

Paper from well managed forests and controlled sources کاغذ این کتاب از جنگلها و منابع کاملاً مدیریت شده تهیه شده است.



# يادداشتها

مقدمه

- Mayor's Special Events Task Group, "Operations Memorandum for the Shah of Iran Visit," November 11, 1977; Regional Director of National Capital Region to Director of National Park Service, "Demonstration Activity during the Visit of the Shah of Iran," November 16, 1977. Both in Carter Presidential Papers (CPP), White House Central Files (WHCF), Subject File, Countries, box CO-31, folder: CO 71 Executive, November 1–20, 1977, Jimmy Carter Presidential Library (JCL). Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President (New York, 1982), 433–34; Paul Valentine, "Shah of Iran's Friends, Foes Mobilize for His Visit," Washington Post (WP), November 13, 1977; Jonathan Steele, "Rent-a- Crowd for Shah," Guardian (Manchester), November 15, 1977; "Shah, Shifting Stand, Pledges to Oppose Increase in Oil Price," New York Times (NYT), November 17, 1977; Firoozeh Dumas, Funny in Farsi: A Memoir of Growing Up Iranian in America (New York, 2003), 111–15; Iranian Students Association in the US (ISAUS), Resistance, December 1977, pp. 7, 16, Iranian Students Association of Philadelphia (ISAP), Swarthmore College Peace Collection.
- 2. Joseph S. Nye Jr., Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics (New York, 2004), x; John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War (New York, 2005).
- Philip Coombs, The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs (New York, 1964).

Richard P. Garlitz, "Academic Ambassadors in the Middle East: The University Contract Program in Turkey and Iran, 1950–1970," PhD diss., Ohio University, 2008.

برای مطالعه در مورد دانشجویان بینالملل نک:

Liping Bu, Making the World Like Us: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century (Westport, 2003); Teresa Brawner Bevis and Christopher J. Lucas, International Students in American Colleges and Universities: A History (New York, 2007).

براى مطالعه در مورد ديپلماسى عمومى امريكا نسبت به ايران در طول جنگ سرد نك. Ramin Asgard, "U.S.-Iran Cultural Diplomacy: A Historical Perspective," al Na-khlah: The Fletcher School Online Journal for Issues Related to Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization (Spring 2010): 112-; Deborah Kisatsky, "Voice of America and Iran, 1949–1953: US Liberal Developmentalism, Propaganda and the Cold War," Intelligence and National Security 14 (Autumn 1999): 160–85; Ali Pasha Saleh, Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States (Tehran, 1976).

 Daniel L. Lykins, From Total War to Total Diplomacy: The Advertising Council and the Construction of the Cold War Consensus (Westport, CT, 2003); Kenneth Osgood, Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad (Lawrence, KS, 2006).

Joël Kotek, Students and the Cold War (New York 1996); Giles Scott-Smith, Networks of Empire: The US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France, and Britain 1950–70 (Brussels, 2008); Hugh Wilford, The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America (Cambridge, MA, 2008).

6. James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations (New Haven, CT, 1988); Richard W. Cottam, Iran and the United States: A Cold War Case Study (Pittsburgh, 1988); Mark J. Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran (Ithaca, NY, 1991); James F. Goode, The United States and Iran, 1946–1951: The Diplomacy of Neglect (New York, 1989); Goode, The United States and Iran: In the Shadow of Musaddiq (New York, 1997).

Stephen McGlinchey, US Arms Policies towards the Shah's Iran (New York, 2014). 8. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 349–55.

Martin Klimke's The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties (Princeton, NJ, 2010).

Jason C. Parker, Brother's Keeper: The United States, Race, and Empire in the British Caribbean, 1937–1962 (New York, 2008). Other examples include Christopher Endy, Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004); and Penny M. Von Eschen, Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

10. Carl K. Eicher, et al., An Analysis of US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education

(Washington, DC: Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, November 1976), 10–11 (hereafter, ACE, US-IranianCooperation in Higher Education).

- Emily S. Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945 (New York, 1982).
- James L. Gelvin, The Modern Middle East: A History, 3rd ed. (New York, 2011), chap. 5.
- William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, A History of the Modern Middle East, 5th ed. (Boulder, CO, 2013), xiii, 60–65, 71–78, 86–89.

۱۴. تحقیق در مورد نقش آموزش داخلی و بینالمللی در اصلاحات قاجاریه در این اثر انجام شده: Monica M. Ringer, Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Oaiar Iran (Costa Mesa, CA, 2001).

Reza Arasteh, "The Education of Iranian Leaders in Europe and America," International Review of Education 8, nos. 3–4 (1962): 444–47; Arateh, Education and Social Awakening in Iran, 1850–1960 (Leiden, 1969); Hafez Farman Farmayan, "The Forces of Modernization in Nineteenth Century Iran: A Historical Survey," in Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century, ed. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Chicago, 1968), 120–26; Nikki R. Keddie, Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT, 2006), 40–41, 91; David Menashri, Education and the Making of Modern Iran (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 23–24, 46–58, 79–83, 125–34; Roy Mottahedeh, The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran (Oxford, 2004), 65; Ringer, Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran; Steven R. Ward, Immortal: A Military History of Iran and Its Armed Forces (Washington, DC, 2009), 147.

- John Lorentz and John Wertime, "Iranians," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA, 1980), 521–24.
- 17. Betty S. Anderson, The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education (Austin, 2011); Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan," in Saleh, Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States, 155–234; Sattareh Farman Farmaian, Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem through the Islamic Revolution (New York, 1992), 56–60, 73–75; Kamyar Ghaneabassiri, "U.S. Foreign Policy and Persia, 1856–1921," Iranian Studies 35 (Winter–Summer 2002): 148–51; James F. Goode, "A Good Start: The First American Mission to Iran, 1883–1885," Muslim World 74 (April 1984): 100.

اول قرن بيستم ميشود:

Thomas LaFargue, China's First Hundred 167 (Pullman, WA, 1942); Hongshan Li, U.S.-China Educational Exchange: State, Society, and Intercultural Relations, 1905–1950 (New Brunswick, NJ, 2008); Weili Ye, Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900–1927 (Stanford, CA, 2001).

- Paul A. Kramer, The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006).
- 20. Bevis and Lucas, International Students in American Colleges and Universities, chap.3; Bu, Making the World Like Us, chaps. 2, 3; Akira Iriye, Cultural Internationalism and World Order (Baltimore, 1997), chap. 2; Institute of Pacific Relations, "Ploughing the Field of International Educational Relationships: A Memorandum upon the Origin, Organization and Activities of the Institute of International Education," News Bulletin (April 1928): 3–8.
- Akira Iriye, The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, vol. 3: The Globalizing of America, 1913–1945 (New York, 1993), 155.
- Frank A. Ninkovich, The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938–1950 (New York, 1981); Justin Hart, Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy (New York, 2013);
   J. Manuel Espinosa, Inter-American Beginnings of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy, 1936–1948 (Washington, DC: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, 1976).

۲۳. فرانک رابر تز، همتای بریتانیایی کنان در مسکو، با این موضوع موافق بود. "The Kennan 'Long Telegram,' "February 22, 1946, and "The Roberts Cables," March 17, 1946, in Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts 'Long Telegrams' of 1946, ed. Kenneth M. Jensen, rev. ed. (Washington, DC, 1993), 26, 55-56.

- 24. Christopher P. Loss, Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century (Princeton, NJ, 2012), 126; John Connelly, Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945–1956 (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000).
- Harry Truman, "Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors," April 20, 1950, American Presidency Project (APP).
- Laura A. Belmonte, Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War (Philadelphia, 2008).
- 27. Bevis and Lucas, International Students in American Colleges and Universities, 103–7; Sam Lebovic, "From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism, 1945–1950," Diplomatic History 37 (April 2013): 280–312; Loss, Between Citizens and the State, 124–26, 128–31.
- Saleh, Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States, 100; ACE, US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 65.
- 29. Special Report, U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and

Cultural Affairs, "Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange between the United States and Countries in the Middle East," March 1977, p. 50, Manuscript Collection 468: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (CU), group 3, series 1, box 105, file 13, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections.

- Michael Latham, Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and 'Nation Building' in the Kennedy Era (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000); Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times (New York, 2005).
- 31. W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (New York, 1960); David Milne, America's Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War (New York, 2008). The seminal texts on modernization theory in the Middle East are Manfred Halpern, The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa (Princeton, NJ, 1963); Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven, CT, 1968); Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (New York, 1958).

33. Menashri, Education and the Making of Modern Iran, 11.

velopment and U.S.-Indonesian Relations (Stanford, CA, 2010).

ריב. אונף את (בער וויד: Westad ש Latham) איז. שאנף את (דון רויש: Westad ש Latham) איז. שאנף את (בער וויד: Nick Cullather, The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia (Cambridge, MA, 2010); David Ekbladh, The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order (Princeton, NJ, 2010); David C. Engerman, Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development (Cambridge, MA, 2003); Nils Gilman, Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America (Baltimore, 2003).

- 35. Michael Latham, The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present (Ithaca, NY, 2011), 143–52; Matthew F. Jacobs, Imagining the Middle East: The Building of an American Foreign Policy, 1918–1967 (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011), 180–85; Roland Popp, "An Application of Modernization Theory during the Cold War? The Case of Pahlavi Iran," International History Review 30, no. 1 (2008): 76–98.
- Fred Halliday, Iran: Dictatorship and Development (New York, 1979); Ali Mirsepassi, Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran (New York, 2000).

Cyrus Schayegh, "Seeing Like a State': An Essay on the Historiography of Modern Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (February 2010): 37–61.

Ben Offiler, US Foreign Policy and the Modernization of Iran: Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and the Shah (New York, 2015).

- 37. ACE, US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 14-15.
- Overseas Consultants, Inc., Report on Seven Year Development Plan for the Plan Organization of the Imperial Government of Iran, vols. 2–3 (New York, 1947), 2:127, 3:73.
- U.S. Information Agency (USIA), "Iranian Education—Target of Opportunity,"
   [1954], Records of the Agency for International Development and Predecessor Agencies, RG 469, Iran Subject Files 1951–61, box 10, folder: Iran—Education 1954, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).
- 40. Clarence Hendershot, Politics, Polemics, and Pedagogs (New York, 1975), chap. 9.
- Leonard Binder, Iran: Political Development in a Changing Society (Berkeley, CA, 1962), 92.

44. Carol Anderson, Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955 (New York, 2003); Mark Philip Bradley, The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century (New York, 2016); Elizabeth Borgwardt, A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights (Cambridge, MA, 2005); Barbara Keys, Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution in the 1970s (Cambridge, MA, 2013); Samuel Moyn, The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History (Cambridge, MA, 2010); William Michael Schmidli, The Fate of Freedom Elsewhere: Human Rights and U.S. Cold War Policy toward Argentina (Ithaca, NY, 2013); Sarah B. Snyder, Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Net-

(Berkeley, CA, 1999), chap. 2.

work (New York, 2011).

see Kelly J. Shannon, "Veiled Intentions: Islam, Global Feminism, and U.S. Foreign Policy since the Late 1970s," PhD diss., Temple University, 2010.

46. Ofira Seliktar, Failing the Crystal Ball Test: The Carter Administration and the Fundamentalist Revolution in Iran (Westport, CT, 2000), chap. 3; Luca Trenta, "The Champion of Human Rights Meets the King of Kings: Jimmy Carter, the Shah, and Iranian Illusions and Rage," Diplomacy and Statecraft 24, no. 3 (2013): 476–98; Javier Gil Guerrero, The Carter Administration and the Fall of Iran's Pahlavi Dynas-

- ty: US-Iran Relations on the Brink of the 1979 Revolution (New York, 2016), chap. 3.
- On circularity and cosmopolitanism, see Hamid Dabashi, Iran without Borders: Towards a Critique of the Postcolonial Nation (New York, 2016).
- Houchang E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin, eds., Iran's Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connection (New York, 2010).
  - ۴۹. پرواند آبراهامیان؛ ایران بین دو انقلاب، مترجمان: احمد گلمحمدی، محمدابراهیم فتاحی، نشر نی ۱۲۹۳
- Farman Farmayan, "The Forces of Modernization in Nineteenth Century Iran," 122–23; Nile Green, The Love of Strangers: What Six Muslim Students Learned in Jane Austen's London (Princeton, NJ, 2016).
- Mansour Bonakdarian, Britain and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906– 1911: Foreign Policy, Imperialism, and Dissent (Syracuse, NY, 2006).

- David R. Collier, Democracy and the Nature of American Influence in Iran, 1941–1979 (Syracuse, NY, 2017).
- Confederation of Iranian Students National Union (CISNU), Was It a Plot to Kill
  the Shah or Is It a Conspiracy to Silence the Students? (West Germany, 1965), 6–7.
- 54. Afshin Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah (Costa Mesa, CA, 2002). For context, see Maziar Behrooz, Rebels with a Cause: The Failure of the Left in Iran (New York, 1999); Mehrzad Boroujerdi, Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism (Syracuse, NY, 1996); Houchang E. Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism: The Liberation Movement of Iran under the Shah and Khomeini (Ithaca, NY, 1990); Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi, "Between the Shah and the Imam: The Students of the Left in Iran, 1977–81," in Student Protest: The Sixties and After, ed. Gerard I. DeGroot (New York, 1998), 232–47.
- Jeremi Suri, Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente (Cambridge, MA, 2003). See also James N. Green, We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States (Durham, NC, 2010).
- Paul A. Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 33 (November 2009): 776.
- Ringer, Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran,
   5-6; Hamid Dabashi, Persophilia: Persian Culture on the Global Scene (Cambridge, MA, 2015).
- 58. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah.
- Peyman Vahabzadeh, A Guerrilla Odyssey: Modernization, Secularism, Democracy, and the Fadai Period of National Liberation in Iran, 1971–1979 (Syracuse, NY, 2010), xviii.

- 60. Barry Rubin, Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran (New York, 1980); Halliday, Iran. A more recent version of the "good intentions" thesis is Andrew Scott Cooper, The Fall of Heaven: The Pahlavis and the Final Days of Imperial Iran (New York, 2016).
- Louise Diamond and John McDonald, Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace (West Hartford, CT, 1996).
- 62. Liping Bu, Making the World Like Us, chap. 6, esp. 186-89.
- 63. Gerd-Rainer Horn, The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America. (New York, 2007); Klimke, The Other Alliance; Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds., 1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977 (New York, 2008); Arthur Marwick, The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958–c. 1974 (New York, 1998); Quinn Slobodian, Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany (Durham, NC, 2012); Jeremy Varon, Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies (Berkeley, CA, 2004).

Petra Goedde, William I. Hitchcock, and Akira Iriye, eds., The Human Rights Revolution: An International History (New York, 2012).

۱. ریشهها

- Epigraph: An "educated Iranian," quoted in James Wallace, "A Talk in Iran," Wall Street Journal, August 24, 1959.
   Emily S. Rosenberg, Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900–1930 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 183.
- Thomas Hubbard Vail Motter, The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1952); Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 18–20, 47.
- Louise Fawcett, Iran and the Cold War: The Azerbaijan Crisis of 1946 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Stephen L.McFarland, "A Peripheral View of the Origins of the Cold War: The Crises in Iran, 1941—47," Diplomatic History 4 (October 1980): 333–52.
- 4. Mark Hamilton Lytle, The Origins of the Iranian-American Alliance, 1941–1953 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), chap. 7, pp. 103–4. See also Halliday, Iran, 66, 77; Christopher O'Sullivan, FDR and the End of Empire: The Origins of American Power in the Middle East (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), chap. 4; Thomas M. Ricks, "U.S. Military Missions to Iran, 1943–1978: The Political Economy of Military Assistance," Iranian Studies 12 (Summer–Autumn, 1979): 163–93.
- 5. Daniel M. Green and Robert A. Denemark, "Cycles of Liberalism in the Twentieth Century," Humboldt Journal of Social Relations 25, no. 1 (1999): 43–50; Robert Latham, The Liberal Moment: Modernity, Security, and the Making of Postwar International Order (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). See also Siavush

- Randjbar-Daemi, "'Down with the Monarchy': Iran's Republican Moment of August 1953," *Iranian Studies* 50, no. 2 (2017): 293–313.
- Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, 250–61; Christopher De Bellaigue, Patriot of Persia: Muhammad Mossadegh and a Tragic Anglo-American Coup (New York: Harper Collins, 2012); Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 58–62.
- Ervand Abrahamian, The Coup: 1953, the CIA, and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations (New York: New Press, 2013), 9–14; Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 57–67; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 63.
- De Bellaigue, Patriot of Persia, 175–85; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 67–71; Kenneth M. Pollack, The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict between Iran and America (New York: Random House, 2005), 57–63.

Malcolm Byrne and Mark J. Gasiorowski, eds., Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004); Mary Ann Heiss, Empire and Nationhood: The United States, Great Britain, and Iranian Oil, 1950–1954 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Stephen Kinzer, All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror, 2nd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2008).

- Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 105–13; W. Taylor Fain, American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- National Security Council (NSC) 5504, January 15, 1955, Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) 1955–1957, vol. 12, doc. 291.
- Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, chap. 3; J. C. Hurewitz, Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension (New York: Praeger, 1969), 282–87; Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 73–80; Rubin, Paved with Good Intentions, 91–105.
- Yonah Alexander and Allan Nanes, eds., The United States and Iran: A Documentary History (Frederick, MD: University Press of America, 1980), 303–7.
- 14. Salim Yaqub, Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
- 15. Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah.
- "National Advisory Council (NAC) Working Group Paper—Iran," General Records of the Department of State (RG 59), lot 54D363, box 36, folder: 3.47, NARA; John Kenneth Galbraith, "A Positive Approach to Economic Aid," Foreign Affairs 39 (April 1961): 444–46.
- 17. "Contributions to Industrial Development and the Utilization of Native Leadership," Appendix A, Kenneth Heaton to Nasrollah Entezam, September 24, 1953, RG 59, lot 57D155, box 41, folder: Miscellaneous, NARA.
- 18. Ward, Immortal, 66-68, 115-19.
- 19. "United States Military Mission to Iran," attachment to Burton Berry to H. Freeman

- Matthews, March 7, 1952, RG 59, Central Decimal Files (CDF) 1950–54, box 4120, 788.58752-3/, NARA; Chester J. Pach, Arming the Free World: The Origins of the United States Military Assistance Program, 1945–1950 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), chap. 4.
- U.S. Embassy Tehran (US/Tehran) to Department of State (State), "Functions of the US MAAG in Iran," Enclosure 2 to Despatch 754, March 13, 1953, RG 59, CDF 1950–54, box 4120, 788.581353-3/, NARA.
- Monthly Report, October 1, 1950, Records of Interservice Agencies (RG 334), U.S. Military Mission with the Iranian Army and the Military Assistance Advisory Group to Iran (USMMIA/MAAG), Adjutant General Activity Report File, 1949– 53, box 3, NARA.
- Invitational Letter Orders, RG 334, USMMIA/MAAG, Adjutant General Publications File, 1951–53, box 5, NARA.
- "Final Report of Brigadier General Richard W. Whitney," [1964] RG 59, Records Relating to Iran (RRI) 1964–66, box 5, folder: Iran 1964 DEF 192--a, NARA.
- Abbas Milani, Eminent Persians: The Men and Women Who Made Modern Iran, 1941—1979, 2 vols. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 1:490–91.
- Harry Truman, "Inaugural Address," January 20, 1949, APP; Garlitz, "Academic Ambassadors in the Middle East," 25–27; Jahangir Amuzegar, Technical Assistance in Theory and Practice: The Case of Iran (New York: Praeger, 1966).
- 26. William E. Warne, Mission for Peace: Point 4 in Iran (Bethesda: Ibex, 1999), 23.
- 27. Enclosure to US/Tehran 87 to State, "Department's Policy on Economic Aid to Iran,", February 25, 1950, RG 59, lot 54D363, box 37, folder: 3.01, NARA; Memorandum of Conversation (MemCon), "U.S. Aid for Iran," February 27, 1950, RG 59, lot 54D363, box 37, folder: 3.441, NARA.
- Haldore Hanson, "OCI and Point IV," February 20, 1950, RG 59, lot 54D363, box 37, folder: 3.441, NARA.
- 29. Harry Truman, "Address at Brigham Young University," October 6, 1952, APP.
- 30. State, "Technical Cooperation, Rural Improvement: Agreement between the United States of America and Iran," October 19, 1950, State Publication 4045, RG 469, Country Files 1950–53, box 5, folder: Point IV—Iran, NARA; Alexander and Nanes, *The United States and Iran*, 211–12; Franklin S. Harris, "The Beginnings of Point IV Work in Iran," *Middle East Journal* 7 (Spring 1953): 222–23; US/Tehran, "Point IV in Iran," March 15, 1952, RG 469, Iran Subject Files (ISF) 1951–61, box 20, folder: Iran—Point IV, NARA; Warne, *Mission for Peace*, esp. 273.
- 31. Richard P. Garlitz, "U.S. University Advisors and Education Modernization in Iran, 1951–1967," in *Teaching America to the World and the World to America*, ed. Richard Garlitz and Lisa Jarvinen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 197–204; *Iran and Utah State University: Half a Century of Friendship and a Decade of Contracts* (Logan: Utah State University, 1963).
- 32. Harris, "The Beginnings of Point IV Work in Iran," 223-24.

