

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Nonperiodicals

Byroade, Henry. Proposal to Organize a Coup d'etat in Iran. Government Printing Office, 26

Nov. 1952. National Security Archive,

[nsarchive2.gwu.edu//dc.html?doc=3914379-01-State-Department-Memorandum-of-Conv-ersation](https://www.amsarchive2.gwu.edu/dc.html?doc=3914379-01-State-Department-Memorandum-of-Conv-ersation).

This document from the National Security Archive is a declassified proposal for the 1953 coup d'état to oust Iran's elected prime minister, Mohammad Mossadegh. After Mossadegh headed the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran, formerly controlled by Britain, the British Foreign Office enlisted the help for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to initiate a coup. This document is early proof of the conversation between Britain and the U.S. The coup effectively involved the U.S. in Iranian affairs, which later the nation would regret in the wake of the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Cutler, Lloyd. *Iran-Regulations, Publications, 1-4/80*. The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum.

This Congressional Research Service report came from Lloyd Cutler's files at the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum. I requested this document by emailing the library. This report includes research about Carter's decision to admit the shah into the U.S. and the political implications. I included a picture of this document on my website, highlighting a portion of it that discusses the decision to admit the shah to the U.S. for medical treatment.

“Iran after the Shah.” Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Aug. 1978.

This document was mailed to me in a package by the Central Intelligence Agency. The document provides information about the shah of Iran and other key Iranian diplomats, predictions for what Iran's future, and a discussion of the current state of Iran. This particular report is famous for one bold statement in its preface—"Iran is not in a revolutionary or even a 'prerevolutionary' situation." Published in August 1978, only a few months before the Iranian Revolution began and before the Iran Hostage Crisis occurred, the document falsely claimed that there would be no trace of a revolt in Iran. This document reveals the sort of intelligence Jimmy Carter was receiving at times and helps me understand D.C.'s misunderstanding of the situation in Iran before the Iran Hostage Crisis. I include pictures of the document on my website with highlights of important statements.

Sick, Gary. *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran*. New York, Random House, 1985.

This book by Gary Sick was recommended to me by Gary Sick himself. He was not available for an interview and suggested I read *All Fall Down* for information about failed negotiations. *All Fall Down* events happening before and during the hostage crisis and discussions between Jimmy Carter's cabinet members. Sick was a staff member of the National Security Council and shares his insight on different policy decisions. I quoted this book throughout my website and used it for research about Carter's foreign policy decisions.

Audiovisual

ABC News - America Held Hostage: The Iran Crisis. ABC News. *YouTube*,
www.youtube.com/watch?v=hUeo36Vzkb8&t=406s.

This video contains footage from ABC News' *America Held Hostage*, which reported on the Iran Hostage Crisis each day of the crisis. I pulled a clip from this video showing a news conference with the Iranian students on the second day of the crisis. I was struggling to find historical evidence that Khomeini endorsed the takeover, but in this footage, it is made clear that Khomeini's brother informed news reporters that Khomeini accepted the students' actions. I also interviewed the original producer of this ABC show, David Bohrman.

Anti-American demonstration outside the embassy. 21 Nov. 1979. *CBS News*,
www.cbsnews.com/pictures/look-back-u-s-hostage-crisis-iran-1979/12/.

This picture shows an anti-American demonstration outside the embassy just a few days after the takeover. The picture conveys the strong hatred of America that fueled the takeover and allowed it to persist for as long as it did. Jimmy Carter tried to pursue diplomatic negotiation, especially in the first days of the siege, but in Iran, it was evident that negotiation would be difficult.

Article from *The New York Times* on Hector Villalon's involvement in hostage negotiations. 1
Apr. 1980. *The New York Times*,
timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1980/04/01/111145262.html?pageNumber=1.

This photo shows an article on the cover of *The New York Times* reporting on Hector Villalon's involvement in the hostage negotiations. Villalon, an Argentinian businessman, worked with Hamilton Jordan, the White House Chief of Staff, and Christian Bourguet, a French lawyer, to work on a compromise between the U.S. and Iran. This article was written several months into the crisis, and the recruitment of two men not from the U.S. to work on an Iran-U.S. compromise showed the desperation on the part of the U.S. government to work out a compromise and the breadth of compromise attempts they pursued.

