. You may use some of the ideas in the box in your plan, but this is **optional**. You will be graded according to:
 - how clearly you explain your ideas,
 - how fully you develop your ideas,
 - your use of language
- Your notes will **not** be graded.

- Finding a job
- Promotion at work
- Higher salary
- Having a good social status
- Making new friends
- Attitude of society to university graduates