- 33. Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA), "Point 4 Technical Cooperation Program for Fiscal Year 1953: Iran," October 7, 1952, RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box 20, folder: Iran—Point IV, NARA; "Training of Point IV Trainees in Non-American Institutions," draft, June 8, 1950, RG 59, lot 54D363, folder: 3.441, NARA; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 107–8; Menashri, Education and the Making of Modern Iran, 145.
- US/Tehran, "Point IV in Iran," March 15, 1952, RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box 20, folder: Iran—Point IV. NARA.
- US/Tehran to State, MemCon, Grady and Mosaddeq, May 4, 1951, RG 469, Country Files 1950–53, box 5, folder: Point IV—Iran, NARA.
- John Evans to E. Reeseman Fryer, October 13, 1951, RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box
   folder: Iran—Administration— Joint Commission for Rural Development,
   NARA.
- Albion Ross, "Foreign Exchange Short, Iran Bars Travel Abroad by Her Nationals," NYT, December 31, 1951.
- 38. Alexander and Nanes, The United States and Iran, 243-45.
- 39. Ibid., 244–46; Warne, Mission for Peace, 177–78; "U.S. and Iran Sign 3 Point Four Pacts," NYT, April 16, 1952; "Iran Students Due in U.S.," NYT, September 13, 1952. "United States Technical Cooperation for Iran," January 1, 1953; "The Point IV Program in Iran as of July 1, 1952," both in RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box 20, folder: Iran—Point IV, NARA. US/Tehran to State, March 30, 1952, RG 59, CDF 1950–54, box 4108, 788.003052 3-/, NARA; US/Tehran to State, "Bingham from Warne," February 1, 1952, RG 469, Country Files 1950–53, box 5, folder: Point IV—Iran, NARA; US/Tehran to State, "Remarks Expressing Admiration of the Accomplishments of Point IV in Iran during the Fiscal Year 1952," July 3, 1952, RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box 20, folder: Iran—Point IV, NARA; Parviz C. Radji, In the Service of the Peacock Throne: The Diaries of the Shah's Last Ambassador to London (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1983), 1–2.
- 40. Monthly General Reports of February and March 1953, RG 334, USMMIA/MAAG, Adjutant General Activity Report File, 1949–53, box 3, NARA; US/Tehran to State, Enclosure 2 to Despatch 754; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 73–74. على رهنما؛ پشت پردهٔ كودتا: اوباش، فرصتطلبان، ارتشيان، جاسوسان. مترجم: فريدون رشيديان. نشرني.
- U.S. House of Representatives (House), Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mutual Security Act of 1954, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess. 569–70 (1954).
- 43. Osgood, Total Cold War.
- State Circular Airgram, "Foreign Student Problems in Western Europe," February 19, 1953, RG 59, Bureau of Public Affairs, box 70, folder: IranianStudents, NARA.
- 45. USIA, "Iranian Education—Target of Opportunity"; Nicholas J. Cull, The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), chap. 2.

- Binder, Iran, ch. 3; Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism and Other Writings (New York: Penguin, 2002).
- US/Tehran to State, "Annual Report on the Educational Exchange Program in Iran," August 9, 1958, Despatch 105, CU, group 16, box 318, file 5.
- 48. Binder, Iran, 144; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 151-58.
- 49. Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 76-77; Hurewitz, Middle East Politics, 285, table 9.
- 50. NSC 5402, January 2, 1954, FRUS 1952-1954, vol. 10, doc. 403.
- 51. Halliday, Iran, 64-67.
- 52. Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 111-13.
- 53. Hurewitz, Middle East Politics, 283-84.
- 54. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 20, 41. U.S. Operations Mission (USOM)/Iran to FOA/ Washington, "Training Grant," March 27, 1954, A-1146; USOM/Iran to FOA/ Washington, "Police Training for Gendarmerie Officers," May 8, 1954 A-1395, both in RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box 32, folder: Iran—Training, January–June 1954, NARA.
- 55. Yahya Eftekhar (Tehran Police Department) to FOA, Final Training Report, June 30, 1954; A. Herry-Tache (Iranian Police College) to FOA, Monthly Report, June 28, 1954, both in RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box 33, folder: Iran—Training—Public Administration, NARA.
- Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 115–16; State, Review of U.S. Technical Assistance and Economic Aid to Iran, 1951–1957 (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1957), 476, 474.

- (Delhi, IN: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), 233–61; Halliday, *Iran*, 78–79; William Shawcross, *The Shah's Last Ride: The Fate of an Ally* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 198–200.
- Jeremy Kuzmarov, Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation Building in the American Century (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 193– 200, esp. 195.
- Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 118; Hurewitz, Middle East Politics, 284.
- 60. Shawcross, The Shah's Last Ride, 198.
- 61. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 167.
- 62. Shawcross, The Shah's Last Ride, 200.
- 63. Burton I. Kaufman, Trade and Aid: Eisenhower's Foreign Economic Policy, 1953–1961 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Jeffrey Taffet, Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Latin America (New York: Routledge, 2007), 13–19.
- House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mutual Security Program, Pt. 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), 433–35, 489–91.

- 65. House, Mutual Security Act of 1954, 497.
- 66. FOA Acting Director to Rep. Joseph Holt, March 27, 1954; Ebrahim Nuban [on behalf of Iranian students in Los Angeles] to Harold Stassen, March 3, 1954, both in RG 469, ISF 1951–61, box 32, folder: Iran—Trainees, January–April 1954, NARA. Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission*, 155–56.
  - ادارهٔ امور خارجهٔ امریکا تا دو سال به فعالیت خود ادامه داد تا اینکه دولت دوباره از طریق آژانس همکاری بینالمللی در سال ۱۹۵۵ مسئولیت برنامههای کمکرسانی را برعهده گرفت. در سال ۱۹۶۱، آژانس توسعهٔ جهانی جایگزین آژانسهای کمکرسانی شد.
- 67. University of Southern California (USC), Seven Years in Iran: The Final Report of a Technical Assistance Project in Public Administration under U.S. Contract No. ICAC-1299, School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, June 1962; "SC Aids Iran in Resistance to Communism," Los Angeles Times (LAT), February 21, 1955.
- 68. USC, Seven Years in Iran; "Iranian Here to Brief SC Group on Job Needs," LAT, August 2, 1954. For context, see Ross Clayton, Elmer Kim Nelson, Chester Newland, and Cristy Jensen, eds., Futures of the Past: Collected Papers in Celebration of Its More than Eighty Years; University of Southern California's School of Policy, Planning, and Development (New York: iUniverse, 2010); Stephen Skowronek, Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), chap. 6.
- 69. USC, Seven Years in Iran.
- 70. Liping Bu, Making the World Like Us, 187; Walter L. Hixson, Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 8–9, 26–27; State, "Iran and United States Sign Agreement to Reactivate Educational Exchanges under Fulbright Act," November 26, 1957, Press Release No. 643, CU, group 3, series 1, box 107, file 3.

- Annual Program Proposal, U.S. Commission for Cultural Exchange between Iran and the United States, Program Year 1978, p. 1, and Program Year 1979, p. 1, MS Collection 703: Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), series 6, box 345, file 6, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections.
- 71. US/Tehran, "Semi-Annual Report on the International Educational Exchange Program," May 20, 1954, Despatch 774; U.S. Office of Education, "Survey of International Educational Exchange Program," 1958, both in CU, group 16, box 318, file 5.
- 72. US/Tehran, "Educational Exchange," November 27, 1956, Despatch 434, CU, group 16, box 318, file 5.
- 73. Scott-Smith, Networks of Empire, 41.
- 74. US/Tehran, Despatch 434.
- 75. Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah.

- 76. James C. Scott, Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 87–89; Cyrus Schayegh, "'Seeing Like a State; An Essay on the Historiography of Modern Iran," International Journal of Middle East Studies 42 (February 2010): 42–43.
- 77. Liping Bu, Making the World Like Us, chap. 6; Ford Foundation, "Our Origins: Presidents," and "Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program," Ford Foundation, Detroit, November 1949; Frances Stonor Saunders, The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters (New York: New Press, 2000), 138–44; Inderjeet Parmar, Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). 78. Simpson, Economists with Guns, 19; Juan Gabriel Valdés, Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School of Economics in Chile (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), chap. 8; Cullather, The Hungry World; Nicole Sackley, "Village Models: Etawah, India, and the Making and Remaking of Development in the Early Cold War," Diplomatic History 37 (September 2013): 749–78; Victor V. Nemchenok, "That So Fair a Thing Should Be So Frail': The Ford Foundation and the Failure of Rural Development in Iran, 1953–1964," Middle East Journal 63 (Spring 2009): 261–84.
- Joseph McDaniel Jr. to Abolhasan Ebtehaj, July 13, 1955, Ford Foundation (FF) records, Grants, PA no. 55–173, microfilm reel R-0811, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).
- Program Action Sheets, FF records, Grants, PA no. 58–158, microfilm reel R-0812,
   RAC.
- Harald Mehner, "Development and Planning in Iran after World War II," in *Iran Under the Pahlavis*, ed. George Lenczowski, (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), 167–69.
- George B. Baldwin, Planning and Development in Iran (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), 22–23, 198.
- Frances Bostock and Geoffrey Jones, Planning and Power in Iran: Ebtehaj and Economic Development under the Shah (London: Frank Cass, 1989), 27; Milani, Eminent Persians, 2:735–43.
- Mehner, "Development and Planning in Iran after World War II," 169–70;
   Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 131.
- 85. Baldwin, Planning and Development in Iran, 22-23, 45-46.
- John Adler, "Report on Economic Staff Requirements of Iranian Authorities," June 25, 1957, FF 55173-, microfilm reel R-0812.
- Alfred Wolf to Kenneth Iverson, July 19, 1957, FF 55173-, microfilm reel R-0812;
   Ebtehaj to Rowland Egger, September 12, 1954, FF 55173-, microfilm reel R-0811.
- 88. Khodadad Farmanfarmaian, "Report on Formation and Development of Economic Bureau," 1963, FF records, Unpublished Reports, Report Number 012037, box 19127, folder 1 of 2, pp. 15–16, RAC; Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:147–49. 89.

- Alfred Wolf to Kenneth Iverson, "Economic Bureau of the Plan Organization," December 6, 1957, FF 55173-, microfilm reel R-0812.
- 90. Farmanfarmaian, "Report," 23-26; Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:148.
- Thomas H. McLeod, "National Planning in Iran," December 31, 1964, FF records, Unpublished Reports, Report Number 006417, box 18808, p. 70, RAC.
- Morgan Sibbett to W. B. Gibson, "Periodic Report No. 5," September 12, 1956, FF 55173-, microfilm reel R-0812.
- 93. Farmanfarmaian, "Report," 16–18; Kenneth Hansen, "Supplementary Salaries for Economic Bureau Personnel" and attachments, April 4, 1959, FF 58158-, microfilm reel R-0812; Farmanfarmaian, in interviews by Habib Ladjevardi, November 10 and December 17, 1982, Iranian Oral History Collection, Harvard University (IOHC/HU); Milani, Eminent Persians, 2:754–55.
- Communications between Farmanfarmaian, Abbas Ghezelbash, and Harvey Hall,
   December 1957, FF 55173-, microfilm reel R-0812; Hansen, "Supplementary
   Salaries for Economic Bureau Personnel" and attachments.
- Request No. OD-152, July 26, 1957, FF 58158-, microfilm reel R-0812; Adler, "Report on Economic Staff Requirements of Iranian Authorities."
- 96. Farmanfarmaian, "Report," 19-22.
- Hansen, "Supplementary Salaries for Economic Bureau Personnel" and attachments.
- 98. Farmanfarmaian, "Report," 29–31, app. 1; "Program for Training of Members of Economic Affairs Division," January 4, 1961, FF 58158-, microfilm reel R-0812.
- 99. F. Skowronski quoted in McLeod, "National Planning in Iran," 48-49.
- 100. Farmanfarmaian, interview by Ladjevardi, IOHC/HU.
- 101. Kamran Mofid, Development Planning in Iran: From Monarchy to Islamic Republic (Wisbech, UK: Middle East and North African Studies Press, 1987), 47–59, quote on 58; Lyndon Johnson to Shah of Iran, November 28, 1967, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 250.
- Latham, Modernization as Ideology, 43–44; Paul Rosenstein-Rodan, Notes on the Theory of the "Big Push" (Cambridge: Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1957).
- 103. Kenneth Hansen to Edward Mason, and enclosures, February 15, 1959, FF 58-158, microfilm reel R-0812; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 168-69.
- 104. Abolhasan Ebtehaj, "A Program for Economic Growth," International Industrial Conference, San Francisco, September 1961, box 2, folder 11, James A. Bill Papers, College of William and Mary Special Collections.
- 105. Milani, Eminent Persians, 2:741–43; Marvin Zonis, The Political Elite of Iran (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 67–69.
- 106. MemCon, "Ebtehaj's View of the Iranian Regime," September 25, 1965, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy Files (CFPF) 1964–66, box 2333, POL 151- Iran, September 1, 1965. NARA.

- 107. US/Tehran to State, "Comments on Report of the Embassy Youth Committee," March 17, 1971, A-57, RG 59, Subject Numeric Files (SNF) 1970–73, box 2378, folder: POL 12 Iran, January 1, 1970, NARA.
- 108. Farmanfarmaian, interview by Ladjevardi, IOHC/HU; William G. Miller, "The 'New Men' and their Challenge to American Policy in Iran," [1965], RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 12, folder: POL 1 Iran 1965, NARA; Hansen, "Supplementary Salaries for Economic Bureau Personnel" and attachments; Farmanfarmaian, "Report," app. 1.
  - . براى مطالعه اى جامع در باب دوستان امريكايى خاورميانه، مراجعه كنيد به فصل ه. of Hugh Wilford, America's Great Game: The CIA's Secret Arabists and the Shaping of the Modern Middle East (New York: Basic, 2013).
- 110. AFME Annual Report, 1954–55, 5, 8; Display Ad 91, NYT, June 27, 1951; Marion K. Sanders, Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).
- 111. John E. Whiteford Boyle, "The Welcome Ordeal: An Aspect of Iran's Westernization Drive, 1957—62," Science and Public Policy 10 (October 1983): 241.
- 112. "How the CIA Turns Foreign Students into Traitors," Ramparts, April 1967; Wilford, The Mighty Wurlitzer, 236–37; Wilford, America's Great Game, 118–21; Jacobs, Imagining the Middle East, 216–17; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 128–29, n83–84.
- 113. Robert Witherspoon on Majid Tehranian, December 3, 1964, U.S. National Student Association (USNSA), International Commission Records, 1946–68, box 282, folder: Iranian, Hoover Institution Archives.
  - پوشهای که در اینجا به عنوان «ایرانیان» ذکر شده، بسیار بزرگ و رو به زوال بود. من این موضوع را به اطلاع آرشیوداران رساندم و آنها سپس محتویات این پوشه را به چند پوشهٔ کوچکتر با عنوان «ایران» و به ترتیب اعداد منتقل کردند. به طور کلی از آن به عنوان «ایرانیان»یادشده، زیرا در طول تحقیق من یک یوشه بزرگ بود.
- 114. "Lafayette College—In Creating Leaders for Persia," [n.d.]; Walter Groves, "Ancient and Fabulous Iran as That Country Is Today," *Lafayette Alumnus*, May 1945, 11, both from Lafayette College, Lafayette in Persia.
- AFME Annual Report, 1952–1953, 19; "Lafayette Aide Named," NYT, June 25, 1950.
- 116. NAFSA Secretary to Charles Hulac, February 4, 1952; Hulac, Report, March 1952, both in MS Collection 715: NAFSA, group 3, box 22, file 19, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections.
- 117. AFME Annual Report, 1951-1952, 17; AFME Annual Report, 1952-1953, 19.
- 118. Charles Hulac to Allen Blaisdell, March 4, 1952, NAFSA, group 3, box 22, file 19.

  ۱۱۹. تحقیقات ویلفورد موجب شد سندی متعلق به گارلند هاپکینز (Garland Hopkins)، معاون اجرایی سازمان دوستان امریکایی خاومیانه، به دست یکی از مآموران سازمان سیا مشهور به «استوبارت (Stobart) بیفتد. در این سند هاپکینز، هولاک را به استوبارت میسپارد. برداشت ویلفورد این بود که هولاک در حین فعالیت در سازمان دوستان امریکایی خاورمیانه در تهران،

- به طور مخفیانه برای سازمان سیا فعالیت می کرده. Wilford, America's Great Game, 239. به طور مخفیانه برای سازمان سیا فعالیت می کرده. 120. State, Review of U.S. Technical Assistance and Economic Aid to Iran, 1951–1957,
- 120. State, Review of U.S. Technical Assistance and Economic Aid to Iran, 1951–195 860–74.
- AFME Annual Report, 1954–1955, 24; AFME Annual Report, 1958–1959, 12–14;
   Wilford, America's Great Game, 121–22, 240–41.
- 122. AFME's Student Survey Program to Ford Foundation in "Grant Attachments," FF 55173-, microfilm reel R-0812.
- 123. AFME Annual Report, 1954–1955, 20. AFME followed in the tradition of the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students by establishing nationality-based student organizations in the United States. Liping Bu, Making the World Like Us, 17.
- 124. Avrea Ingram, "Clifford Gurney," March 23, 1953; Ingram, "Iranian Student's Association," March 23, 1953, both located in USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Iran 1949–61.
- 125. Feizollah Larudy to Ingram, December 21, 1952, USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Iran 1949–61; William McElwee Miller, My Persian Pilgrimage: An Autobiography, rev. ed. (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1995), 202–3.
- 126. AFME Annual Report, 1952–1953, 18; Meir Abdollah Tarighati to Ingram, June 6, 1953. USNSA box 220. folder: NUS Iran 1949–1961.
- 127. AFME Annual Report, 1953–1954, 20; Myrtle Williams to USNSA, August 14, 1953, USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Iran 1949–61.
- 128. "Foreign Student Organizations," USNSA fact sheet on the ISAUS, 1958, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; Farmanfarmaian, "Report," 18–19; McLeod, "National Planning in Iran," 57.
- 129. "Reports of the Study Groups, First Iranian Students' Convention," Denver, CO, September 1953, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 130. Ibid.
- 131. AFME Annual Report, 1953-1954, 20.