Blindfolded hostage. 11 Nov. 1979. *The New York Post*,

nypost.com/2013/11/26/iran-hostage-crisis-victims-react-to-obamas-nuclear-deal/.

This photo shows a blindfolded hostage being paraded around the U.S. Embassy. I included this picture to show the situation of the hostages. A picture from this particular day is also shown on my title page.

Blindfolded hostage outside U.S. Embassy. 11 Nov. 1979. *The Telegraph*,

www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/12068405/Americans-to-be-compensated-for-Iran-hostage-crisis-after-34-years.html.

This photo shows a blindfolded hostage outside of the U.S. Embassy and surrounded by his captors on the first day of the hostage crisis. I chose this photo to use on the title page of my website. It is frightening how the Iranian students surround the hostage. The hostage is blindfolded, leaving him oblivious to the size of the crowd watching him and what his happening around him. Many consider America to have also been taken hostage by Iran during the 444-day crisis, and this photo is particularly powerful because it shows the overpowering control Iran exerted on the U.S. over many years of Western interference.

Blindfolded hostages during the Iran Hostage Crisis. 4 Nov. 1979. *World Bulletin*,
www.worldbulletin.net/.

This photo shows a group of blindfolded hostages during the Iran Hostage Crisis. I used this photo on my thesis page of my website. It is particularly powerful since it shows the hostages' powerlessness against their captors, simultaneously demonstrating Iran's powerful control over America's; a nation that excessively interfered in Iran for decades. In the past, the U.S. would fight back against Iranian unrest (ex. the 1953 coup d'état), but in this instance, the U.S. was helpless in the crisis and struggled to negotiate with Iran.

Bombings during the Grand Mosque seizure, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. 1979. *Stratfor*,
worldview.stratfor.com/article/how-1979-siege-mecca-haunts-house-saud.

This picture shows the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia the same year as the Iran Hostage Crisis. In my conclusion, I argue that Khomeini's form of modern Islamic fundamentalism inspired others to resort to extreme Islam around the world, paving the way for many terrorist attacks. I used this picture along with quotes to describe how the Grand Mosque seizure in 1979 was fueled by the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Burnett, David. *Ayatollah Khomeini*. 44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photograph is an up close shot of Ayatollah Khomeini. This photo was emailed to me by the photographer, David Burnett. This image gives perspective on the man much of Iran viewed as its leader and the ultimate opponent of the shah whose oppressed rule they sought to fight against for years. Khomeini truly changed Iran and its political atmosphere.

Buses holding hostages and their relatives traveling through the crowd of people on Washington D.C.'s Pennsylvania Avenue, January 27, 1981, CNN. 27 Jan. 1981. *CNN*, www.cnn.com/2014/10/27/world/ac-six-things-you-didnt-know-about-the-iran-hostage-crisis/index.html. Accessed 16 July 2015.

This picture shows buses carrying the released hostages through the immense crowd of Americans on Pennsylvania Avenue in D.C. This photo shows how much the hostages were considered heroes and welcomed back to the U.S. Many Americans felt that the country itself was being held hostage to Iran, and the hostages coming home symbolized the nation's release from the grasp of the Middle Eastern country.

Bodies of killed street demonstrators, Tehran. 28 Jan. 1979. *The New York Times*,
lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/09/29/showcase-58/.

This photo, taken by David Burnett and published in *The New York Times*, shows lined up bodies of killed protestors. The Iranian Revolution involved brutal police killings of anti-shah demonstrators. The violence and hostility during this period was incredible; the photo shows just how many people were dying every day to fight for their political and religious views.

Captured workers in the U.S. Embassy. 4 Nov. 1979. *CNN*,

www.cnn.com/2014/10/27/world/ac-six-things-you-didnt-know-about-the-iran-hostage-crisis/index.html.

