Contents

About the Author ---- VII

Preface and Acknowledgments ---- IX

Chapter 1		
Introduction —— 1		
1.1	A Brief History of Protests Since the 1979 Revolution —— 1	
1.2	Resistance to Khomeini's Dictatorship, 1979 – 1981 —— 2	
1.3	Resistance and Mass Protests, 1982 – 2023 —— 4	
1.3.1	May 1992, Mashhad 4	
1.3.2	April 1995, Islamshahr —— 5	
1.3.3	November 1998, Mass Protests at Funeral of Dariush and Parvaneh	
	Forouhar —— 5	
1.3.4	July 1999, Pro-democracy Student Protests —— 6	
1.3.5	June 2003, Pro-democracy Student Protests —— 7	
1.3.6	2009 – 2010, The Green Movement —— 7	
1.3.7	December 2017–January 2018, Mass Protest — 7	
1.3.8	November 2019, Mass Protests Against Gasoline Prices —— 8	
1.3.9	January 2020 Civil Society Protests —— 9	
1.3.10	September 2022 – 2023, Mass Protests to Overthrow —— 9	
1.4	On the Nature of the Fundamentalist Regime —— 10	
1.5	Intra-elite Factionalism —— 24	
Chapte	r 2	
•	een Movement, 2009 - 2010 30	
2.1	What was the Fight About? Distribution of Power and the Proper Role of	
2.1	the Supreme Leader —— 30	
2.2	Supporters of Ahmadinejad's Reelection —— 37	
2.2.1	The Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei —— 37	
2.2.2	IRGC and Basij —— 38	
2.2.3	Ayatollah Mesbah Yazdi and His Supporters —— 47	
2.2.4	Mojtaba Khamenei and Succession —— 48	
2.2.5	Hardline Fundamentalists Who Oppose Détente with the United	
	States —— 51	
2.2.6	Ahmadinejad's Inner Circle —— 53	
2.3	Opponents of Ahmadinejad —— 54	

Ayatollah Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani — 54



2.3.1

2.3.2	Reformists Elements of the Oligarchy —— 56
2.3.3	Hojatolislam Mehdi Karrubi — 60
2.3.4	Mir-Hussein Moussavi —— 61
2.3.5	The Youth Social Base Who Voted for Moussavi —— 65
2.3.6	Secular Modern Middle Classes —— 67
2.3.7	The Solid Opposition —— 68
2.4	From Difference to Conflict — 70
2.4.1	July 9 Protests —— 71
2.4.2	Hashemi Rafsanjani's July 17 Speech —— 72
2.4.3	The Social Sciences and Show Trials —— 76
2.4.4	September 18, 2009, Qods Day —— 78
2.4.5	November 4, 2009, the Anniversary of Taking Americans Hostage —— 79
2.4.6	December, National Student Day, Death of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, and Ashura —— 81
2.4.7	From Ashura to February 11: Crisis, Paralysis, and Response —— 87
2.4.8	May 1, 2010, International Workers' Day, and May 2, 2010, National Teachers' Day —— 99
2.4.9	June 2010 — 100
2.4.10	February 2011, Revival of the Green Movement and Arrests of Moussavi and Karrubi —— 103
2.4.11	Conflict Between Ahmadinejad and Khamenei —— 105
2.4.12	Political Paralysis —— 107
2.5	Conclusion — 112
Chapte	r 3
Mass P	rotests, December 2017 – January 2018 —— 114
3.1	Causes —— 116
3.2	Policy Ramifications —— 117
Chapte	
The Po	litical Situation in 2022 —— 119
4.1	Crisis of Legitimacy —— 119
4.2	Crisis of Succession to the Supreme Leader —— 121
4.3	Economic Crisis —— 123
Chapte	r 5
Womaı	n, Life, Freedom, the 2022–2023 Mass Protests —— 133
5.1	The Straws Before the Final Straw that Broke the Camel's Back —— 134
5.2	Women's Oppression Under the Fundamentalist Regime —— 135

5.3	The Emergence of Prominent Female Leaders —— 136
5.3.1	Shirin Ebadi — 136
5.3.2	Nasrin Sotoudeh —— 137
5.3.3	Narges Mohammadi —— 137
5.3.4	Parastoo Forouhar —— 137
5.3.5	Darya Safai —— 138
5.3.6	Masih Alinejad —— 138
5.3.7	Sepideh Gholian —— 139
5.3.8	Atena Daemi —— 140
5.3.9	Faezeh Hashemi Rafsanjani —— 140
5.4	Brilliant Women as Role Models —— 140
5.5	Courage Under Repression by Men —— 141
5.6	2019 – 2022: The Worst Years for Fundamentalist Intelligence Agencies and
	Military Apparatuses —— 145
5.7	Celebrities Speak Up —— 148
5.8	The Role of Satellite Television and Social Media —— 150
5.8.1	Iran International Television —— 151
5.8.2	Voice of America Television and Radio Farda —— 155
5.9	The Final Straw —— 156
5.10	Chronology of the 2022 – 2023 Mass Protests —— 157
5.11	Characteristics —— 167
5.11.1	Women's Revolution —— 171
5.11.2	Widespread Participation by Young Women —— 171
5.11.3	Youth's Revolution —— 173
5.11.4	Ethno-sectarian Minorities as Pillars of a Pluralistic Iran —— 173
5.11.5	From Small Towns and Rural Areas to Large Cities —— 176
5.11.6	Multi-class Mass Participation —— 176
5.11.7	Monarchists Vs. Democrats —— 179
5.11.8	Slogans of the Protesters —— 191
Chapter	6
Conclus	ion: Regime Survival or Regime Collapse —— 195
6.1	The Election of Ebrahim Raisi to the Presidency: Hardline Solution to Crises
<i>c</i> 2	or the Final Nail in the Coffin? —— 200
6.2	Policy Ramifications — 202
6.2.1	Pro-IRI Lobby Groups and Individuals —— 203
6.2.2	The Obama Presidency: Costs of Appeasement —— 209
6.2.3	The Biden Presidency: Respite or Reprieve? —— 210
6.2.4	China, Russia, and the E.U. —— 212

XVI — Contents

Index ---- 253

6.3	Conclusion —— 213	
6.3.1	Possible Outcomes of the Mass Protests —— 214	
6.3.1.1	Hardline Policies and Outcomes —— 215	
6.3.1.1.1	Successful Crushing of the Mass Protests —— 215	
6.3.1.1.2	Unsuccessful Crushing of the Mass Protests —— 215	
6.3.1.1.3	Successful Repression and Policy Reversal —— 216	
6.3.1.1.4	Nuclear Panacea —— 217	
6.3.1.1.5	Regime Collapse after Khamenei Dies —— 219	
6.3.1.2	Reformist Policy —— 219	
6.3.1.3	Reza Pahlavi and the Monarchists —— 220	
6.3.1.4	The Iranian Democrats and the Transition to Democracy —— 221	
6.3.2	Policy Ramifications for Democratic Countries —— 222	
Bibliography —— 225		