Manouchehr Ganji, *Defying the Iranian Revolution: From a Minister to the Shah to a Leader of Resistance* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 20–21.

- 132. AFME Annual Report, 1954-1955, 21.
- 133. AFME Annual Report, 1958-1959, 16.
- 134. AFME Annual Report, 1959-1960, 16.
- 135. British Council Iran to National Iranian Oil Company, draft, July 1957, CR 13423/, Records of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and predecessors (FO, or alternately, FCO) 9241183/, National Archives of the United Kingdom (NAUK). ایالات متحد نفوذ آموزشی بریتانیای کبیر را در مناطق دیگر از بین بر د.

ایالات متحد نفود ۱ مورشی بریتانیای کبیر را در مناطق دیگر از بین برد. See, e.g., Sally Ninham, A Cohort of Pioneers: Australian Postgraduate Students and American Postgraduate Degrees, 1949–1964 (Ballan, AU: Connor Court, 2011).

- British Embassy Tehran to Foreign Office, June 1, 1957, CR 13424/, Dispatch 68, FO 9241183/. NAUK.
- 137. U.S. Office of Education, Report on Iran, December 30, 1957; Despatch 434, both in CU, group 16, box 318, file 5.
- 138. US/Moscow to State, "Iranian Students in the USSR," December 22, 1967, A-852, RG 59, CFPF 1967–69, box 346, folder: EDU 6 Iran, January 1, 1967, NARA; US/ Moscow to State, "Iranian Students at Moscow's Friendship University," August 26, A-1431, 1970, RG
- 59, SNF 1970–73, Culture and Information, box 403, folder: EDX I, January 1, 1970, NARA. 139. State, Review of U.S. Technical Assistance and Economic Aid to Iran, 1951–1957, 158.
- 140. Wallace, "A Talk in Iran."

#### ۲. فرصت

- Epigraph: Ronald Story on Ali Fatemi, October 18, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
- Walter Lippmann, The Coming Tests with Russia (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), 16;
   Lippmann, "We Must Consider Alternatives to Our Present Policy in Iran," LAT,
   December 18, 1959; Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 132–33; Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 81
- Robert Komer to Carl Kaysen, January 19, 1962, National Security Files (NSF), Robert W. Komer (RWK), box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62, White House Memoranda, John F. Kennedy Library (JFKL).
- Robert B. Rakove, Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chaps. 1, 2; Goode, The United States and Iran; Latham, Modernization as Ideology.
- 4. Latham, The Right Kind of Revolution, 144-46; Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 80.
- Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 142; Baqer Moin, Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 64–73.
- Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 143–53; James F. Goode, "Reforming Iran during the Kennedy Years," Diplomatic History 15 (January 1991): 17; Keddie, Modern Iran, 140–43.
- Komer to President Kennedy, "The Deepening Crisis in Iran," August 4, 1961, NSF, Countries, box 116, folder: Iran General, August 1–14, 1961, JFKL.
- Editorial note, FRUS 1961–1963, vol. 17, doc. 41; NSC Record of Action 2427, May
   19, 1961, FRUS 1961–1963, vol. 17, doc. 51; "A Review of Problems in Iran and Recommendations for the National Security Council," May 15, 1961, Iran Task Force Report, NSF, Countries, box 115A, folder: Iran, May 15, 1961, JFKL.
- Latham, The Right Kind of Revolution, 146–47; Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 84;
   Hurewitz, Middle East Politics, 285, table 9; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 117–18.

 Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:63–71; Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 142–47; Rubin, Paved with Good Intentions, 105–6;

FRUS 1961-1963, vol. 17, doc. 51.

11. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, chap. 4; Goode, "Reforming Iran during the Kennedy Years," 25; Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 82–92; Latham, The Right Kind of Revolution. See also Ali M. Ansari, "The Myth of the White Revolution: Mohammad Reza Shah, 'Modernization' and the Consolidation of Power," Middle Eastern Studies 37 (July 2001): 1–24; Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, The White Revolution, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Kayhan Press, 1967).

Rakove, Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World, chap. 2; Simpson, Economists with Guns, 37–43; Richard D. Mahoney, JFK: Ordeal in Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

13. Goode, "Reforming Iran during the Kennedy Years"; Roland Popp, "Benign Intervention? The Kennedy Administration's Push for Reform in Iran," in John F. Kennedy and the "Thousand Days": New Perspectives on the Foreign and Domestic Policies of the Kennedy Administration, ed. Manfred Berg and Andreas Etges (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2007), esp. 204.

The Middle East and the Cold War: Between Security and Development, ed. Massimiliano Trentin and Matteo Gerlini (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), 105–27; Victor V. Nemchenok, "In Search of Stability amid Chaos: US Policy toward Iran, 1961–63," Cold War History 10 (August 2010): 341–69; April R. Summitt, "For a White Revolution: John F. Kennedy and the Shah of Iran," Middle East Journal 58 (Autumn 2004): 560–75.

- 14. Komer to Kaysen, January 19, 1962.
- 15. An exception is p. 133 in Bill, The Eagle and the Lion.
- 16. Robert R. Bowie and Richard H. Immerman, Waging Peace: How Eisenhower Shaped an Enduring Cold War Strategy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), chap. 5; John P. Burke, Honest Broker? The National Security Advisor and Presidential Decision Making (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), chap. 2; Andrew Preston, The War Council: McGeorge Bundy, the NSC, and Vietnam (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Thomas G. Paterson, "John F. Kennedy's Quest for Victory and Global Crisis," in Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961–1963, ed. Paterson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 16–20.

- Armin Meyer, Quiet Diplomacy: From Cairo to Tokyo in the Twilight of Imperialism (New York: iUniverse, 2003), 134.
- "The Current Internal Political Situation in Iran," attachment to George Morgan to McGeorge Bundy, "Iran" March 27, 1961, NSF, Countries, box 115A, folder: Iran General, March 21–31, 1961, JFKL.
- 19. Pahlavi, Answer to History, 146.
- 20. Matthew Shannon, "William O. Douglas," in The U.S. Justice System: An Encyclopedia, ed. Steven Harmon Wilson (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 494–97; William O. Douglas, The Anatomy of Liberty: The Rights of Man without Force (New York: Trident, 1963), xxv; Douglas, Towards a Global Federalism (New York: New York University Press, 1968); Risa L. Goluboff, "Dispatch from the Supreme Court Archives: Vagrancy, Abortion, and What the Links between Them Reveal about the History of Fundamental Rights," Stanford Law Review 62 (May 2010): 1361–94; Jules Lobel, "Justice Douglas the Internationalist: The Connection between Domestic Liberty and Foreign Policy," in "He Shall Not Pass This Way Again": The Legacy of Justice William O. Douglas, ed. Stephen L. Wasby (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 279–95; Bruce Allen Murphy, Wild Bill: The Life and Legend of William O. Douglas (New York: Random House, 2003).
- William O. Douglas, The Douglas Letters: Selections from the Private Papers of Justice William O. Douglas, ed. Melvin I. Urofsky and Philip E. Urofsky (Bethesda: Adler and Adler, 1987), 285.
- William O. Douglas, The Court Years, 1939–1975: The Autobiography of William O. Douglas (New York: Random House, 1980), 303.
- M. Kazemi to Douglas, May 16, 1952, Papers of William O. Douglas (PWOD), box 1718, folder 4, Library of Congress.
- William O. Douglas, Strange Lands and Friendly People (New York: Harper, 1951), 133–59.
- Douglas to S. Honari, November 5, 1958, PWOD, box 1719, folder 2. See also William Storm to Douglas, April 21, 1959, PWOD, box 632, folder 3.
- 26. Ali Shayegan to Douglas, April 7, 1959, PWOD, box 1719, folder 1; Joseph Treaster, "Ali Shayegan," NYT, May 16, 1981.
- 27. Douglas to Yousef Dejbord, February 11, 1952; Douglas, excerpts from speech at the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, April 7, 1952, both in PWOD, box 1718, folder 2; Douglas, *The Douglas Letters*, 281–82.
- Truman Library Photographs, Accession nos. 668015-66,8018-, and 668017-, Harry Truman Library and Museum.
- 29. Kinzer, All the Shah's Men, 194-95.
- Donald N. Wilber, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," CIA Clandestine Service History, 8:66, Electronic Briefing Book No. 28, National Security Archive (NSA); Abrahamian, Tortured Confessions, 99; Muhammad Sahimi, "Courageous

- and Principled: Journalists Isa Saharkhiz and Ahmad Zeidabadi," PBS Tehran Bureau, November 21, 2009.
- 31. Douglas to the Shah, November 9, 1954; Hussein Ala to Douglas, November 15, 1954, both in PWOD, box 1718, folder 4; Letter from the National Resistance Movement in Iran, December 1954, PWOD, box 1720, folder 3.
- 32. Nasrollah S. Fatemi, Faramarz S. Fatemi, and Fariborz S. Fatemi, Love, Beauty, and Harmony in Sufism (South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1978), back cover; "Dr. N. S. Fatemi," NYT, March 26, 1990; Fariborz Fatemi to Donald Emmerson, November 13, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 33. "Council Petition Backs Iranians," Bulletin, Teaneck Edition, October 3, 1961; Ali Fatemi to Harvey Flad, August 2, 1961, both in USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63; Ronald Story on ISAUS convention, September 18, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66; Karen M. Paget, Patriotic Betrayal: The Inside Story of the CIA's Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade against Communism (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 292.
- Carole Jerome, The Man in the Mirror (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1987), chap. 6;
   Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism.
- 35. Douglas to Patricia Lawford, September 24, 1968, PWOD, box 348, folder 3.
- 36. Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 60-61.
- Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Robert Kennedy and His Times (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), 569–70, 566; Paterson, "John F. Kennedy's Quest for Victory and Global Crisis," 17.
- 38. Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 141.
- 39. Douglas to President Kennedy, February 27, 1961, PWOD, box 348, folder 1.
- 40. Miller, "The 'New Men' "; U.S. Cultural Affairs Officer Iran to Julius Holmes, attachment to John Bowling to Komer, November 9, 1962, NSF, RWK, box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62 [folder 1 of 2], JFKL; N. Nemazee to Douglas, March 8, 1962, PWOD, box 1719, folder 4; Lucius Battle to John Rooney, February 20, 1964, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 397, folder: EDX Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA.
- 41. Donald N. Wilber, Contemporary Iran (New York: Praeger, 1963), 154.
- Laleh Ardalan and Kayvan Tabari, "The Ypsilanti Convention," Pendar (Autumn–Winter 1960–61); Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 38–39, 180–81n62.
- MemCon with Ali Fatemi, [late 1961/early 1962], USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63; Robert Witherspoon on Majid Tehranian, December 3, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
  - ۴۴. مأموريت براى وطنم؛ محمدرضا پهلوى، ۲۶۴. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 38–39.
- 45. Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 53–55; Qotbzadeh to Harvey Flad, August 11, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; "Riotous Evening at the Statler," Washington Daily News March 21, 1961; Rasa Gustaitis, "Iranian Student Demonstrations Spread in

- Row with Own Envoy," WP, July 9, 1961; British Embassy Washington to Foreign Office, March 22, 1961, EP 17415/, FO 371157655/, NAUK.
- Ali Fatemi, "Protest to a Fraudulent Act," February 24, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; Qotbzadeh to Harvey Flad, August 11, 1961; Jerome, *The Man in the Mirror*, 53.
- 47. Reza Valad, "Students of Iran," WP, April 7, 1961.
- 48. Sadeq Qotbzadeh, "Why They Protested," WP, April 17, 1961.
- 49. Ali Fatemi, "Iran's Regime Denounced," NYT, June 17, 1961.
- 50. Iranian Students Association (ISA) California, "Troubled Iran," LAT, May 15, 1961.
- MemCon, "Courtesy Call on the Iranian Foreign Minister," April 28, 1961, FRUS 1961–1963 vol. 17, doc. 37.
- 52. Ali Fatemi to Harvey Flad, August 2, 1961, USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63; Qotbzadeh to Harvey Flad, August 11, 1961; British Embassy Washington to Foreign Office, July 6, 1961, EP 174110/, FO 371157655/, NAUK; Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 59–61.
- Foreign Office to British Embassy Tehran, "Iranian Students Abroad," September 22, 1961, EP 174122/, FO 371157655/, NAUK.
- Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 151–52, 164; Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, 423.
- 55. British Embassy Washington to Foreign Office, July 6, 1961. On the U.S. protests, see "Iranian Students Stage Protest Sit-In at Consulate," NYT, July 6, 1961; "Iran Reviewing Passports Here," WP, July 6, 1961; "11 Iranians Stage Sit-In," Baltimore Sun, July 6, 1961; Thomas Wolfe, "Iranians Jailed, Freed in Row Over Passports," WP, July 11, 1961. On the West European protests, see "Iran Diplomat to Britain Met by Protesters," Chicago Daily Tribune, July 2, 1961; "Students Demonstrate as Envoy Arrives," Baltimore Sun, July 2, 1961; "Hold Students in Embassy Protest," Chicago Daily Defender, July 12, 1961.
- 56. "40 Iranians Picket White House," WP, July 26, 1961.
- 57. Iranian Students to President Kennedy, July 25, 1961, attachment to Bromley Smith to Lucius Battle, July 26, 1961, NSF, Countries, box 115A, folder: Iran General, July 1961, JFKL. The letter was circulated internationally and is also in EP 174120/, FO 371157655/. NAUK.
- Lyndon Johnson to ISA Washington, August 7, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 59. Fariborz Fatemi to Douglas, August 21, 1961, PWOD, box 1719, folder 4.
- President Kennedy to Douglas, August 4, 1961, WHCF, Subject File, box 59, folder:
   CO 123 Iran, Executive, JFKL.
- 61. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 50-55, 251-56.
- Matthew Shannon, "'One of Our Greatest Psychological Assets': The New Frontier, Cold-War Public Diplomacy, and Robert Kennedy's 1962 Goodwill Tour," *International History Review* 36, no. 4 (2014): 767–90.

- 63. Julius Holmes to Dean Rusk, November 21, 1961, NSF, Countries, box 116, folder: Iran General, November 10–December 10, 1961, JFKL; President Kennedy to the Shah, February 7, 1962, NSF, Countries, box 116, folder: Iran General, January 19–February 28, 1962, JFKL.
- 64. White Paper, December 1961, located in various archives, including the Robert F. Kennedy Papers (RFKP), Attorney General's Trips, February 1962 Good Will Trip, Correspondence Personal, box 7, folder: Tehran, White Paper on Iran, JFKL, and in USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63. Hussein Dootsmohamedi, "How Stable Is Iran?" WP, February 6, 1961; A Bill for the Relief of Sadegh Ghotb Esfehani, S. 2597, 87th Cong., 1st sess., RG 59, Records of the Iranian Affairs Desk (RIAD) 1958–63, box 7, folder: Student Activities, NARA.
- 65. Iran Nameh, November 10, 1961, RFKP, Attorney General's Trips, February 1962 Good Will Trip Briefing Books, box 2, folder: Ed Guthman Ring Binder no. 1, JFKL; "Student Critic of Iran Fears 'Return' There," Boston Globe (BG), January 16, 1962; Frank Crump, "The Deportation Case of Mr. Shafi Alhosaini," [1962], USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East Iran 1961–63.
- 66. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 146–47; Anonymous Tehran University student, "Violence and Bloodshed inside the University," Student 6, no. 4 (1962): 2–3, in USNSA box 22.
- "Iranian Students Picket U.N.," NYT, January 22, 1962; Paul Schuette, "Iran Students Stage 3-Hour 'Sit-In' at their Country's Embassy Here," WP, January 24, 1962; "Vienna Police Halt Iranian Student March," Chicago Daily Tribune, January 26, 1962.
- 68. Ali Fatemi to Robert Kennedy, January 19, 1962, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 69. Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 58–59; "Iranians See R. Kennedy," WP, January 27, 1962; Edwin O. Guthman and Jeffrey Shulman, eds., Robert Kennedy in His Own Words: The Unpublished Recollections of the Kennedy Years (New York: Bantam, 1988), 317.
- 70. "Iranians See R. Kennedy"; Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 59.
- Douglas MacArthur II to State, "Charges by Former Iranian Student Daryani...,"
   June 14, 1971, FRUS 1969–1976, vol. E-4, doc. 131.
- "Zahedi's Fiasco," Iran Nameh, March-April 1962, PWOD, box 1719, folder 3;
   Judith Martin and Winzola McLendon, "Iran Envoy Abruptly Recalled," WP,
   February 24, 1962.
- ISAUS/CISNU, "Iranian Students' Letter to President Kennedy," 1962, PWOD, box 1719. folder 3.
- "An Open Letter to the President of the United States," *Iran Nameh*, March–April 1962, PWOD, box 1719, folder 3.
- 75. "Visit of the Shah of Iran: Background Paper; Special Problems," =pril 2, 1962, NSF, Countries, box 117, folder: Iran Subjects, Shah Briefing Book, April 11–14, 1962, Tab 4–Tab 6 (8), JFKL.

- 76. Mansur Rafizadeh, Witness: From the Shah to the Secret Arms Deal; An Insider's Account of U.S. Involvement in Iran (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1987), 121–23; State to US/Tehran, March 23, 1962, NSF, Countries, box 117, folder: Iran Subjects, Shah Visit, March 21–24, 1962, JFKL; ISAUS Press Release, April 16, 1962, USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63.
- 77. Farnsworth Fowle, "Shah Pays a Visit to Children's Zoo," NYT, April 18, 1962.
- 78. "Shah of Iran Plays Jet Pilot, Tries Out Plane," LAT, April 24, 1962.
- "Pickets Chant 'Mossadegh' as Shah and Queen Leave," Baltimore Sun, April 30, 1962; ISA Northern California, Shah of Iran, April 1962, USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63.
- MemCon, April 13, 1962, FRUS 1961–1963, vol. 17, doc. 246; MemCon, April 12, 1962, FRUS 1961–1963, vol. 17, doc. 243; Douglas, The Court Years, 303.
- Roham Alvandi, "The Shah's Détente with Khrushchev: Iran's 1962 Missile Base Pledge to the Soviet Union," Cold War History 14, no. 3 (2014): 423–44.
- CIA, "Comments of the Shah on His Recent Visit to the United States and on the Iranian Political Situation," May 14, 1962, NSF, Countries, box 116, folder: Iran General, March 27–May 21, 1962, JFKL.
- Iran Nameh, November-December 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958-63, box 7, folder:
   13-A, NARA.
- 84. Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 60-61.
  - هنگامی که مقامات سفارت از علی امینی در مورد باز گشت دانشجویان پرسیدند، نخستوزیر «به شوخی گفت آیا وزارت امور خارجه انتظار دارد دولت ایران با دسته گل به استقبال آنها در ود؟»

Rockwell to State, May 22, 1962, NSF, Countries, box 116, folder: Iran General, May 22–June 30, 1962, JFKL.

- ۸۵. انجمن دانشجویان ایرانی مقیم امریکا به این دلیل از امینی حمایت نمی کردند که او رئیس دولتی بدون مجلس بود و وی را «نسخهای جدید از همان قانون دیکتاتوری کهنه» می دانستند. Ali Fatemi to Harvey Flad, August 2, 1961, USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East. Iran 1961–63.
- 86. Preston, The War Council.
- 87. George Ball to Robert Kennedy, draft, August 28, 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958–63, box 7, folder: 13-A, NARA.
- Phillips Talbot to Ball, "Status of Iranian Student Leaders in the United States," redraft, August 10, 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958–63, box 7, folder: 13-A, NARA.
- John Bowling, "Local Student Reaction to Cancellation of Attorney-General's Visit to Tehran," February 20, 1962, NSF, RWK, box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62 [folder 1 of 2], JFKL.
- Talbot to Ball, "Status of Iranian Student Leaders in the United States," redraft, August 10, NARA.
- Gordon Christenson to John Bowling, draft, August 13, 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958– 63, box 7, folder: 13-A, NARA.