This photo shows captured Americans in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran on the day of the takeover, November 4, 1979. I used this picture on my website because it is so upsetting; the Iranian captors look down upon the Americans they have taken hostage. The hostages either have blindfolds over their eyes or bags over their heads. The fear is evident from this photo.

Carter campaigning in Wilson County, North Carolina. 1980. *Wilson County Public Library Local History and Genealogy Blog*,

wilsoncountylocalhistorylibrary.wordpress.com/2013/07/08/jimmy-carter-in-wilson/.

This photo shows Jimmy Carter campaigning in Wilson County, North Carolina, in 1980. The hostage crisis was still going on, and he began campaigning for reelection again after months of failed diplomatic compromise and a failed military rescue mission. Compromise or rescue did not seem to be feasible, so his campaign went into full-swing despite an international crisis being in full bloom.

Carter discussing the hostage crisis with staff. 20 Jan. 1981. *The White House Historical Association*,

library.whitehousehistory.org/fotoweb/archives/5017-Digital-Library/Main%20Index/Presidents/Jimmy%20Carter/8243.tif.info#c=%2Ffotoweb%2Farchives%2F5017-Digital-Library%2F%3Fq%3Diran%2520hostage%2520crisis.

This photo shows Jimmy Carter and his staff in the Oval Office just a few hours before his presidency ended. Ronald Reagan would be inaugurated president that day. This photo shows that Jimmy Carter was working and the hostage crisis was the top of his agenda up until Reagan's inauguration.

Carter campaigning for reelection in Youngstown, Ohio. 1980. *NPR*,

www.npr.org/2016/03/15/470539936/youngstown-four-decades-of-service-as-a-political-backdrop.

This photograph shows Jimmy Carter during his campaign for reelection in 1980. Despite the fact that the Americans in the Tehran embassy still were being held hostage, he embarked on his campaign trail after seeing a military rescue mission and multiple attempts at compromise fail. This photo is on the section of my website that speaks about his campaign in the midst of the crisis.

Carter-Mondale re-election poster. *Lori Ferber Presidential Memorabilia*,

www.loriferber.com/carter-mondale-re-elect-green-flyer.html.

This photo is of one of Jimmy Carter's re-election posters. I included a picture of this poster on a portion of my website dedicated to discussing Carter's hopes for re-election and the hostage crisis' impact of his election.

Carter signs documents negotiating the release of the hostages. 19 Jan. 1981. *The Wall Street Journal*, www.wsj.com/articles/this-other-deal-with-iran-is-obsolete-1390775315.

This photo shows Jimmy Carter signing documents finalizing the release of the hostages and accepting the terms of the Algiers Accords. Ronald Reagan would be inaugurated the next day, so this photo shows one of Carter's last actions as president.

Chaliapin, Boris. Mohammed Mossadeq, Person of the Year, Iran, Middle East. 7 Jan. 1952. *Time*, content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19520107,00.html.

This *Time* magazine cover shows Mohammad Mossadegh, the chosen Person of the Year because of his efforts to nationalize the oil industry in Iran. Even though he was recognized for fighting for the Iranian people and ridding the country of foreign influence, he was usurped by a coup led by the U.S.'s CIA just one year after he was named Person of the Year. The line at the bottom of the magazine cover cleverly says, "He oiled the wheels of chaos."

Crowds of anti-Shah demonstrators, Tehran. 44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photograph shows a massive crowd of anti-shah demonstrators in Iran's capital, Tehran. This photo was given to me by the photographer, David Burnett. The rest of the world, particularly the U.S., did not understand the amount of hatred Iranians had for the shah, but this photo clearly displays how many people were against him. I used this photo on my website to exhibit how immense protests during the Iranian Revolution could be.

The day before Khomeini's return, a calm sunny day turned tragic when a student was shot by one of the Shah's palace guard. 44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photograph, emailed to me along with eighteen other photographs by David Burnett, shows an anti-shah protestor with blood covered hands. This photo, taken the day before Khomeini returned to Iran from exile, shows the level of hostility between Khomeini's followers and those loyal to the shah. Protestors were brutally shot by the shah's police, and the Iranian Revolution was truly characterized by violence.