- Raymond Farrell to Michel Cieplinski, June 27, 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958–63, box 7, folder: 13-A, NARA.
- William O. Douglas, interview by Roberta Greene, November 13, 1969, pp. 7–8,
   Robert Kennedy Oral History Program, JFKL; Douglas, *The Court Years*, 307–8;
   Douglas to President Kennedy, February 22, 1962, PWOD, box 348, folder 1.
- Talbot to Ball, "Status of Iranian Student Leaders in the United States," redraft, August 10, 1962, NARA.
- MemCon, "Anti-Shah Demonstrations by Iranian Students in U.S.," February 4, 1963, RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3260, folder: EDX Iran, February 1, 1963, NARA.
- Martin McLaughlin and Robert Craig on the Aspen Institute Conference on "Foreign Youth and the American Image Abroad," August 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958–63, box 7, folder: 13-A, NARA.
- Robert Witherspoon on Ali Fatemi, December 11, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- M. Gordon Tiger, interview by William Burr, April 10, 1985, pp. 54–55, Oral History of Iran Collection, Foundation of Iranian Studies (OHIC/FIS).
- Frank Leith Jones, Blowtorch: Robert Komer, Vietnam, and American Cold War Strategy (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2013), chaps. 1–4; Rakove, Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World.
- 100. Komer to Walt Rostow, December 20, 1961; Komer to Bundy and Kaysen, December 20, 1961, both in NSF, RWK, box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62, White House Memoranda, JFKL; Goode, "Reforming Iran during the Kennedy Years," 16. 101. Popp, "Benign Intervention?," 205.
- 102. Komer to Bundy and Kaysen, "Talk with Justice William O. Douglas," August 22, 1962, NSF, Countries, box 116, folder: Iran General, August 12–31, 1962, JFKL.
- 103. Komer, MemCon with Ali Fatemi, August 18, 1962, NSF, RWK, box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62, White House Memoranda, JFKL.
- 104. Komer to Bundy and Kaysen, "Talk with Justice William O. Douglas."
- 105. Bundy to James Grant, October 5, 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958–63, box 7, folder: 13-A, NARA.
- 106. M. Gordon Tiger, interview by William Burr, March 20, 1985, pp. 27–28, OHIC/ FIS.
- 107. Komer, "Our Policy in Iran," October 20, 1962; Komer to Bundy, October 20, 1962, both in NSF, Countries, box 116A, folder: Iran General, November 1962, JFKL. Komer to Bundy, November 5, 1962, NSF, RWK, box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62, White House Memoranda, JFKL. Emphasis in original.
- 108. Komer, December 15, 1962, NSF, RWK, box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62 [folder 1 of 2], JFKL; William O. Douglas, *Democracy's Manifesto* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1962), introductory pages.
- Zonis, The Political Elite of Iran, 75–76; Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, 424.

- 110. Organization of Tehran University Students, statement, April 20, 1963, PWOD, box 1719, folder 3. See also Organization of Tehran University Students, "Iranian Students and the Shah's Land Reform"; CISNU, "An Appeal on Behalf of Arrested Students," Student 7, no. 4 (1963): 5–8, both in USNSA box 22.
- 111. "Tanks Disperse Teheran Crowds," NYT, June 9, 1963; Southern California Chapter of the National Committee for the Defence of Iranian Students, "Don't Let Familiarity Breed Indifference! Six More Students Have Been Jailed," 1965, in *Iran* in Turmoil (Chicago: ISA Chicago, 1965), 48.
- 112. US/Hamburg to State, "Iranian Student Agitation in Federal Republic," August 5, 1963; US/Vienna to State, "Iranian Students Protest," February 6, 1963, both in RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3942, folder: POL 22 Incidents, Disputes, Iran, NARA; Federation of Persian Students in Italy to Douglas, March 16, 1963, PWOD, box 1719, folder 3.
- 113. Telegrams from Iranian students in Europe to President Kennedy enclosed with William Brubeck to Bundy, "Telegrams from Iranian Student Groups," March 1, 1963, NSF, Countries, box 116A, folder: Iran General, March 1963, JFKL.
- 114. Richard W. Cottam, Nationalism in Iran (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 307.
- 115. Telegrams from Iranian students, William Brubeck to Bundy, March 1, 1963.
- 116. Komer to Kenneth O'Donnell, June 14, 1963, NSF, Countries, box 116A, folder: Iran General, June 1–July 10, 1963, JFKL.
- 117. Robert Backoff on Fariborz Fatemi, March 3, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66
- 118. Keddie, Modern Iran, 146–48; Moin, Khomeini, 92–117; Hamid Algar, ed. And trans., Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini (Berkeley, CA: Mizan, 1981), 177–80.
- Ervand Abrahamian, *The Iranian Mojahedin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 84.
- 120. ISAUS, Iranian Peoples' Movement, 1953–1973, Iran Report, no. 2 (Berkeley, June 1974), 21; ISAUS, U.S. Involvement in Iran: Imperialist Disguises and Liberal Illusions, 1900–1963 (Berkeley, December 1978), 75.
- 121. "Iran Students Object to Election Restrictions," Student 7, no. 11 (1963), USNSA box 22; CIS Newsletter, September 16, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66; Ali Fatemi, "The Shah's 'Democracy,' "Minority of One (November 1963).
- 122. "Iranian Students Picket U.N.," NYT, August 20, 1963; Talbot to Dean Rusk, "Agitational Activities of Anti-Shah Iranian Students in the United States," October 5, 1963, FRUS 1961–1963, vol. 18, doc. 333.
- 123. ISA New York, press release, September 17, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
- 124. Julius Holmes to State, September 28, 1963, RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3260, folder: EDX Iran, Febrary 1, 1963, NARA.

- 125. MemCon (1 of 3), "U.S.-Iran Relations: Iranian Students," September 30, 1963, RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3943, folder: POL Iran-A, NARA.
- 126. MemCon, "Iranian Students in the U.S.," October 6, 1963, RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3260, folder: EDX Iran, February 1, 1963, NARA; MemCon (1 of 2), "U.S.-Iran Relations: Iranian Students, October 7, 1963, RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3943, folder: POL Iran-A, NARA.
- 127. FRUS 1961-1963, vol. 18, doc. 333.
- 128. M. Gordon Tiger, interview by William Burr, March 20, 1985, p. 28.
- 129. MemCon, "Warning to Anti-Regime Iranian Students in the United States," December 24, 1963, RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3942, folder: POL 22 Incidents, Disputes, Iran, NARA.
- State to US/Tehran, December 24, 1963, RG 59, CFPF 1963, box 3260, folder: EDX Iran, February 1, 1963, NARA.
- 131. Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 61-63.
- 132. INS Newark District Office to Lawrence Moore, September 10, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; M. Gordon Tiger to State Dept. Visa Office, "Re Adjustment of Status," June 26, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 1, folder: Office Memoranda, NARA; MemCon, "Visa Status of Ali S. Fatemi," September 23, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 1, folder: Memoranda of Conversation, NARA.
- 133. Ali M. S. Fatemi, "Development with Ample Capital and Foreign Exchange: A Study of Petroleum's Contribution to the Economic Development of Selected Petroleum Exporting Countries," PhD diss., New School for Social Research, 1967.
- 134. Gilman, Mandarins of the Future, 11–12; Latham, The Right Kind of Revolution, 4, 147; Komer to Bundy, November 5, 1962, NSF, RWK, box 424, folder: Iran 1961–62, White House Memoranda, JFKL.
- 135. Popp, "An Application of Modernization Theory during the Cold War?" ۱۳۶. برای مطالعه در مورد رابطهٔ میان توسعه، روانشناسی و نژاد در تفکر لیبرالهای اواسط آن قرن و سیاستهای کندی نسبت به ایران، نک:
  - Christopher T. Fisher, "'Moral Purpose Is the Important Thing': David Lilienthal, Iran, and the Meaning of Development in the US, 1956–63," *International History Review* 33, no. 3 (2011): 431–51; Andrew Warne, "Psychoanalyzing Iran: Kennedy's Iran Task Force and the Modernization of Orientalism, 1961–3," *International History Review* 35, no. 2 (2013): 396–422.
- 137. Harold Saunders to Komer, "Near East Conference," December 20, 1961, NSF, Countries, box 116, folder: Iran General, December 11–31, 1961, JFKL.
- 138. Halpern, The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa, chap.
  13, p. 253; Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies. An excellent account of the transition in developmentalist thinking is Simpson, Economists with Guns, 67–73.
- 139. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, chap. 3, quote on 154. Hurewitz placed Iran alongside Afghanistan, Jordan, Morocco, and Kuwait as "modernizing

- monarchies" in Middle East Politics.
- 140. Jeff Shesol, Mutual Contempt: Lyndon Johnson, Robert Kennedy, and the Feud that Defined a Decade (New York: Norton, 1997); Douglas, Points of Rebellion (New York: Random House, 1969); Douglas, International Dissent: Six Steps toward World Peace (New York: Random House, 1971).
- 141. Ali Barzegar to Norman Uphoff, September 26, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 142. Talbot to Averell Harriman, "Request That You Ask the Attorney General to Begin Deportation Proceedings...," May 13, 1964, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 21.

Bundy, Memorandum for the President, June 4, 1964, NSF, Country File, box 137, folder: Iran, Shah's Visit, June 5, 1964, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library (LBJL).

- 144. Komer, Memorandum for the President, April 15, 1965, NSF, Country File, box 136 (1 of 2), folder: Iran Memos and Misc. vol. 1, January 1964–December 1965, LBIL.
- 145. ISAUS, Iranian Peoples' Movement, 12-14.

٣. جوانان

Epigraph: Qotbzadeh letter, quoted in Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 61-62.

- 1. Klimke, The Other Alliance.
- Komer to Bundy, November 27, 1963, NSF, Country File, box 137, folder: Iran, Shah's Visit, June 5, 1964, LBJL.

- 3. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 154–56, 169–74. On U.S.-Iran relations during the Johnson years, see Claudia Castiglioni, "No Longer a Client, Not Yet a Partner: The US-Iranian Alliance in the Johnson Years," Cold War History 15, no. 4 (2015): 491–509; Andrew L. Johns, "The Johnson Administration, the Shah of Iran, and the Changing Pattern of U.S.-Iranian Relations: "Tired of Being Treated like a Schoolboy," Journal of Cold War Studies 9 (Spring 2007): 64–94.
- William J. Butler and Georges Levasseur, Human Rights and the Legal System in Iran (Geneva: International Commission of Jurists, March 1976), 8–11; Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 182–83.
- Lyndon Johnson, "Message to the President of the Iran-America Society," May 27, 1964, APP.
- 6. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 156-61.
- "Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students," PWOD, box 1719, folder 6; ISAUS, "Is Iran Potentially Another Vietnam?" Monthly Review 17, no. 8 (January 1966): 31–34.
- 8. Algar, ed., Islam and Revolution, 181-88; Moin, Khomeini, 119-28.

- US/Tehran to State, "Youth in Country Programming: Iran," May 6, 1968, A-576, RG
   CFPF 1967–69, box 364, folder: EDX Iran, January 1, 1967, NARA.
- 10. Menashri, Education and the Making of Modern Iran, 212-19.
- US/Tehran to State, "Tehran University—Agonizing Transition," May 19, 1965,
   A-584, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 365, folder: EDU Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA;
   US/ Tehran to State, "Resurgence of Student Unrest," March 9, 1968, A-476, RG 59,
   CFPF 1967–69, box 2217, folder: POL 12 Iran, January 1, 1967, NARA.
- James A. Bill, "The Politics of Student Alienation: The Case of Iran," *Iranian Studies* (Winter 1969): 10; Mohsen M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution:* From Monarchy to Islamic Republic (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1988), 114, table 4.3.
- 13. Zonis, Political Elite of Iran, 36-37.
- 14. James A. Bill, The Politics of Iran: Groups, Classes, and Modernization (Columbus: Merrill, 1972), 58; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 91; CIA, "Restless Youth," September 1968, NSF, Intelligence File, box 3, LBJL.

- Bevis and Lucas, International Students in American Colleges and Universities, 156, 164–65.
- 16. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 52, 63, 68–86, 92–93, 106–9, 113; Robert Backoff, "Report on the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students," January 1965, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; William Miller to James Spain, "Communist Activity in Iran and among Iranians Abroad," RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 12, folder: Iran 1965 POL 2, NARA.
- 17. Majid Tehranian to Civil Rights Conference, April 27, 1962, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; Southern California Chapter of the National Committee for the Defense of Iranian Students, "Don't Let Familiarity Breed Indifference! Six More Students Have Been Jailed," in ISA Chicago, *Iran in Turmoil*, 48.
- 18. ISAUS, Iranian Peoples' Movement, 17.
- 19. Conclusions to CIA report, "Restless Youth."
- 20. John Fousek, To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000). On Iran and the free world, see Ali Fatemi, "The Shah's 'Democracy," Minority of One (November 1963): 20–21; Bertrand Russell, "Freedom in Iran," Minority of One (November 1964): 12–13.
- Hasan Masali, "To All National Unions of Students," May 1966, CISNU, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, chap. 6; "Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students."
- 23. Slobodian, Foreign Front; Suri, Power and Protest, chap. 3.
- 24. For a view of the Right, see John A. Andrew III, The Other Side of the Sixties: Young

Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997). For a view of the Left, see Varon, Bringing the War Home.

- 25. Suri, Power and Protest.
- 26. Charles Mace to Raymond Farrell, May 15, 1964, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2331, folder: POL 7 Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA; US/Tehran to State, "Activities of Iranian Students in the US," October 14, 1965, A-265, RG 59, Formerly Top Secret Central Policy Files 1964–66, box 1322/, folder: POL-18, NARA.

۲۷. وضعیت در ایالات متحد امریکا مشابه آلمان غربی بود. .Slobodian, *Foreign Front*, chap. 1.

- 28. Neil Sheehan, "A Student Group Concedes It Took Funds from C.I.A.," NYT, February 14, 1967; Sol Stern, "A Short Account of International Student Politics with Particular Reference to the NSA, CIA, Etc.," Ramparts, March 1967; S. Douglass Cater, Office Files of the White House Aids, box 62, folder: National Student Association, LBIL.
- 29. Wilford, The Mighty Wurlitzer, 9-10, 137, 140-41; Paget, Patriotic Betrayal.
- 30. Wilford, The Mighty Wurlitzer, 139–40.

بسیاری از گزارشهای کمیسیونهای بینالمللی دربارهٔ جنبش دانشجویی (در مقالات شمارههای ۲۸۲ و ۲۸۲ نشریهٔ انجمن ملی دانشجویان ایالات متحد) تحت عنوان «پروندههای محرمانه» نگهداری میشوند و بازبینی شان مستلزم کسب مجوز مقتضی است.

- Jim Hendrick on the Eleventh ISAUS Congress, August 1964, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
- Gregory Gallo and Alexander Korns to Franklin Murphy, May 14, 1964, letter 2, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.

انجمن ملی دانشجویان ایالات متحد در همان تاریخ دو نامه برای مورفی ارسال کرد. نامهٔ دوم سند «رسمی» و «نامهٔ اول» سند بدون مجوز شناخته شد. انجمن ملی دانشجویان ایالات متحد «موضع عمومی» نامهٔ اول را تأیید کرد ولی «جملهبندیهای خاصاش» را تأیید نکرد. هر دو این سندها، شاه و تصمیم یوسی اللی مبنی بر تجلیل از او را مورد انتقاد قرار داده بودند.

- 33. Paget, Patriotic Betrayal, chap. 13, esp. 119.
- 34. Gallo and Korns to Murphy, letter 2.
- Donald Emmerson to Ali Fatemi, June 28, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66. Emphasis in original.
- Paget, Patriotic Betrayal, 293–94; Philip G. Altbach and Norman T. Uphoff, The Student Internationals (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1973), 139–40.
- Norman Uphoff on Qotbzadeh, June 29, 1965, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
   See also Robert Witherspoon on Ali Fatemi, December 11, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- Norman Uphoff letter, November 16, 1964, enclosed with Robert Witherspoon to Lawrence Moore, November 16, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- Harvey Flad to Richard Rettig and James Scott, "Iranian Student Problem," February 1961, USNSA box 220, folder: NUS: Iran 1949–61; Hussein Dootsmohamedi,

- "How Stable Is Iran?" WP, February 6, 1961.
- 40. Qotbzadeh to Harvey Flad, August 11, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 41. Frank Crump to David Barkin, October 27, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 42. Harvey Flad to Ali Fatemi, June 20 and July 31, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder:
- 43. USNSA, September 5, 1961, press release; USNSA Fourteenth Congress, Resolution on Iran, August 1961, both in USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63
- Donald Emmerson to Ali Fatemi, October 13, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; "U.S. Students Deplore Suppression of Iranian Students Rights," *Iran Nameh*, October–November 1961, USNSA 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63.
- 45. "Council Petition Backs Iranians," Bulletin, Teaneck Edition, October 3, 1961; "Help Petition for Iranians Is Circulated," Bulletin, Teaneck Edition, October 10, 1961, both in USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Middle East, Iran 1961–63. The petition is in USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 46. Kurt Kent, "Students Demand Rights for Iranians," Minnesota Daily, January 30, 1962; "Iranian Students Protest Iran's Election Policies," Minnesota Daily, February 14, 1961; "Rights of Iranians Suppressed—Panel," Minnesota Daily, April 26, 1961; Ali Barzegar, "Students and the Revolution," Persian Community Newsletter of Minneapolis, November 12, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
- 47. Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 134–36; Altbach and Uphoff, *Student Internationals*, 30–35.
- 48. Student 6, nos. 7–8 (1962): 2–11, USNSA box 22. Backoff, "Report on the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students"; Ali Fatemi to Donald Emmerson, November 1, 1961, both in USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian. Iran: A Report of the Research and Information Commission of the International Student Conference (1961–62), 29, USNSA box 23; Altbach and Uphoff, Student Internationals, 59, 74; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 27, 51–53, 85–86.
- 49. Student 6, no. 4 (1962): 20-25, USNSA box 22.
- Iran: A Report of the Research and Information Commission, 17; Kenny Khaw to ISAUS, August 28, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- Donald Emmerson to Ali Fatemi, June 13 and 28, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
  - ۵۲. انجمن ملی دانشجویان ایالات متحد مبلغ دو هزار دلار به انجمن دانشجویان ایرانی مقیم امریکا پرداخت کرد تا اعضای آن برای جلسهٔ اتحادیهٔ ملی دانشجویان ایرانی در سال ۱۹۶۴ به لندن سفر کنند و همچنین مبلغ سیصد دلار بابت ترجمه، کپی و توزیع بیانیههای ضد شاه اتحادیهٔ ملی به آنها اختصاص داد.