Debris of C-130 airplane. *Air and Space Power Journal*,

www.au.af.mil/au/afri/aspj/apjinternational/apj-s/2006/3tri06/kampseng.html.

This photo shows a wrecked C-130 airplane from the failed rescue mission Operation Eagle Claw. It is amazing how the plane is barely held together anymore, showing how devastating and tragic the mission was. I used this picture on my webpage explaining Jimmy Carter's failed attempts at military intervention during the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Demonstrators burn an effigy of Uncle Sam. 13 Nov. 1979. *CNN*,

www.cnn.com/2014/10/27/world/ac-six-things-you-didnt-know-about-the-iran-hostage-crisis/index.html.

This photo shows demonstrators burning an effigy of Uncle Sam, a national symbol in the United States. Much like the photos on my website that show demonstrators burning American flags, this photo powerfully shows the anti-American sentiment amongst Iranians that spurred the hostage crisis and kept it alive.

Demonstrators burn the American flag. 1979. *Gyldendal Den Store Danske*,

denstoredanske.dk/Sprog,_religion_og_filosofi/Religion_og_mystik/Reformationen_og_lutherske_kirke/fundamentalisme.

This photo shows demonstrators burning the American flag during the Iran Hostage Crisis in 1979. Burning the symbol of the United States is a bold action and perfectly demonstrates hatred of the country. This powerful image captures the sentiment of the students and their feelings toward the United States.

Effigy of Jimmy Carter outside the embassy. 23 Dec. 1979. *CBS News*,

www.cbsnews.com/pictures/look-back-u-s-hostage-crisis-iran-1979/15/.

This photo shows supporters of the Iranian students outside the U.S. Embassy with an effigy of Jimmy Carter. It was common for effigies and dolls of Jimmy Carter and Uncle Sam to be burned. Two months into the siege and Iranians were more supportive and more angry with the U.S. than ever. Despite Carter's many attempts at compromise, the sentiment was too strong in Iran for any negotiation.

Every burial became a political event, where the Shah and the US were railed against. 28 Dec.

1978. 44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photograph shows the emotional burial of an anti-shah protestor. The photo was emailed to me by the photographer, David Burnett, along with eighteen other photos. It encapsulates the fervent anti-shah sentiment in the country and utter sadness with Iran's political state, all of which was actively suppressed by the shah and not evident to the rest of the world.

Far from the noisy, adoring crowds, Ayatollah Khomeini puts down a tea cup. 1 Feb. 1979. 44

Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photo shows Ayatollah Khomeini drinking tea after his return to Iran from exile. His massive crowd of supporters can be seen still cheering outside the windows. Khomeini garnered an incredible amount of respect from the Iranian people. The crowd outside his window perfectly displays how joyous his return was to them.

Hostages arriving at Andrews Air Force in Maryland. 27 Jan. 1981. *Monte Carlo Doualiya*.

This photo shows hostages disembarking the plane that returned them to the United States. I included this picture on the web page that discusses their release.

Illingworth, Lewis Gilbert. *Cartoon from "The Daily Mail."* 17 May 1951. *A Cartoon History of the Middle East*, mideastcartoonhistory.com/1941To52/1951.html.

This cartoon from *The Daily Mail* shows Iranians demonstrating for control over Iran's oil industry. They are demanding the nationalization of the oil industry and want the British to "hand it over." The Iranians are enraged, and even a donkey rushes toward the British man in attack. With an oil refinery, most likely the Abadan oil refinery, in the background, the cartoon shows the vast amount of equipment and industry the Iranians wished to control.

Iranians Storm U.S. Embassy In Tehran | Flashback | NBC News. NBC. YouTube,
www.youtube.com/watch?v=wOAQvpmlxVc&t=30s.

I used a segment of this NBC footage regarding the hostage crisis. The clip I used shows hostages being paraded around and Iranians burning the American flag in front of the embassy doors. The media was an important platform for the students to communicate their anger to the world, and NBC accurately captures the anti-American sentiment fueled during the November 4 takeover. The hostages were filmed and watched all over the world.

Iranian students burning the American flag outside of the Embassy. 4 Nov. 1979. *Tasnim News Agency*, gazingattheflag.blogspot.com/2006/11/iran-hostage-crisis.html.

This photo shows the Iranian students burning the American flag on the day of the embassy takeover. By burning the American flag, a symbol of national pride in the United States, they effectively communicate their dismay with the American government. Burning the flag seemed to convey their feelings more than words at this time.

Iranian students climb the walls of the U.S. Embassy. 4 Nov. 1979. *CNN*,

www.cnn.com/2013/09/15/world/meast/iran-hostage-crisis-fast-facts/index.html.

This photo shows Iranian students scaling the walls of the U.S. Embassy on the day of the takeover, November 4, 1979. When the students started climbing the walls, the siege began. The photo shows the beginning stage of the three hour takeover.

Iranian student shows pictures of the hostages. 8 Nov. 1979. *CNN*,

www.cnn.com/2014/10/27/world/ac-six-things-you-didnt-know-about-the-iran-hostage-crisis/index.html.

This photo shows one of the Iranian students displaying photographs of the hostages four days after the takeover. I used this picture on my website to gain perspective on what was happening inside the embassy compound and how the Iranian students might have been painting the situation in front of the press.

Iranian students outside the U.S. Embassy. 6 Nov. 1979. *CBS News*,

www.cbsnews.com/pictures/look-back-u-s-hostage-crisis-iran-1979/5/.

This picture shows Iranian students gathering outside the U.S. Embassy two days after the takeover. I included it on the page where I discuss Jimmy Carter's initial plans of action in the first days of the crisis. This picture, taken on the second day of the crisis, shows widespread support for Khomeini seen in the posters and the level of support still existing for the students.

Iranian students scale the walls of the U.S. Embassy. 4 Nov. 1979. *Daily Mail*,

www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2291526/Frozen-time-The-eery-U-S-embassy-Iran-screaming-mob-held-52-citizens-hostage-1979-museum-opens-just-days-year.html.

This photo shows Iranian student scaling the walls of the U.S. Embassy on the day of the takeover. The walls and safety measures of the embassy could not keep them out, and they quickly gained control over the Americans and the entire compound.

Iranian women voting in their first election, 1963. *Iran Politics Club*,
www.iranpoliticsclub.net/photos/shah-revolution/index.htm.

This photo shows women voting for the first time in an Iranian election. Voting for women, a very Western idea, was not received well by many Iranians embittered by the overbearing presence of America and American ideals in Iran. Enfranchisement for women was a facet of the White Revolution, and this picture is on my website to illustrate the change initiated by the Shah before his abdication.

Jimmy Carter: "I Could Have Wiped Iran Off The Map" | CNBC Meets. CNBC, 2014. *YouTube*,
www.youtube.com/watch?v=-6Rt1a1xII8.

This video provided by CNBC is an interview with President Jimmy Carter in 2014 regarding the Iran Hostage Crisis. He addresses his biggest regret, what he would have liked to have done if re-elected, and why he addressed the situation the way he did. I pulled a quote from this interview about the failed rescue mission and what he would have done differently.

Khomeini arrives in Iran. 1 Feb. 1979. *The New York Times*,
lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/09/29/showcase-58/.

This photo shows Ayatollah Khomeini returning to Iran after his time in exile. Supporters surround his plane, showing the amount of enthusiasm and happiness that met his return. Khomeini was regarded as the ultimate opponent of the oppressive shah, and his return to Iran brought hope for many Iranians of a country without foreign influence and one purely under Islamic rule. February 1, 1979, the day he returned, was a joyous day for many in Iran.

Letter from Jimmy Carter to Ayatollah Khomeini. 6 Nov. 1979. *The George Washington University*,

chrome-extension://oemmndcblboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/https://imes.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/imes.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/documents/Lesson-Plans/Iran%20Hostage%20Crisis%20Lesson%20Plan.pdf.