Tehranian to Ronald Story, January 20, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; Story to Robert Backoff, December 22, 1963, box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66; Matin-

- Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 71, 195n68.
- Tiger to Lynch, "Iranian Student Activities during Shah's Visit: III," May 14, 1964,
   RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 1, folder: Office Memoranda, NARA.
- 54. Tehranian to Ronald Story, January 20, 1964; Story to Hasan Lebaschi, March 4, 1964, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66; Tehranian to Story, March 8, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- Tehranian to Ronald Story, January 20, 1964; Story to Lebaschi, March 4, 1964;
   Tehranian to Story, March 8, 1964.
- ISAUS, Daneshjoo, February and April–May 1964, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
- USNSA Seventeenth Congress, Resolution on Iran, 1964, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
  - رابرت ویتراسپون از اعضای کمیسیون بین المللی در دسامبر ۱۹۶۴ با وزیر امور خارجهٔ امریکا، ویلیام میلر، ملاقات کرد تا انز جارش را از سیاست هواداری از شاهِ واشینگتن ابراز کند. -Witherspoon to Miller, December 30, 1964, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963 -66.
- 58. Hendrick on the Eleventh ISAUS Congress, August 1964.
- 59. ISAUS to USNSA, September 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- "Shah in U.S. for Visit," NYT, June 5, 1964; John Jernegan to Julius Holmes, April 24, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 2, folder: Iran 1964 EDX 6-a, NARA.
- 61. Ronald Story on ISAUS convention, September18, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66; "Anti-Shah Iranian Students in the U.S., and the Nasserite 'Danger,' " April 27, 1964, MemCon, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2337, folder: POL Iran-US, January 1, 1964, NARA.
- Mansur Farhang, interview by Mahnaz Afkhami, December 20, 1989, p. 61, OHIC/ FIS.
- 63. Saba Soomekh, From the Shahs to Los Angeles: Three Generations of Iranian Jewish Women between Religion and Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 2.
- Lebaschi to Lyndon Johnson, April 13, 1964, WHCF, Countries, box 41, folder: CO 123 Iran, LBJL.
- Bob Runde, "Shah of Iran to Visit," Daily Californian (DC), April 22, 1964, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
- 66. Robert Hamilton, "Shah Controversy," DC, May 11, 1964; ISA Berkeley, "Iranian Reply," DC, May 15, 1964; "Iranian Students at Illinois Protest Kerr's Invitation," DC, May 13, 1964, all in RFKP, Attorney General's Files, Speeches 1961–64, box 3, folder: World Assembly of Youth—Information on Human Rights Violations in Iran, August 7, 1964, JKFL. See also ISA Michigan State to Clark Kerr, April 21, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 67. Jim Branson, "Senate Says No to Shah," DC, May 13, 1964, RFKP, Attorney General's Files, Speeches 1961–64, box 3, folder: World Assembly of Youth—Information on

- Human Rights Violations in Iran, August 7, 1964, JKFL.
- 68. Gallo and Korns to Murphy, letters 1 and 2; Paget, Patriotic Betrayal, 291.
- ISA Southern California, leaflet, [March 1964] RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 6, folder: Iran 1964 POL 132- and 132--b. NARA.
- 70. ISAUS Executive Committee, May 25, 1964, in ISA Chicago, Iran in Turmoil, 43.
- 71. "Iranian Student Preparations to Demonstrate against Shah," May 12, 1964, MemCon, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2331, folder: POL 7 Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA; US/Tehran to State, April 22, 1964, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 397, folder EDX Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA; Tiger to Lynch, "Iranian Student Activities during Shah's Visit: III."
- 72. State to US/Tehran, May 12, 1964, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2331, folder: POL 7 Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA; US/Tehran to State, May 13, 1964, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2331, folder: POL 7 Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA.
- 73. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, "Speech to University of California, Los Angeles," June 12, 1964, in *Iran, Philosophy Behind the Revolution: A Selection of Writing and Speeches of the Shahanshah* (London: Orient Commerce Establishment, 1971), 197–202; State to US/ Tehran, "Shah's Visit," June 16, 1964, NSF, Files of Robert Komer (FRK), box 27, folder: Visit of Shah of Iran—June 1964, LBJL; "Shah Makes Plea at UCLA Exercise," *LAT*, June 12, 1964; "Pickets at U.C.L.A. Jeer Shah of Iran," *Chicago Tribune*, June 12, 1964; Matin-Asgari, *Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah*, 75–76.
- 74. "Military Modernization Discussions with the Shah of Iran," June 12, 1964, MemCon, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 42; State to US/Tehran, Memorandum of Understanding, July 2, 1964, Digital National Security Archive (DNSA), IR00531; US/Tehran to State, Memorandum of Understanding Signed, July 4, 1964, DNSA, IR00532.
- 75. Tiger, "National Student Association Relations with Anti-Regime Iranian Students," June 16, 1964, MemCon, RG 59, Formerly Top Secret Central Policy Files 1964–66, box 1322/, folder: POL-18, NARA.
- Abbas Milani, Tales of Two Cities: A Persian Memoir (Washington, DC: Mage, 2006), 98.
- Azar Nafisi, Things I've Been Silent About: Memories of a Prodigal Daughter (New York: Random House, 2010), 203; Nafisi, Reading Lolita in Tehran: A Memoir in Books (New York: Random House, 2004), 85.
- 78. Arthur Marwick periodizes the "high sixties" from 1964 to 1969 in The Sixties.
- Andrew, The Other Side of the Sixties, 91–101, quote on 96; Tom Hayden, Reunion: A Memoir (New York: Random House, 1988), 50–51.
- 80. Harvey Flad on Iranian Students, July 7, 1961, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 81. Tom Hayden, The Port Huron Statement: The Visionary Call of the 1960s Revolution (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2005), 45, 98–99; Massimo Teodori, ed., The New Left: A Documentary History (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), 184–85; Carl

- Davidson, ed., Revolutionary Youth and the New Working Class: The Praxis Papers, the Port Authority Statement, the RYM Documents and Other Lost Writings of SDS (Pittsburgh: Changemaker, 2011), 78; David Gilbert and David Loud, U.S. Imperialism (Chicago: Students for a Democratic Society, February 1968).
- 82. Carl Oglesby, ed., The New Left Reader (New York: Grove Press, 1969), 245.
- 83. Denis Wright, "Iranian Youth in Turmoil," March 23, 1971, Diplomatic Report no. 26871/, FCO 171514/, NAUK; US/Tehran to State, "Youth in Iran," February 22, 1971, A-56, FRUS 1969–1976, vol. E-4, doc. 116; John Howison to John Jernegan, "Your Appointment," November 13, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 2, folder: Iran EDX 15, NARA; Nafisi, Things I've Been Silent About, 201; "Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students."
- ISAUS, "Is Iran Potentially Another Vietnam?"; Statement, ISA New England, October 14, 1963, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66.
- Robert Witherspoon on Tehranian, December 3, 1964; Witherspoon on Ali Fatemi, December 26, 1964, both in USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian; Ronald Story on Lebaschi, January 7, 1964, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66. 190 NOTE S TO PAGES 83–87
- 86. Backoff, "Report on the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students"; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 82–86, 91, 94; Altbach and Uphoff, Student Internationals, 76–77, 192–93n13.
- 87. Stern, "Short Account of International Student Politics," 30.
- 88. Julius Glickman on Lebaschi, November 30, 1964, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 89. Backoff, "Report on the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students."
- 90. Material on ISAUS, Students for a Democratic Society Records,
- 1958-70, series 3, National Office 1964-70, reel 30, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.
- 91. ISAUS, August 13, 1967, bulletin, CIA Records Search Tool (CREST), NARA; ISAUS, "Shah of Iran, Puppet of the U.S. Imperialists Here to See Big Boss LBJ," 1967, flyer, Virtual Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech University; James Yenckel, "Iran Students Picket CIA's Headquarters," WP, August 21, 1967; "CIA Picketed by Iranians Against Shah," Baltimore Sun, August 21, 1967.
- 92. Bahman Nirumand, Iran: The New Imperialism in Action, trans. Leonard Mins (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 6–8, 11–16, 183–84; Slobodian, Foreign Front, 106–7; US/Zurich to State, "Talk by Bahman Nirumand at Zurich University," December 18, 1967, A-44, RG 59, CFPF 1967–69, box 2214, folder: POL Iran, January 1, 1967, NARA.
- 93. Karin Bauer, ed. Everybody Talks about the Weather . . . We Don't: The Writings of Ulrike Meinhof (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008), 39–40, 171–77; Slobodian, Foreign Front, 108–10.
- 94. US/Munich to State, "The Visit of the Shah in Munich," June 2, 1967, RG 59, CFPF 1967–69, box 2215, folder: POL 7 Iran, June 1, 1967, NARA; Slobodian, Foreign Front, chap. 4.

- 95. US/Berlin to State, "Anti-Shah Demonstration in Berlin," June 2, 1967; US/Bonn to State, "State Visit by Shah of Iran," June 3, 1967, both in RG 59, CFPF 1967–69, box 2215, folder: POL 7 Iran, June 1, 1967, NARA. See also US/Berlin to State, "Senat Protocol Chief's Comments on Visit of the Shah," June 13, 1967, A-587, RG 59, CFPF 1967–69, box 2215, folder: POL 7 Iran, June 1, 1967, NARA.
  - ۹۶. تا سالها مأمور پلیسی که به اونهزورگ شلیک کرد و او را کشت ادعا می کرد برای دفاع از خود مرتکب قتل اونهزورگ شده اما محققان در سال ۲۰۰۹ متوجه شدند آن مأمور در واقع یکی از جاسوسان اشتازی آلهان شرقی بود.

"New Probe into 1967 Killing," Der Spiegel Online International, January 23, 2012.

- US/Tehran to State, "Bi-weekly Political Report," June 10, 1967, A-676, RG 59,
   CFPF 1967–69, box 2214, folder: POL 2 Iran, January 1, 1967, NARA.
- 98. Theodore Eliot, interview by William Burr, July 30, 1986, pp. 66-67, OHIC/FIS.
- 99. Walt Rostow to Lyndon Johnson, "Appointment for the Shah of Iran," March 6, 1968, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 266; US/Tehran to State, "Shah's Visit," May 29, 1968, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 289; Rafizadeh, Witness, 153–55; Nina McCain, "Just Not Enough Rain Checks," BG, June 14, 1968; State to US/Tehran, June 14, 1968, RG 59, CFPF 1967–69, box 2215, folder: POL 7 Iran, June 1, 1968, NARA; Pahlavi, "Address to Harvard University," June 13, 1968," in Iran, Philosophy behind the Revolution, 221–29.
- 100. New Left Notes, June 24, 1968, 4.
- 101. Castiglioni, "No Longer a Client, Not Yet a Partner"; Offiler, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Modernization of Iran; Alvandi, Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah; Fain, American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region.
- $102.\ Huntington, \textit{Political Order in Changing Societies}, chap.\ 3, quotes\ on\ 160,\ 156,\ 140.$
- 103. Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 147.
- 104. Juan Linz, quoted in Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 33; Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 166–67.
- 105. "Briefing Paper for Mr. Shriver's Trip," January 2, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 1, folder: Various Briefing Memoranda, NARA; US/Tehran to State, "The Iranian Intel lectual Community," December 21, 1963, A-351, box 1, folder 22, Martin F. Herz Papers, Georgetown University Special Collections; Abbas Milani, The Persian Sphinx: Amir Abbas Hoveyda and the Riddle of the Iranian Revolution (Washington, DC: Mage, 2004), 140–45, 153–69; Zonis, The Political Elite of Iran, 86–90; Bill, Politics of Iran, 44–49; Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 163–65; William Green Miller, "Political Organization in Iran: From Dowreh to Political Party: From Dowreh to Political Party, Part 1," Middle East Journal 23 (Spring 1969): 159–67; Miller, "Political Organization in Iran: From Dowreh to Political Party, Part II," Middle East Journal 23 (Summer 1969): 343–50.
- 106. Marvin G. Weinbaum, "Iran Finds a Party System: The Institutionalization of 'Iran Novin'," Middle East Journal 27 (Autumn 1973): 439–55; Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 12–24.

- 107. William Helseth, February 16, 1967, MemCon; Charles Rassias, April 20, 1967, MemCon; Stockwell Everts to Martin Herz, July 17, 1967; Herz to Eliot, July 20, 1967; Herz to Eliot, August 15, 1967, all in RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 2, folder: POL 14 Elections Iran 1967, NARA.
- 108. State to US/Tehran, January 28, 1965; US/Tehran to State, March 8, 1964, both in NSF, Country File, box 136 (1 of 2), folder: Iran Cables vol. 1, January 1964– December 1965, LBJL.
- 109. CIA Office of Current Intelligence, "Reform in Iran," December 1964 special report, NSF, Country File, box 136 (1 of 2), folder: Iran Memos and Misc. vol. 1, January 1964–December 1965, LBJL.
- US/Tehran to State, "The Iranian Intellectual Community," December 21, 1963,
   A-351.
- 111. Robert Witherspoon on Tehranian, December 3, 1964.
- 112. Tiger, "National Student Association Relations with Anti-Regime Iranian Students."
- 113. John Whiteford Boyle, "The Iranian Student Situation," USNSA box 220, folder: NUS Iran 1949–61.
- 114. T. Cuyler Young, "Iran in Continuing Crisis," Foreign Affairs 40 (January 1962): 275–92.
- 115. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 398.
- 116. USIA Research and Reference Service, "Attitudes and Values of Iranian University Students," December 1964, USIA Records, RG 306, entry no. P 142, box 23, R-220-64, NARA.
- 117. William Green Miller, interview by Charles Stuart Kennedy, initial interview February 10, 2003, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, Foreign Affairs Oral History Project; Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 99; William Miller to Daniel Newberry, "Recent Activities of the National Front," May 6, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 6, folder: Iran 1964 POL 12-d, NARA.
- 118. US/Tehran to State, "The Iranian Intellectual Community," December 21, 1963, A-351.
- 119. Herz to John Bowling, June 3, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 2, folder: EDX 1 Iran 1964. NARA.
- 120. Miller, "The 'New Men.' " Miller's superiors did not accept many of his findings and encouraged him to tone down his critical perspective. John Howison to Herz, May 3, 1965, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 11, folder: Iran 1965, POL 12-d, NARA.
- 121. Homayun Sanati and Herz, October 10, 1965, MemCon; Cyrus Qani and Eliot, October 13, 1965, MemCon, both in RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 12, folder: Iran 1965 POL 2, NARA; "Problems of Contemporary Iran," April 16–17, 1965, program at Harvard University, PWOD, box 1720, folder 1; Miller, "The 'New Men'"; Milani, Eminent Persians. 1:385–93.
- 122. Iraj Hedayat and J. Anthony Allitto, August 5, 1966, MemCon, RG 59, RRI 1964-

- 66, box 18, folder: Iran 1966 POL 2, General Reports, Statistics, NARA.
- 123. William Helseth, October 21, 1967, MemCon, RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 2, POL 14 Elections Iran 1967, NARA.
- 124. "Educational Background of Members of the Iranian Cabinet," May 4, 1967, box 1, folder 22, Martin F. Herz Papers; Zonis, Political Elite of Iran, 167–74.
- Lyndon Johnson to Shah of Iran, November 28, 1967, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 250.
- 126. Mehdi Samii, Walt Rostow, and Harold Saunders, June 13, 1968, MemCon, NSF, Country File, box 136 (2 of 2), folder: Iran Memos and Misc. vol. 2 (1 of 2), January 1966–January 1969, LBJL.
- 127. Lyndon Johnson, November 29, 1967, NSF, Country File, box 136 (2 of 2), folder: Iran Memos and Misc. vol. 2 (1 of 2), January 1966–January 1969, LBJL.
- 128. US/Tehran to State, "Year-End Report on the Political Situation in Iran," December 31, 1963, A-361, NSF, FRK, box 27, folder: Iran, November 1963–December 1964 (1 of 2), LBIL.
- 129. Jeremy Varon, Michael S. Foley, and John McMillian, "Time Is an Ocean: The Past and Future of the Sixties," *Sixties* 1, no. 1 (2008): 1, 3.
- 130. Dabashi, Iran without Borders, 109.
- 131. Lebaschi to Lyndon Johnson, April 13, 1964, telegram; ISAUS Executive Committee to Lyndon Johnson, May 11, 1965, telegram; ISAUS Executive Committee to Lyndon Johnson, August 10, 1967, telegram, all in WHCF, Countries, box 41, folder: CO 123 Iran, LBJL.

133. Bertrand Russell, "Inside the Shah's Prisons," unpublished report (London: Bertrand Russell Office, 1968; repr., Iranian Student Association of Southern California).

۴. رونق

Epigraph: Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, quoted in ACE, US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 10.

- Folders marked "Iran" in the Richard M. Nixon Pre-Presidential Papers, 1953 Far East Trip, box 2, RMNL.
- 4. Rafizadeh, Witness, 247-48.
- 5. Fain, American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region; Jeffrey

Kimball, "The Nixon Doctrine: A Saga of isunderstanding," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (March 2006): 59–74; Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), chap. 4.

- 6. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 173.
- Tehran, May 31, 1972, MemCon, FRUS 1969–1976, vol. E-4, doc. 201; Rubin, Paved With Good Intentions, 134–35.
- Stephen McGlinchey, "Richard Nixon's Road to Tehran: The Making of the U.S.-Iran Arms Agreement of May 1972," *Diplomatic History* 37 (September 2013): 843. Emphasis in original.
- 9. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 201-2.
- 10. Dhofar (Berkeley: ISA and Arab Students in Northern California, December 1974).
- 11. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 197; Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, 427–31; Gelvin, The Modern Middle East, 259–60; Alvandi, Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah, 65, 131; Milani, Eminent Persians 2:757–58.
- Amir Taheri, "The Second Phase Begins," Kayhan International (KI), May 11, 1974, box 3, folder 32, James Bill Papers.
- 13. Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, 435-36.
- 14. US/Tehran to State, January 9, 1973, airgram, FRUS 1969-1976, vol. 27, doc. 1.
- David Patrikarakos, Nuclear Iran: The Birth of an Atomic State (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 31.
- Shirin Hakimzadeh, "Iran: A Vast Diaspora Abroad and Millions of Refugees at Home," Migration Information Source, September 1, 2006.

18. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, December 16, 1966, U.N. Treaty Collection, chap. 4, docs 3 and 4.

- Roland Burke, "From Individual Rights to National Development: The First UN International Conference on Human Rights, Tehran, 1968," *Journal of World History* 19 (September 2008): 275–77, 282–88, quotes on 286–87; Pahlavi, *The White Revolution*.
- Ali M. Ansari, The Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 166–79, quotes on 166.
- Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, "Speech to the International Conference on Human Rights," May 1968, in *Iran, Philosophy behind the Revolution*, 220; Moyn, *The Last Utopia*, 2–3.

Intelligence Report 2035–72, May 1972, FRUS 1969–1976, vol. E-4, doc. 180. مراف پهلوی، چهرههایی در یک آینه، مترجم هرمز عبداللهی، نشر فرزان روز، ۱۳۹۱. برای

مطالعهٔ بیشتر در مورد حقوق بشر از نظر اشرف پهلوی، نک:

Burke, "From Individual Rights to National Development," 284-85, 296.

همچنین

"Human Rights," Times (London), May 21, 1974.

- 25. Shawcross, The Shah's Last Ride, 189.
- "68 Nations' Delegates Attend Shah's Party," Baltimore Sun, October 15, 1971;
   Charlotte Curtis, "Tent City Awaits Celebration: Shah's 'Greatest Show," NYT,
   October 12, 1971; Talinn Grigor, "Preserving the Antique Modern: Persepolis '71,"
   Future Anterior 2 (Summer 2005): 22–29.
- 27. "Encomium upon Cyrus the Great," October 12, 1971, Homer A. Jack Papers, series 8, box 2, folder: Trip to Iran/invitation, programs, Swarthmore College Peace Collection. See also "Anniversary Programme"; Amir Taheri, "World Heads Gather for Festivities," KI, October 14, 1971, 1 and 16, both in Oversize Items Collection docs. 133–201, Homer Jack A. Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.
- "Items-in- Gift Presentation from Iran," October 14, 1971, United Nations Archives and Records Management.
- 29. A. M. Shapurian, "Year of Cyrus the Great," Guardian (Manchester), April 17, 1971.
- 30. "Shah Sends 33 Iranians to Michigan State," Journalism Educator, April 1975; Hamid Naficy, A Social History of Iranian Cinema, vol. 2: The Industrializing Years, 1941–1978 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 141–43; Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:165–69. Only three episodes of the documentary were completed and Michigan State's contract was not renewed when it expired just before the revolution.
- 31. Ansari, Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran, 182-84.
- 32. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 221-24.
- 33. Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:327-40, 165-69.
- 34. Joseph Kraft, "Letter from Iran," New Yorker, December 18, 1978. 101-105
- Zohreh T. Sullivan, Exiled Memoires: Stories of Iranian Diaspora (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 59–64.
- Frank P. Sherwood, Uncommon People I Have Known: Sixteen Individuals Who Have Made a Difference (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2013), 1–27, quotes on 12, 13, 8.
- Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:72–78. See also Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, chap. 1;

عباس میلانی، نگاهی به شاه، یرواند آبراهامیان؛ ایران بین دو انقلاب.

Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 222.

٣٩. يرواند آبراهاميان؛ ايران بين دو انقلاب.

- Alvin Cottrell, "Iran's Armed Forces under the Pahlavi Dynasty," in Lenczowski, *Iran under the Pahlavis*, 399–407, 422–25; Ward, *Immortal*, 144–45, 198–200; Hamilton Twitchell, interview by William Burr, April 1 and June 3, 1988, pp. 44– 45, 48, 92, OHIC/ FIS.
- Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 209; McGlinchey, US Arms Policies towards the Shah's Iran, chaps. 4–5.
- 42. Armin Meyer, interview by William Burr, March 29, 1985, pp. 22-23, OHIS/FIS.
- 43. Twitchell interview, p. 71.
- Robert Macy to William Gaud, "Letter from the Shah to President Johnson," January 22, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 4, POL 151- Iran 1964, NARA.
- Cottrell, "Iran's Armed Forces under the Pahlavi Dynasty," 422–25; Ward, Immortal, 198–200.
- Jerry Harkavy, "63 Iranians Enrolled at Maine Maritime," Lewiston Daily Sun, January 11, 1975.
- U.S. House of Representatives, Armed Services Committee, Hearings on H.R. 7582, H.R. 8187, and H.J. Res. 735, 93rd Cong. 23–24 (1973).
  - صحبت از تأسیس «آناپولیس برای ایران» در ایالات متحد بود که سالانه و تا هشت سال ۲۵۰ ایرانی را برای آموزش بپذیرد و در همین حین کشور ایران دانشکدهٔ نیروی دریایی برپا کند، اما این طرح متوقف شد. نک:
  - See the documents of May–July 1975 in Access to Archival Databases (AAD), RG 59, CFPF 1973–76, NARA.
- "Thirty Iranian Midshipmen Attend VMI," [1975], Loring Edward Hart Records, box 12 (LEHR, all box 12), Norwich University Archives and Special Collections.
- House, Hearings on H.R. 7582, H.R. 8187, and H.J. Res. 735, 2–3, 23–25; Charles Naas to Ardeshir Zahedi, September 12, 1974, RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 10, Iran 1974, DEF 6–9, NARA.
- 50. House, Hearings on H.R. 7582, H.R. 8187, and H.J. Res. 735, 24; Robert Schott to Eliot, August 12, 1968, RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 2, Iran 1968 DEF 192-, NARA; Cottrell, "Iran's Armed Forces under the Pahlavi Dynasty," 401; US/Tehran to State, "Visas for Iranian Military Students," April 17, 1973, 1973 Tehran02539, AAD; Harkavy, "63 Iranians Enrolled at Maine Maritime"; Maureen Williams, "8 Iranian Midshipmen Graduate From MMA," Bangor Daily News, January 11–12, 1975.
- Loring Hart to Commander Abghari, July 1, 1977; Darush Farzaneh to Hart, March 24,
   1978, both in LEHR. See also Williams, "8 Iranian Midshipmen Graduate from MMA."
- 52. Harkavy, "63 Iranians Enrolled at Maine Maritime"; "8 Iranians to Graduate from MMA on Jan. 10," *Bangor Daily News*, January 10, 1975; Williams, "8 Iranian Midshipmen Graduate from MMA."
- Saiid Rabiipour, Farewell to Islam (Longwood, FL: Xulon Press, 2009), 34–35, 39,
   42–44, 55–72; "IIN Midshipmen Training Project," March 2, 1978, LEHR.
- "New Rat Class Fifth Largest in History, Undergoes Cadre," VMI Cadet, September 3, 1971.

- "Iranian Cadets Establish Themselves at VMI," VMI Cadet, September 12, 1975;
   "Virginia Military Institute Weekday Schedule," LEHR.
  - ۵۶ اسناد موجود در آرشیو لورینگ ادوارد هارت نشان میدهند دانشگاه نورویچ از برنامهٔ مؤسسهٔ نظامی ویرجینیا پیروی کرد و آن مؤسسه نیز جزئیات برنامهٔ تابستانی خود را در اختیار مسئولان آنحاگذاشت.
- 57. "Iranian Midshipmen to Enroll," Norwich University Record, April 1976. See also Captain Hadjikarimi to Hart, June 29, 1978; Hart to Hadjikarimi, July 13, 1978; "Summary/ Statistics of Iranian Norwich University Corps of Cadets," May 10, 1980; James Galloway to Captain Sotudeh, April 18, 1979; "Basic Points of Proposal for Development of the Iranian Program at Norwich University," [n.d.], all in LEHR.
- James F. Goode, "Assisting Our Brothers, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," *Iranian Studies* 47, no. 3 (2014): 441–62.
- 59. David Holden, "A Napoleonic Vision of Iran as a New Japan," NYT, May 26, 1974. ۶۰. رهام الوندی؛ نیکسون، کیسینجر و شاه، غلامرضا علیبابایی، تهران، بنگاه ترجمه و نشر کتاب یار سه، ۱۳۹۶.
  - Ali Vaez and Karim Sadjadpour, Iran's Nuclear Odyssey: Costs and Risks (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013), 5.
- 61. Farmanfarmaian, interview by Habib Ladjevardi, January 19, 1983, IOHC/HU.
- Farah Stockman, "Iran's Nuclear Vision First Glimpsed at MIT," BG, March 12, 2007.
- Mary Nolan, Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Ekbladh, The Great American Mission; Patrikarakos, Nuclear Iran.
- 64. Stockman, "Iran's Nuclear Vision First Glimpsed at MIT."
- Patrikarakos, Nuclear Iran, chap. 3; National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 268, A-76, US/Tehran to State, April 15, 1976, and A-69, US/Tehran to State, May 11, 1977.
- 66. Jacob Darwin Hamblin, "The Nuclearization of Iran in the Seventies," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 5 (2014): 1115–16. See also Alvandi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah*, chap. 4; Patrikarakos, *Nuclear Iran*, chaps. 1–5.
- 67. Patrikarakos, Nuclear Iran, 20–24, 45–47; US/Tehran to State, A-76 and A-69; "M.I.T. to Train Nuclear Engineers for Iran," March 14, 1975, news release, Archival Collection 276: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Office of the President, Records of Vice President Constantine B. Simonides, International Exchange Programs Iran, box 14, folder 28, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Archives and Special Collections (AC 276, MIT; all from box 14, folder 28); John Kifner, "Iranian Program Debated at M.I.T.," NYT, April 27, 1975.
- 68. Vaez and Sadjadpour, Iran's Nuclear Odyssey, 4-5.
- 69. "Training of Iranians," AB 57180/; "Iranians," AB 57185/, both in Records of the

- United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, NAUK.
- "M.I.T. to Launch New Nuclear Engineering Program," April 4, 1975, news release, AC 276, MIT.
- 71. Gilman, Mandarins of the Future, chap. 5.
- Stuart W. Leslie and Robert Kargon, "Exporting MIT: Science, Technology, and Nation-Building in India and Iran," Osiris 21 (January 2006): 110–30; Barb Moore, "Iranians May Double Nuc. Eng.," Tech, March 7, 1975, AC 276, MIT.
- 73. "M.I.T. to Train Nuclear Engineers for Iran."
- 74. Record of the Special Faculty Meeting, April 2, 1975, AC 276, MIT.
- 75. Minutes of the Executive Committee, January 3, 1975, AC 276, MIT.
- Seyyed Hossein Nasr Foundation, "About Seyyed Hossein Nasr"; Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:31.
- Leslie and Kargon, "Exporting MIT," 123, 125; Editorial, "Selling MIT: Bombs for the Shah," Tech, March 7, 1975, AC 276, MIT.
- "Chronology," April 22, 1975, AC 276, MIT; "M.I.T. to Train Nuclear Engineers for Iran"; Kifner, "Iranian Program Debated at M.I.T."
- 79. "Chronology."
- 80. M.I.T. to Train Nuclear Engineers for Iran."
- Moore, "Iranians May Double Nuc. Eng."; Mike McNamee, "Iranians Accept Program," *Tech*, March 18, 1975; "M.I.T. to Train Nuclear Engineers for Iran," all in AC 276, MIT.
- 82. Vaez and Sadjadpour, Iran's Nuclear Odyssey, 4.
- 83. Mike McNamee, "Iran Reactor Deal Stalled," Tech, March 11, 1975, AC 276, MIT.
- Record of Faculty Meeting, March 19, 1975; Editorial, "Selling MIT," both in AC 276, MIT.
- 85. Record of the Special Faculty Meetings, April 2 and 4, 1975, AC 276, MIT.
- 86. Editorial, "Selling MIT."
- 87. "M.I.T. to Train Nuclear Engineers for Iran." Scholars have found scant evidence to support the claim that the shah wanted a bomb. Patrikarakos, *Nuclear Iran*, 58–70; Alvandi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah*, 133–34.
- 88. Record of the Special Faculty Meeting, April 4, 1975.
- 89. Editorial, "Selling MIT."
- Coalition against Training Nuclear Engineers for the Shah, Social Action Coordinating Committee, ISA, "An Open Letter to the MIT Community," April 1975. AC
- 276, MIT.
- Kifner, "Iranian Program Debated at M.I.T"; Thomas Spisak and Michael Dortch, "Nuc-Eng Sit-In Held to Protest Iran Deal," Tech, April 29, 1975.
- 92. Leslie and Kargon, "Exporting MIT," 124.
- 93. Kifner, "Iranian Program Debated at M.I.T."
- 94. Stockman, "Iran's Nuclear Vision First Glimpsed at MIT"; Patrikarakos, Nuclear Iran, 38.

- 95. Mike McNamee, "Iran Reactor Deal Stalled," *Tech*, March 11, 1975, AC 276, MIT. صالحی با قرارداد ام آی تی مخالف بود زیرا فکر می کرد آموزش انبوه درست نیست و می توان
  - از بودجهٔ آن استفادهٔ بهتری کرد. برای اطلاعات بیشتر نک: For more, see Mehrzad Boroujerdi, "Iran's New Foreign Minister: Ali Akbar
  - For more, see Mehrzad Boroujerdi, "Iran's New Foreign Minister: Ali Akbar Salehi," PBS Tehran Bureau, January 31, 2011.
- Hamblin, "The Nuclearization of Iran in the Seventies," 1115; muhammad Sahimi,
   "Forced to Fuel: Iran's Nuclear Energy Program," Harvard International Review 26
   (Winter 2005): 42–45.
- 97. Stockman, "Iran's Nuclear Vision First Glimpsed at MIT."
- Farian Sabahi, The Literacy Corps in Pahlavi Iran, 1963–1979: Political, Social, and Literary Implications (Lugano: Editrice Sapiens, 2002).
- 99. Saleh, Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States, 3.
- Menashri, Education and the Making of Modern Iran, 210–25, 249–54, 207, table
   ACE, An Analysis of US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 19–23, 30–33; Saleh, Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States, 355–77.
- 101. "Iranian Government Scholarship Programs," November 6, 1974, MemCon, CU, group 12, series 14, box 296, file 17.
- 102. Ibid.; U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, "Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange between the United States and Countries in the Middle East," March 1977, special report, CU, group 3, series 1, box 105, file 13; Iranian-American Joint Subcommission for Science and Education, Briefing Papers, February 10–11, 1975, sections C and F, CU, group 12, series 14, box 296, file 17; George Baldwin, "The Iranian Brain Drain," in *Iran Faces the Seventies*, ed. Ehsan Yar-Shater and John S. Badeau (New York: Praeger, 1971).
- 103. US/Tehran to State, "Call on Senate President," June 26, 1977, 1977Tehran05575, AAD; US/Tehran to State, "Ashraf Pahlavi Foundation Established," April 14, 1976, 1976Tehran03780, AAD; US/Tehran to State, "Ashraf Pahlavi Foundation Board Announced," April 15, 1976, 1976Tehran03824, AAD; "Iranian Government Scholarship Programs," November 6, 1974, MemCon, CU, group 12, series 14, box 296, file 17. See also Abrahamian, Iran between Two Revolutions, 438; Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 103.
- 104. Record of the Special Faculty Meeting, April 2, 1975.
- 105. U.S. Commission for Cultural Exchange between Iran and the US (Commission for Cultural Exchange), Annual Program Proposals, Program Years 1976 and 1977, CIES, series 6, box 345, file 5; Commission for Cultural Exchange, Annual Program Proposals, Program Year 1978, CIES, series 6, box 345, file 6; Commission for Cultural Exchange, Annual Program Report, 1976, CIES, series 6, box 345, file 11.
- 106. Resume of Parirokh Rad, CIES, series 6, box 345, file 7.
- 107. Commission for Cultural Exchange, Annual Program Report, 1972, CIES, series 6, box 345, file 9; Commission for Cultural Exchange, Annual Program Proposal, Program Year 1978.

- 108. U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, "Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange."
- 109. Middle East Newsletter, February 1970, January 1971, and January 1972, AFME, Newsletters, Swarthmore College Peace Collection; Iranian-American Joint Subcommission for Science and Education, Briefing Papers, section C.
- 110. "Iranian Government Scholarship Programs."
- 111. Iranian-American Joint Subcommission for Science and Education, Briefing Papers, section C.
- 112. Middle East Newsletter, February 1970, AFME, Newsletters, Swarthmore College Peace Collection; Iraj Ayman, Educational Innovation in Iran (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1974), 20–23.
- 113. Garlitz, "U.S. University Advisors and Education Modernization," 204–7; Bill, The Politics of Iran, 81; Jalal Al-I Ahmad, Occidentosis: A Plague from the West, trans. R. Campbell (Berkeley, CA: Mizan Press, 1984), 85–86.
- 114. ACE, An Analysis of US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 2, 15–16, 71–76, 79–82; U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, "Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange."
- 115. US/Tehran to State, "Educational Exchange Projects," February 3, 1975, 1 and 2 of 2, CU, group 12, series 14, box 296, file 17; ACE, An Analysis of US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 160–70; Paul Clancy, "Out of the Cold," WP, March 14, 1976.
- 116. Report of Iran-Harvard Planning Commission for Reza Shah Kabir University, November 20, 1974, box 5, folder 13, James Bill Papers.
- 117. ACE, An Analysis of US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 53, 169. See also US/Tehran to State, "Educational Exchange Projects," February 3, 1975, 1 and 2 of 2; Iranian-American Joint Subcommission for Science and Education, Briefing Papers, section C, both in CU, group 12, series 14, box 296, file 17.
- 118. ACE, An Analysis of US-Iranian Cooperation in Higher Education, 6-7.
- 119. Merrill Sheils, "Petrogrants," Newsweek, July 4, 1977; Seth Foldy, "Schools for Sale," Win Magazine, June 12, 1975; Ronald Henkoff, "Do Oil and Education Mix?" Change, June 1977. See also Margaret O'Mara, "The Uses of the Foreign Student," Social Science History 36 (Winter 2012): 583–615.
- 120. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 381–82; Saleh, Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States, 390; Ehsan Naraghi, From Palace to Prison: Inside the Iranian Revolution, trans. Nilou Mobasser (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1994), 95; Harold Saunders to Henry Kissinger, "'Blue-suiters' for Iran," January 26, 1973, FRUS 1969–1976, vol. 27, doc. 6.
- 121. Keddie, Modern Iran, chap. 8, esp. 212, 187–90; Al-I Ahmad, Occidentosis, 33 and chap. 9, esp. 118–21.
- 122. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 27, 32.
- 123. Keddie, Modern Iran, 170. 5.

- Epigraph: British Embassy Tehran to FCO, "Human Rights," June 23, 1977, FCO 581164/, NAUK.
- Roger Normand and Sarah Zaidi, Human Rights at the UN: The Political History of Universal Justice (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), chap. 9.
- David M. Trubek, "When Is an Omelet? What Is an Egg? Some Thought on Economic Development and Human Rights in Latin America," *American Journal* of International Law 67 (November 1973): 199.
- Amnesty International (AI), Report on Torture (1973), 207–10; Albala, Report on Mission to Iran, 1972, Papers of William J. Butler (PWJB), box 20, folder 451, Robert S. Marx Law Library, Archives, Rare Books, and Manuscripts Collections, University of Cincinnati.
- 4. AI, Report on Torture (1973), 210; AI, Press Conference on Iran, May 16, 1975, ISAP. On torture and political prisoners, see Committee against Repression in Iran, Iran: The Shah's Empire of Repression (London: Committee against Repression in Iran, November 1976), 23–27; AI, Briefing: Iran (1976): 6–9; House of Representatives, Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights in Iran, 94th Cong., 2nd Sess. 36–61 (1976). On the guerrilla armies, see Abrahamian, The Iranian Mojahedin; Vahabzadeh, A Guerrilla Odyssey.
- Martin McLaughlin and Robert Craig on the Aspen Institute Conference on Foreign Youth and the American Image Abroad, August 1962, RG 59, RIAD 1958–63, box 7, folder: 13-A Students: Fatemi and Qotbzadeh 1962, NARA.
- 6. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 140-47.
- 7. ISA Philadelphia, letter, 1976, ISAP.
- Keys, Reclaiming American Virtue; Moyn, The Last Utopia; Goedde, Hitchcock, and Iriye, eds., The Human Rights Revolution; Bradley, The World Reimagined, chs. 5–8.
- 9. "Oil, Grandeur and a Challenge to the West," Time, November 4, 1974; David Holden, "A Napoleonic Vision of Iran as a New Japan," NYT, May 26, 1974. See also Andrew Scott Cooper, The Oil Kings: How the U.S., Iran, and Saudi Arabia Changed the Balance of Power in the Middle East (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), 155–57; William A. Dorman and Mansour Farhang, The U.S. Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 131–35.
- 10. Christian Emery, US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution: The Cold War Dynamics of Engagement and Strategic Alliance (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 36–39; Guerrero, The Carter Administration and the Fall of Iran's Pahlavi Dynasty, chap. 3; Seliktar, Failing the Crystal Ball Test, chap. 3; Trenta, "The Champion of Human Rights Meets the King of Kings."
- 11. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 161-63; Milani, The Shah, 311.
- 12. Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:254-57; Behrooz, Rebels with A Cause, 39-41.
- 13. CISNU, Was It a Plot . . . ? See also Lucien Rey, "Guilt by Association," New Left

- Review 35 (January-February 1966): 102-4.
- ISAUS Executive Committee to Lyndon Johnson, May 11, 1965, WHCF, Countries, box 41, folder: CO 123 Iran, LBJL.
- ISA Minnesota to Lyndon Johnson, August 7, 1965, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 11, folder: Iran 1965 POL 132--b, NARA.
- ISA Chicago to Douglas, May 12, 1965, PWOD, box 1719, folder 3. This telegram
  was also sent to the White House and is alternately located in WHCF, Countries,
  box 41, folder: CO 123 Iran, LBJL.
- 17. CISNU, May 2, 1965, press release, PWOD, box 1719, folder 6.
- 18. ISAUS Executive Committee to Lyndon Johnson, May 11, 1965; Khosrow Shakeri to Johnson, July 7, 1965, both in WHCF, Countries, box 41, folder: CO 123 Iran, LBJL; Committee for the Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners and Students (Committee for the Defense), "Statement on the Trial of Fourteen Iranian Intellectuals," October 16, 1965, PWOD, box 1719, folder 6.
- "M.P.s' Protest Over Iran Graduates," Times (London), May 7, 1965; CISNU, Documents on the Pahlavi Reign of Terror in Iran: Eyewitness Reports and Newspaper Articles (Frankfurt: CISNU, 1971), 81–85; Letters and correspondences of the British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Iran, [1965], PWJB, box 20, folder 451; CISNU, Was It a Plot...?, 9.
- Khosrow Shakeri to Lyndon Johnson, July 7, 1965, WHCF, Countries, box 41, folder: CO 123 Iran, LBJL.
  - ۲۱. داگلاس از سوی ایرانیان سراسر جهان ابلاغیههایی رسمی دریافت کرد، از جمله ابلاغیهای که آن محاکمه را موضوعی «بسیار فوری» قلمداد کرده بود.
  - U.S. Supreme Court Memorandum, November 2, 1965, PWOD, box 1719, folder 6.
- Douglas to Lyndon Johnson, November 8, 1965; Komer to Douglas, November 27, 1965; Douglas to Komer, December 2, 1965, all in PWOD, box 1719, folder 6. For more, see WHCF, Countries, box 41, folder: CO 123 Iran, November 23, 1963–November 27, 1965, LBJL; RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 11, folder: Iran 1965 POL 238-, NARA.
- US/Tehran to State, "British Protest against Political Arrests in Iran," May 18, 1965,
   RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2335, folder: POL 29 Iran, NARA.
- 24. Hossein Mahdavy, "The Coming Crisis in Iran," Foreign Affairs 44 (October 1965): 134–46; US/Tehran to State, "Article by Dr. Hosein Mahdavy," October 4, 1965, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2337, folder: POL Iran-US, January 1, 1964, NARA; Miller, "The 'New Men'"; Miller to Herz, "Organization Activities of the National Front," April 18, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 6, folder: Iran 1964 POL 12-d, NARA; Robert Witherspoon on ISAUS Congress, August 31, 1965, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- Committee for the Defense, "Statement on the Trial of Fourteen Iranian Intellectuals"; Committee for the Defense, "Statement Concerning the Trial of 55

Young Iranians," April 24, 1966, PWOD, box 1720, folder 1.

- Confederation of Iranian Students (CIS) to U.N. Commission on Human Rights, October 25, 1965, in CISNU, Documents on the Pahlavi Reign of Terror in Iran, 65–69
- 27. "Students Led into False Beliefs," KI, October 19, 1965; "Prosecutor Counsels Nation's Youth," KI, October 20, 1965; "Shamsabadi? We Didn't Take Him Seriously," KI, October 17, 1965, all in RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 11, folder: Newspaper Clippings 1965 POL 238-, NARA.
- ISAUS, October 20, 1965, press release, USNSA box 220, folder: Iran 1963–66;
   ISAUS, November 25, 1965, press release, USNSA box 282, folder: Iranian.
- 29. CISNU, November 3, 1965, press release; "U Thant Acts on Iran Protest," Observer, November 7, 1965, both in CISNU, Documents on the Pahlavi Reign of Terror in Iran, 108–9, 114–15. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 88–89; "Iran Court to Hear Appeals," Times (London), November 4, 1965. "Two Sentenced to Death," KI, No200 vember 2, 1965; "Verdict on Marble Palace Case," KI, November 4, 1965, both in RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 11, folder: Newspaper Clippings 1965 POL 238-, NARA.
- "Iran Shah Commutes Two Death Sentences," Chicago Tribune, December 27, 1965.

Cyrus Qani and Eliot, October 13, 1965, MemCon, RG 59, RRI 1964-66, box 12, folder: Iran 1965 POL 2, NARA.

- Louis Blom-Cooper, "The Tehran Trial," Guardian (Manchester), November 4, 1965.
- 32. Bill, The Politics of Iran, 71-72.
- 33. "Attempted Assassination of the Shah," April 12, 1965, MemCon, RG 59 RRI 1964–66, box 11, folder: Iran 1965, POL 238-, NARA.
- "The Political Situation," May 6, 1965, MemCon, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 12, folder: Iran 1965 POL 1, NARA.
- 35. Keys, Reclaiming American Virtue, 5.
- 36. Moyn, The Last Utopia, 129–33; AI USA, "Biographical Note," Columbia University; Tom Buchanan, "The Truth Will Set You Free': The Making of Amnesty International," Journal of Contemporary History 37 (October 2002): 575–97; Keys, "Anti-Torture Politics," in The Human Rights Revolution, ed. Goedde, Hitchcock, and Iriye, 201–22; Sarah B. Snyder, "Exporting Amnesty International to the United States: Transatlantic Human Rights Activism in the 1960s," Human Rights Quarterly 34 (August 2012): 779—99.
- 37. US/Tehran to State, "Trial Begins for Conspirators in April Attempt on Shah's Life," October 12, 1965, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2332, folder: POL 151- Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA; AI, Annual Report, 1965–66, 15; CISNU, Documents on the Pahla-

- vi Reign of Terror in Iran, 59–63. The November 15, 1965 Amnesty International report authored by international observers is in PWOD, box 1719, folder 6.
- 38. AI, Annual Report 1969-1970, 9-10.
- 39. Hans-Heinz Heldmann, "Report on the Iran Trip," October 1970," PWJB, box
- 20, folder 451; AI, Annual Report 1970–1971, 68–69; "Amnesty Envoy Is Held by Iran Police," Guardian (Manchester), October 24, 1970; Slobodian, Foreign Front, 42, 104–5; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 119–20, 129.
- 40. Vahabzadeh, A Guerrilla Odyssey, 25-30.
- 41. "Iranian Student Group Is Banned," Militant, February 12, 1971; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 112.
- 42. Abrahamian, Tortured Confessions, 113-16.
- US/Tehran to State, June 14, 1971, telegram 3128, doc. 130; US/Tehran to State, June 14, 1971, telegram 3146, doc. 131; US/Tehran to Joseph Sisco, June 17, 1971, telegram 3242, doc. 132, all in FRUS 1969–1976, vol. E-4.
- House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Human Rights and U.S. Policy: Argentina, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Peru, and the Philippines, 94th Cong., 2nd Sess. 19 (1976).
- 45. AI, Annual Report, 1974-1975, 8.
- Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., The Imperial Presidency (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004).
- 47. Robert David Johnson, Congress and the Cold War (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chap. 6; Keys, Reclaiming American Virtue, chap. 7; Donald M. Fraser, "Freedom and Foreign Policy," Foreign Policy 26 (Spring 1977): 140—56. See also Thomas M. Franck, ed., The Tethered Presidency: Congressional Restraints on Executive Power (New York: New York University Press, 1981); David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect," Political Science Quarterly 105 (Autumn, 1990): 435—54; Sarah B. Snyder, "A Call for U.S. Leadership: Congressional Activism on Human Rights," Diplomatic History 37 (April 2013): 372–97.
- 48. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Executive Sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Historical Series), 87th Cong., 1st Sess. 13, pt. 2, 155–61 (1961); SenNOTE S TO PAGES 127–129 201 ate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Arms Sales to Near East and South Asian Countries, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. (1967).
- Armin Meyer to Eliot, May 15, 1967, RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 2, folder: POL 151-Iran 1967. NARA.
- US/Tehran to State, "Shah's Visit in Suspense," May 10, 1967, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 193; US/Tehran to State, "Shah and Fulbright," May 12, 1967, FRUS 1964–1968, vol. 22, doc. 195.
- Jeremi Suri, "Non-Governmental Organizations and Non-State Actors," in *Pal-grave Advances in International History*, ed. Patrick Finney (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 239.

- 52. William H. Sullivan, Mission to Iran (New York: Morton, 1981), 32.
- 53. "Sharon La Bere," October 5, 1971, MemCon; Douglas Heck to Jack Miklos, October 9, 1971, both in RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 6, folder: PS 7, Assistance to Citizens, Iran 1971, NARA. The media covered La Bere's arrest: "American Woman Arrested in Iran," WP, September 20, 1971; "Iran Is Reported to Hold U.S. Woman without Charge," NYT, October 8, 1971; "Iran Opens Military Trial of U.S. Woman as a Spy," NYT, November
- 10, 1971; "U.S. Woman Is Sentenced by Iran to 3-Year Term," NYT, November 17, 1971.
  Context for the Iranian government's charges in Vahabzadeh, A Guerrilla Odyssey,
  214–15
- 54. ISA Northern California, October 4, 1971, protest flyer, Iranian Political Opposition Literature Collection, box 48, folder 12, Hoover Institution Archives.
- 55. Ronald Dellums to Edward Springer, October 8, 1971; Don Edwards to Douglas MacArthur II, October 26, 1971; Douglas Heck to Edwards, November 4, 1971; Springer to Dellums, November 4, 1971, all in RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 6, folder: PS 7, Assistance to Citizens, Iran 1971, NARA. Robert Self, "'To Plan Our Liberation': Black Power and the Politics of Place in Oakland, California, 1965–1977," Journal of Urban History 26 (September 2000): 784.
- 56. Douglas Heck to Jack Miklos, October 9, 1971; Edward Springer to Joel La Bere, November 17, 1971, enclosure with Springer to Miklos, December 1, 1971, both in RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 6, folder: PS 7, Assistance to Citizens, Iran 1971, NARA. "U.S. Woman Is Sentenced by Iran to 3-Year Term," NYT, November 17, 1971; "Sharon La Bere Is Freed," Chicago Daily Defender, January 25, 1972.
- 57. Abrahamian, The Iranian Mojahedin, 128-35.
- 58. Parren Mitchell to Amir Aslan Afshar, February 24, 1972; Shirley Chisholm to William Rogers, February 25, 1972; Ronald Dellums to Amir Abbas Hoveyda, February 28, 1972, all in ISAUS, Corruption and Struggle in Iran (Berkeley, CA: ISAUS Defense Section, June 1972), 22–24. Chisholm letter in RG 59, SNF 1970–73, box 2378, folder: POL 12 Iran, January 1, 1970, NARA. See also "17 Iranian Students Protest Over Politics in Homeland," WP, February 20, 1972.
  - ۵۹. هفت نفر از این ۹ نفر در اوایل سال ۱۹۶۸ در طول مراحل طراحی یک حملهٔ چریکی دستگیر شدند. آنها به مدت هفت سال در زندان بودند تا اینکه در فروردین ۱۳۵۴ به همراه دو نفر دیگر در بیرون از زندان اوین مورد اصابت گلوله قرار گرفتند و کشته شدند.

    Vahabzadeh, A Guerrilla Odyssey, 17-21, 37-38.
- ISA Washington-Baltimore, Shah's U.S. Visit, Nine Murdered under Torture (Washington, DC: ISA Washington-Baltimore, 1975), 26, 31–34, 46–47a; Kenneth Cmiel, "The Emergence of Human Rights Politics in the United States," Journal of American History 86 (December 1999): 1238.
- Donald Fraser to Robert McCloskey, June 26, 1975, RG 59, Human Rights Subject Files 1975, box 3, folder: Human Rights-Iran, NARA.
- 62. Snyder, "'A Call for U.S. Leadership," 372, 376.

- Edward M. Kennedy, "The Persian Gulf: Arms Race or Arms Control?" Foreign Affairs 54 (October 1975): 14.
  - دانشجویان ایرانی نیز از دیدگاهی دیگر به نتایجی مشابه رسیدند و اظهار کردند که ایران «بازار اصلی صنعت تسلیحات پس از جنگ ویتنام است».
  - *Dhofar* (Berkeley: ISA and Arab Students in Northern California, December 1974). 64. U.S. Congress, Foreign Assistance Act of 1974, Public Law 93–559, 93rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 30, 1974); Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue*, 160–65. 65. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 223.
- 66. Snyder, "A Call for U.S. Leadership," 376–77; House of Representatives, Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on International Organizations and Movements, Human Rights in South Korea: Implications for U.S. Policy, 93rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 28–50 (1974); David Weissbrodt, "The Role of International Nongovernmental Organizations in the Implementation of Human Rights," Texas International Law Journal 12 (1977): 299n37.
- State to US/Tehran, "International Commission of Jurists' Visit," September 16, 1975, 1975State220650, AAD.
- 68. Refer to material in PWIB, box 20, folder 440.
- Qotbzadeh to William Butler, December 21, 1977, PWJB, box 17, folder 402;
   Ebrahim Yazdi to Butler, July 20, 1978, PWJB, box 20, folder 446.
- Donald Fraser to Eli Whitney Debevoise, September 17, 1975, PWJB, box 20, folder
- 71. Hubert Humphrey to Butler, May 24, 1976; George McGovern to Butler, June 1, 1976; Clifford Case to Butler, June 4, 1976, all in PWJB, box 21, folder 458. The final product of the ICJ investigation was Butler and Levasseur, Human Rights and the Legal System in Iran. Iran's Liberation Movement abroad translated the ICJ report into Persian. Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 225n7.
- 72. Statement of Butler, House Subcommittee, Human Rights in Iran, 1-16.
- Statement of Reza Baraheni, House Subcommittee, Human Rights in Iran, 36–61;
   Baraheni, The Crowned Cannibals: Writings on Repression in Iran (New York:
   Vintage, 1977), 3–18;
   Baraheni, God's Shadow: Prison Poems (Bloomington:
   Indiana University Press, 1976).
- 74. ISAUS, "On the Violation of Human Rights in Iran," House Subcommittee, Human Rights in Iran, 70–83; State to USDEL Secretary, "HIRC Hearings on Human Rights in Iran," August 5, 1976, 1976State193516, AAD.
- 75. House Committee, Human Rights and U.S. Policy, 22.
- Charles Naas, interview by William Burr, May 31, 1988, p. 113, OHIC/FIS; Archie Bolster, interview by William Burr, May 3, 1988, p. 227, OHIC/FIS.
- 77. Shawcross, The Shah's Last Ride, 189.
- 78. Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 152-53.
- 79. Halliday, Iran, 78-84; Shawcross, The Shah's Last Ride, 197-201.
- 80. Sullivan, Mission to Iran, 96.

- Halliday, Iran, 78–90; Shawcross, The Shah's Last Ride, 197–201; Statements of Butler and Reza Baraheni, House Subcommittee, Human Rights in Iran.
- 82. ISAUS, Resistance, December 1977, 2, ISAP.
- 83. ISAUS, Resistance, May 1975, 11-14, ISAP.
- 84. ISAUS, Resistance, July 1977, 27–28, Women Strike for Peace Records, series D1, box 5, subject file: Iranian Students Association 1977–78, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.
- "Iranian Students' Hunger Protest," San Francisco Chronicle, July 25, 1975, ISAP;
   ISA Philadelphia, "Hunger Strike: Defend Iranian Political Prisoners," July 1975,
   flyer, ISAP.
- 86. US/UN Mission to State, "Demonstration Re Iran," January 8, 1976, 1976USUNN 00046, AAD; ISAUS, "Support Iranian Patriots Facing Death!" January 7, 1976, flyer, ISAP.
- Robert Erlandson, "Protesters Opposing Shah of Iran March on District from Baltimore," Baltimore Sun, January 8, 1976.
- Nuri Albala, Report on Mission to Iran, 1972, PWJB, box 20, folder 451; Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 67; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 133–34.
- 89. Farhang interview, pp. 73, 82-84.
- 90. AI, Report on Torture (1973), 207-10.
- 91. Statement of Butler, House Subcommittee, Human Rights in Iran, 7.
- 92. Menashri, Education and the Making of Modern Iran, 127-28.
- British Embassy Tehran (Sir Geoffrey Harrison) to the Earl of Home, "Iranian Students in Politics," March 8, 1961, EP 17413/, FCO 371157655/, NAUK.
- Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah, 153; Fardust, The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty, 240–45.
- Rafizadeh, Witness, chaps. 8 and 9, quotes on 108, 155; Franklin Crawford to US/ Tehran, "Conversation with Mansur Rafizadeh," June 5, 1962, RG 59, RIAD, 1958– 63. box 7, folder: Student Activities. NARA.
- 96. Jack Anderson, "FBI No Shield for Political Refugees," WP, August 1, 1979.
- 97. US/Tehran to State, "Shah's Visit," May 23, 1964, RG 59, CFPF 1964–66, box 2331, folder: POL 7 Iran, January 1, 1964, NARA; "Controlled American Source" to US/ Tehran, "SAVAK Discussion with NF Leader," August 1, 1964, memorandum, DNSA, IR00533; "Iranian Students Stage Protest Sit-In at Consulate," NYT, July 6, 1961; Katherine Bracken to Phillips Talbot, "Iranian Students," April 27, 1964, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 6, folder: Iran 1964 POL 132- and 132--b, NARA; Franklin Crawford to P. J. Balestrieri, "Reported Entry of Farajollah Ardalan into the United States," February 16, 1966, RG 59, RRI 1964–66, box 11, folder: Iran 1966 POL 132--b, NARA.
- Keirn Brown to Eliot, "Official Visit to the United States of His Imperial Majesty,"
   August 9, 1967, RG 59, RRI 1965–75, box 1, folder: POL 132- Students, Youth

- Groups, Iran 1967 (Activities not in Iran), NARA. The list is attached to Brown's memorandum.
- State Department Office of Security Los Angeles Field Office, July 6, 1966, RG 59,
   RRI 1964–66, box 17, folder: Iran 1966 POL 132-, NARA; De Villiers, The Imperial Shah, 255–58.
- NSC for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Activities in Your Absence," July 18, 1978, memorandum, Remote Archives Capture (RAC) Project Number NLC-10-5-13-2-9, ICL.
- House Subcommittee, Human Rights in Iran, 42, 74; ISAUS, Resistance, January 1977, 8, ISAP; AI, Report on Torture (1973), 207.
- 102. Records of the Prime Minister's Office (PREM) 16956/, NAUK; Michael Parkin, "Iranian Students Complain of Spies on the Campus," *Guardian* (Manchester), May 2, 1975; "Bradford Link Stirred PM to Press Shah to Free Academic Detainee," *Times Higher Education*, January 5, 2007.
- British Embassy Tehran to FCO, May 5, 1975, telegram 341, PREM 16956/, NAUK.
- 104. ISAUS, Defend the 41 (Berkeley, CA, January 1973), 3.
  - ۱۰۵. عباس میلانی با اشاره به مصاحبهای از رهبر کنفدراسیون دانشجویان و محصلین ایرانی مینویسد برخی اسناد جعلی اند، در The Shah, 372, 476n12.
  - اسدالله علم مینویسد دانشجویان «اسناد دسته بندی شدهٔ متعددی را از بین بردهاند» در The Shah and I, 491.
- 106. "Iranian Consulate Occupied by Students in Geneva," NYT, June 2, 1976; Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, "Iranian Secret Police Dirty Tricks," WP, October 29, 1976; Gregory Rose, "The Shah's Secret Police Are Here," New York Magazine, September 18, 1978; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 153–56; ISAUS, Resistance, January 1977, ISAP.
- 107. US/Bern to State, "Swiss Expel Iranian Diplomat," September 2, 1976, 1976Bern03978, AAD; "Swiss Claim Iran Spy in Geneva," Guardian (Manchester), September 4, 1976; US/ Tehran to State, "Diplomats' Recall," September 2, 1976, 1976Tehran08922, AAD; US/Tehran to State, "More on Diplomats' Recall," September 8, 1976, 1976Tehran09087, AAD.
- 108. "The Shah, on Israel, Corruption, Torture and ...," NYT, October 22, 1976. Jack Miklos later offered a qualified corroboration of the shah's confession. Jack Miklos, interview by William Burr, June 21, 1988, pp. 146–47, OHIC/FIS. "60 Minutes" continued to run stories on SAVAK. "Sixty Minutes" Television Program on SAVAK, March 6, 1977, incomplete transcript, DNSA, IR01153; "Report Chicago Spy Data Used by Iranian Secret Police," Chicago Tribune, March 7, 1977; "60 Minutes" Television Program on SAVAK, Final Cut, March 2, 1980, transcript, vol. 12, no. 25, CPP, Staff Offices (SO), Hedley Donovan, box 2, folder: Iran [CF, O/A 706], JCL.
- 109. Harry Kelly, "Enemies or Allies? It's Hard to Tell," Chicago Tribune, December 23,

1976; Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, "Torture, Terror in Iran," WP, May 29, 1976; Dorman and Farhang, *The U.S. Press and Iran*, 144–51.

- 110. Radji, In the Service of the Peacock Throne, 85, 102, 147.
- US/Santiago to State, "Chile: Dialogue on Human Rights Matters," December 14, 1976, 1976Santia11822, AAD.
- 112. Americans for Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners, "Defend Iranian Political Prisoners," [1975], ISAP. Emphasis in original. For a comparable student publication with the same title, see ISA Northern California, "Defend Iranian Political Prisoners" (ISA Northern California, 1975).
- 113. Robert Lempert, "Panel Details America's Oppressive Role in Iran," Stanford Daily, February 13, 1978.
- 114. U.S. People's Committee on Iran, "Statement of Purpose," 1977, James F. Hitselberger Papers, box 1, folder: American Political Materials on Iran; U.S. People's Committee on Iran, "A Report from Iran: An American Perspective," May 3, 1978, James F. Hitselberger Papers, box 2. The Hitselberger Papers are at the Hoover Institution Archives.
- 115. Mansur Farhang interview, 110, 108.
- 116. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 219–26; Halliday, Iran, 89–90; Shawcross, The Shah's Last Ride, 201. Butler to Donald Fraser, October 6, 1977, PWJB, box 17, folder 404; Butler to Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, May 1, 1978, PWJB, box 17, folder 403.

Keddie, Modern Iran, 214-15; Cooper, The Fall of Heaven, 214, 233-34. براى مطالعه در مور د حقوق بشر، كارتر و شاه نك:

Trenta, "The Champion of Human Rights Meets the King of Kings," 478-79.

- 118. Trenta, "The Champion of Human Rights Meets the King of Kings"; Christos P. Ioannides, America's Iran: Injury and Catharsis (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 27–36. Critiques of Carter's human rights record in other countries include Kenton Clymer, "Jimmy Carter, Human Rights, and Cambodia," Diplomatic History 27 (April 2003): 245–78; Bradley R. Simpson, "Denying the 'First Right: The United States, Indonesia, and the Ranking of Human Rights by the Carter Administration, 1976–1980," International History Review 31 (December 2009): 798–826.
- 119. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Advisor, 1977–1981 (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1983), 357.
- 120. Anthony Lake to Cyrus Vance, "The Human Rights Policy," January 16, 1978, CPP, WHCF, Subject File, Human Rights, box HU-1, folder: HU, January 20, 1977–January 20, 1981, JCL.
- 121. House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, United States Arms Policies in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea Areas: Past, Present, and Future,95th Cong., 1st Sess. 135 (1977); Letters from Jimmy Carter to Tip O'Neill and Hubert

- Humphrey, July 28, 1977, CPP, WHCF, Subject File, Countries, box CO-31, folder: CO71 Executive, January 20, 1977–August 31, 1977, JCL.
- 122. Jimmy Carter, "Tehran, Iran Toasts of the President and the Shah at a State Dinner," December 31, 1977, APP; "Iran Students Hold Protest in Capital," *LAT*, January 1, 1978.
- 123. ISAUS, U.S. Involvement in Iran, 77. 124. Cyrus Vance to Jimmy Carter, "Visit of the Shah and Shahbanou," November 10, 1977, CPP, SO, National Security Affairs, Brzezinski Material, VIP Visit File, box 5, folder: Iran, Shah, November 11–15, 1977, JCL.
- Anthony Parsons, "Human Rights in Iran," April 12, 1977, Diplomatic Report No. 17577/, FCO 82998/. NAUK.
- 126. British Embassy Tehran to FCO, "Iran's Image Abroad," February 2, 1977, FCO 581164/, NAUK.
- 127. Lee Lescaze and Walter Pincus, "Iran Courts U.S. to Enhance Relations," WP, November 28, 1976.
- 128. Keddie, Modern Iran, 215-16.
- 129. Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 226-34, quote on 228.
- 130. Mansur Farhang interview, 84.

# نتيجهگيري

- US/Tehran to State, "Youth in Iran," February 22, 1971, airgram A-56, FRUS 1969– 1976, vol. E-4, doc. 116.
- David C. Engerman and Corinna R. Unger, "Towards a Global History of Modernization," *Diplomatic History* 33 (June 2009): 382–83.
- On the cosmopolitanism of the early revolutionary movement, see Dabashi, Iran without Borders.
- Moin, Khomeini, 153–57; Algar, ed., Islam and Revolution, 200–208; Ruhollah Khomeini, Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist, ed. and trans. Hamid Algar (Tehran: Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Work, 2002).
- 5. Moin, Khomeini, 148-49.
- 6. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 85, 110-11, 115-16, 132, 152.
- 7. Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 199; Moin, Khomeini, 149.
- Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 72–73, 160; Abrahamian, The Iranian Mojahedin, chap. 6.
- Organization of Iranian Moslem Students (OIMS), The Rise, vol. 5: Compiled Documents of the Organization of Iranian Moslem Students, September 1976–April 1979 (Wilmette: Organization of Iranian Moslem Students, April 1979), 7–10, 134.
- Gary Sick to Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Iranian Demonstrations," November 11, 1978, CPP, WHCF, Subject File, Countries, box CO-31, folder: CO 71 Executive, November 21, 1977–December 31, 1978, JCL.

- 11. OIMS, The Rise, 7.
- Keddie, Modern Iran, chap. 9; Charles Corddry, "U.S. Pondered Teaching Iran Riot-Control Tactics," Baltimore Sun, November 7, 1978.
- Robin Wright, The Last Great Revolution: Turmoil and Transformation in Iran (New York: Vintage), 2001
- 14. Henry Kissinger, White House Years (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 1260.
- 15. Said Amir Arjomand, The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Amin Saikal, The Rise and Fall of the Shah: Iran from Autocracy to Religious Rule (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Joe Morris, "Iran Demonstrators Openly Urge Death of the Shah," LAT, December 12, 1978; OIMS, The Rise, 48.
- "1,200 Iranians March Here to Protest Shah," WP, December 12, 1978; "Iranian Students Rally on Common," BG, December. 10, 1978.
- Christopher Dickey, "Demonstrations Break Out Here Just Like Spring," WP, December 11, 1978.
- 19. Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 160-62.
- 20. "Report on the National Convention of Iranian Students Association," August 1979, David Sullivan U.S. Maoism Collection, box 4, folder 13, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University.
- 21. Naraghi, From Palace to Prison, 224.
- Afshin Matin-Asgari, "Tehran Memoirs and Diaries: Winter 1979 and Summer 1997," Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East 20, nos. 1–2 (2000): 172; Ghamari-Tabrizi, "Between the Shah and the Imam," 240.
- 23. Neda Semnani, "Memoirs of a Revolutionary's Daughter," Baffler 29 (2015).
- 24. "From the Campus to the Street," Time, December 17, 1979.
- 25. See, for instance, Farman Farmaian, Daughter of Persia.
- 26. Milani, The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution, chap. 7.
- 27. Moin, Khomeini, chap. 10, quotes on 190.
- Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, chaps. 3–5; Hamid Dabashi, Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2006), chap. 6; Ali Rahnema, An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shari'ati (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998).
- Dabashi, Theology of Discontent, chap. 7, quote on 402; Matin-Asgari, Iranian Student Opposition to the Shah, 71, 86, 92.
- Hamilton Jordan to Jimmy Carter, "Telephone Conversation with Richard Cottam," January 29, 1980, CPP, SO, Chief of Staff, Hamilton Jordan, box 34B, folder: Iran, January 1980, JCL.
- Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 67–76; Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 192–93; Ootbzadeh, December 21, 1977, PWJB, box 17, folder 402.
- 32. David Binder, "C.I.A. Sought to Put Wiretap on Aide to Ayatollah," NYT, March

- 11, 1979; Nicholas Chriss, "Family in Houston: Khomaini Aide a U.S. Citizen," *LAT*, March 15, 1979; Chehabi, *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism*, 99–100, 189–90, 198–202, 218–
- 20; White House, June 11, 1963, office route slip, WHCF, Subject File, box 59, folder: CO 123 Iran, General, JFKL; Ebrahim Yazdi, "A Look at Human Rights in Iran," December 9, 1974, PWJB, box 20, folder 451.
- 33. Moin, Khomeini, 192–93; Janet Afary and Kevin B. Anderson, Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 70–71, 85–86; Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 88–89; State, "Iran Update," August 15, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-1280-11-5-2-, JCL; Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 198, 200.
- 34. Milani, The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution, 119.
- 35. Ward, Immortal, 1-2, 218-21.
- Arjomand, The Turban for the Crown, 123; Ioannides, America's Iran, 165–85;
   Nicholas Chriss, "Students from Mideast Suffer Culture Shock," LAT, February 4, 1975
- 37. Ward, Immortal, 197-98.
- Robert E. Huyser, Mission to Tehran (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 26, 187;
   Twitchell interview, p. 57.
- 39. Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 149.
- 40. Ward, Immortal, 198.
- 41. Airgram A-56, FRUS 1969–1976, vol. E-4, doc. 116; Milani, Eminent Persians, 1:457–61.
- 42. Arjomand, The Turban for the Crown, 123.
- 43. Huyser, Mission to Tehran, 188, 197, 218.
- 44. Arjomand, The Turban for the Crown, 123, 126–27; Huyser, Mission to Tehran, 217, 231, 281; Keddie, Modern Iran, 238; Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 149. See also Misagh Parsa, Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 241–47; James Buchan, Days of God: The Revolution in Iran and Its Consequences (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2012), ch. 11.
- 45. On the debate over the U.S. response to the Chinese Revolution of 1949, see Jian Chen, Mao's China and the Cold War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 378–79.
- 46. Emery, US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution.
- Chehabi, Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism, 40, 55, 190–91, 253–57; Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution (New York: Vintage, 1965), chap. 5.
- "Mansour Farhang, Top Khomeini Ally Who Fled Iran, Talks to Don Oberdorfer,"
   WP, November 28, 1982.
- 49. Emery, US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution, 73-79.
- Robert Mantel to Henry Precht, "Contact with Sadegh Ghotbzadeh," January 17, 1979, DNSA, IR02120.

- David Newsom and Harold Saunders to Cyrus Vance, November 9, 1979, RAC Project Number NLC-1281-1-9-8-, JCL.
- 52. Hakimzadeh, "Iran: A Vast Diaspora Abroad and Millions of Refugees at Home."
- NSC for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Evening Report: Middle East/North Africa," October 15, 1979, memorandum, RAC Project Number NLC-101-9-4-24-, JCL.
- 54. Mark Bowden, Guests of the Ayatollah: The First Battle in America's War with Militant Islam (New York: Grove Press, 2006); David Farber, Taken Hostage: The Iran Hostage Crisis and America's First Encounter with Radical Islam (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Gary Sick, All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran (New York: Random House, 1985).
- White House Situation Room Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Additional Information Items," March 29, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-11-26-6-14-, JCL.
- Massoumeh Ebtekar, Takeover in Tehran: The Inside Story of the 1979 U.S. Embassy Capture, in collaboration with Fred A. Reed (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2000), 40–42; Bowden, Guests of the Ayatollah, 68, 159–63.
- NSC Special Coordinating Committee (SCC) Meeting, "Iran," November 16, 1979,
   RAC Project Number NLC-170-2-21-17-, JCL.
- SCC Meetings: "Iran/Pakistan," January 10, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-128- 100-12-6-, JCL; "Iran/Pakistan/Afghanistan," January 11, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-174-1-27-18-, JCL; "Iran and Afghanistan," March 25, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-1280-10-8-10-, JCL.
- 59. Sick, All Fall Down, chap. 12. For more on the Cottam-Qotbzadeh channel, see the documents in the folder titled "[Iran]—Ghotbzadeh- Cottam," CPP, SO, Chief of Staff, Jordan, box 35, JCL; Russell Leigh Moses, Freeing the Hostages: Reexamining U.S.-Iranian Negotiations and Soviet Policy, 1979–1981 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 52–59, 124–32, 264–66, 335–36; Emery, US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution, 156–58.
- Harold Saunders, "Diplomacy and Pressure, November 1979

  –May 1980," in American Hostages in Iran: The Conduct of a Crisis, ed. Paul H. Kreisberg (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 132

  –36.
- Abolhasan Banisadr, My Turn to Speak: Iran, the Revolution and Secret Deals with the U.S., trans. William Ford (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1991), chap. 16; Jerome, The Man in the Mirror, 204–96.
- 62. Saunders, "Diplomacy and Pressure," 134–35, 140–41; SCC Meeting, "Iran/Afghanistan," April 3, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-1283-17-8-10-, JCL; House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, The Iran Hostage Crisis: A Chronology of Daily Developments. 97th Cong., 1st Sess. 48–49 (1981).
- Paul B. Ryan, The Iranian Rescue Mission: Why It Failed (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1985).
- "Teary Iran Military Cadets Pack Up, Go," LAT, April 11, 1980; "Tearful Hostage Kin Sees Off Students," LAT, April 12, 1980; Rod Clarke, "Iranian Naval Cadets

- Leave Vermont School," BG, April 12, 1980. See also the many local newspaper clippings in LEHR.
- 65. Loring Hart, "Departure of the Iranian Naval Cadets," April 1980; "To the President of the United States and to the Press," April 11, 1980, enclosure C, both in LEHR.
- 66. Iranian Senior Students to Loring Hart, August 1980; "Resolution re degrees—1980," [Spring 1980], both in LEHR.
  - در سپتامبر ۲۰۰۵ دانشگاه نورویچ به ده ایرانهای که گروگان گیری در سفارت ایالات متحد دورهٔ تحصیلی شان را زودتر از موعد به یابان رساند، مدارج افتخاری اعطا کرد.
- 67. SCC Meeting, "Iran and Afghanistan," May 20, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-17-215-4-10-, JCL; SCC Meeting, "Iran," June 3, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-337 1--48-14-, JCL. A. Bartlett Giamatti to Lloyd Cutler, May 27, 1980; Michael Cardozo to Cutler, "Questions Posed by Senators Re Iranian Students," November 9, 1979, both in CPP, SO, Counsel, Lloyd Cutler, box 95, folder: Iran—Visas, November 1979–June 1980, JCL. 68. Duane Spriestersbach and Michael Pelczar to Jimmy Carter, May 29, 1980, American Council on Education (ACE), box 1655, folder: Foreign Student / Iran Correspondence, Hoover Institution Archives.
- Jack Reichard, "Proposed Letter to President Carter Concerning Status of Iranian Students in the U.S.," April 15, 1980, ACE, box 1655, folder: Foreign Student / Iran Memorandums.
- 70. Letter to Jimmy Carter, April 25, 1980; A. Bartlett Giamatti to Lloyd Cutler, May 27, 1980, both in CPP, SO, Counsel, Lloyd Cutler, box 95, folder: Iran—Visas, November 1979–June 1980, JCL. See also Derek Bok to Edmund Muskie, May 23, 1980; Jack Peltason to Edmund Muskie, June 4, 1980, both in ACE, box 1655, folder: Foreign Student / Iran Correspondence.
- 71. SCC Meeting, "Iran," June 3, 1980, RAC Project Number NLC-337-1-48-14-, JCL.

### سخن پایانی

- Jeremi Suri, "The Cultural Contradictions of Cold War Education: West Berlin and the Youth Revolt of the 1960s," in *Local Consequences of the Global Cold War*, ed. Jeffrey A. Engel (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2007), 60–62.
- Henry J. Kellermann, Cultural Relations as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy: The Educational Exchange Program between the United States and Germany, 1945–1954 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 1978); Kenichi Nakaya and Robert Schwantes, Ten Years of Cultural and Educational Interchange between Japan and America, 1952–1961, Joint United States–Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Interchange, January 1962.
- 3. Bill, The Politics of Iran; Cottam, Nationalism in Iran; Goode, The United States and Iran
- Martin F. Herz, ed., Contacts with the Opposition: A Symposium (Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1979), 27, 25.

- Suroosh Irfani, quoted in Eric Selbin, "What Was Revolutionary about the Iranian Revolution? The Power of Possibility," Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East 29, no. 1 (2009): 41.
- 6. Simpson, "Denying the 'First Right.' "
- 7. Oliver August, "The Revolution Is Over," The Economist, November 1, 2014.
- See, for instance, Barack Obama, "Joint Statement by the United States of America and the European Union Calling on the Iranian Government to Fulfill Its Human Rights Obligations," February 8, 2010, APP.
- Arash Karami, "Is Iran Judiciary Open to Negotiating on Human Rights?" Al-Monitor, August 4, 2016.
- 10. Patrikarakos, Nuclear Iran.
- Arthur MacMillan, "Iranians Celebrate Nuclear Deal, Hail Zarif as Hero," Ya-hoo!News, July 14, 2015; "The World Has Changed': Bold Statements from Iranian Newspapers in Reaction to Iran Deal," Global Voices, July 15, 2015.
  - ۱۲. حسن روحاني. «زمان تعامل سازنده فرا رسيده است». واشينگتن پست. ١٩ سپتامبر ٢٠١٣.
- Michael O'Brien and Elizabeth Chuck, "Obama and Rouhani Make History with Phone Call," NBC News, September 27, 2013.
- Moisés Naím, "The Case for Giving Iran's Scholar-Diplomats a Chance," Atlantic, December 3, 2013.
- 15. "Rouhani's US-Educated Cabinet," Iran Primer, November 13, 2014.
- Laura Rozen, "Iran Nuclear Diplomat Known to U.S. as Tough, Professional," Al-Monitor, April 11, 2014.
- Mohammad Ali Shabani, "Salehi Reveals New Details of Secret US, Iran Back Channel," Al-Monitor, December 23, 2015; Fred Thys, "For 2 Key Iran Deal Negotiators, MIT Experiences Created a Helpful Connection," WBUR News, July 27, 2015.
- Robin Wright, "The Adversary," New Yorker, May 26, 2014; Indira Lakshmanan,
   "As Iran Talks Ended, A Choked-Up Kerry and Lots of Raw Emotions," Bloomberg,
   July 15, 2015.
- Alastair Jamieson, "New Iran President Expected to Tap US-Educated Advisers," NBC News, July 21, 2013.
- Reza Akbari, "Rouhani's US-Educated Chief of Staff Knows East and West," Al-Monitor, August 5, 2013.
- 21. Wright, "The Adversary."
- 22. Sam Wilkin and Babak Dehghanpisheh, "Rouhani Says Nuclear Deal a 'Third Way' for Iranian Foreign Policy," *Reuters*, August 2, 2015; Farideh Farhi, "The Nuclear Deal and Expunging Iran's Historical Ghosts," *Lobe Log*, July 15, 2015.
- Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
- 24. Commission for Cultural Exchange, Annual Program Proposal, 1976.
- 25. US/Tehran to State, "Youth in Iran."

- 26. Pollack, The Persian Puzzle, 312-19.
- Aisha Labi, "Iran Eases Constraints on Academic Contacts with West," Chronicle of Higher Education, June 15, 2014; Ian Wilhelm, "3 Ways a Thaw in U.S.-Iran Relations Could Affect American Colleges," Chronicle of Higher Education, July 15, 2015.
- 28. Monica Byrne, "Reconciliation," Lobe Log, November 16, 2014.