This letter, drafted by U.S. State Department Iran Desk Chief Henry Precht for Jimmy Carter, was sent with Ramsey Clark and William Miller of the Security Coordinating Council to Tehran to be delivered to Iranian authorities acting for Ayatollah Khomeini. This letter was never delivered since Clark and Miller were denied entrance into Iran. The letter represents the first compromise effort by the United States, and the failure of this attempt would produce more failed compromise efforts. If this letter was successfully delivered, the course of the crisis might have been very different and could have ended sooner.

Love, Kennett. *Royalists Oust Mossadegh; Army Seizes Helm. The New York Times*,
partners.nytimes.com/library/world/mideast/082053iran-pageone.html.

This image shows the August 20, 1953 newspaper cover shows an article covering the recent happenings in Iran. The headline says, “Royalists Oust Mossadegh; 300 Die in Iranian Fighting; Shah is Flying Home Today.” The importance of the 1953 coup in Iran is shown by the information being featured on the front page of *The New York Times*, and I included this image on my website just to show how the news was of great importance in the U.S. as well.

Members of the 8th Special Operations Squadron stand for a group photo in front of an MC-130E Combat Talon I prior to setting out for Operation Eagle Claw on April 24, 1980. Moody Air Force Base, www.moody.af.mil/News/Photos/igphoto/2000139840/.

This photo shows a group of men prior to them setting out on the failed rescue mission Operation Eagle Claw. One of the men in the picture was one of the eight to be killed. In the case of Operation Eagle Claw, the pictures of the damages are so disturbing, but I find this picture particularly powerful since it shows the brave men that embarked on this mission they never knew would fail. I used this photo as the first one on my page about failed military intervention during the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Monarchist demonstrators in Tehran downtown. 26 Aug. 1953. *RT*, 19 Aug. 2013,
www.rt.com/usa/iran-coup-cia-operation-647/.

This picture shows demonstrators after the 1953 coup. I used it as the header photo on the webpage of my website explaining the coup since I think it shows the anti-American sentiment and anger that filled the nation and eventually led to the hostage crisis.

Mossadegh arrested. 21 Dec. 1953. *The Times of Israel*,

www.timesofisrael.com/us-publishes-full-papers-showing-how-cia-plotted-1953-iran-coup/.

This photo shows Mossadegh being sentenced to solitary confinement a few months after the coup that ousted him. Earlier on the web page of my website that also shows this picture is one of a crowd lifting up Mossadegh because of his efforts to nationalize Iran's oil industry. This picture shows his downfall and failure to retain power in Iran after the coup initiated by the U.S. It is a sharp contrast to the other visual shown on my website.

Nationalization of Abadan oil refinery. 1951. Ajam Media Collective,
ajammc.com/2015/02/26/abadan-the-devastated-harbor/.

This photo shows oil workers raising the Iranian flag over an Abadan oil refinery, symbolizing the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran. This picture truly shows the workers' overthrow of British influence and the powerful way they asserted dominance over one of the country's biggest industries. The raising of the flag shows resentment against the exploitation of Iran's oil.

Newspaper announcing Ronald Reagan's inauguration. 21 Jan. 1981. *New York Times OTD*,
twitter.com/OnThisDayNYT/status/822873907069849601.

This photo shows the cover of *The New York Times* on the day Ronald Reagan was inaugurated. I used this on my website to discuss Reagan's inauguration since the hostages were released on that day.

Newspaper coverage on the presidential debate between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter in Cleveland, Ohio. 29 Oct. 1980. *The New York Times*,
www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2014/10/28/on-this-day-there-you-go-again/.

This photo shows *The New York Times* cover page and article reporting on the presidential debate between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan for the 1980 election. I explain on my website how Jimmy Carter withheld attempting large negotiation efforts for the hostages. Both diplomatic negotiation and military intervention had failed to rescue the hostages, so Jimmy Carter began campaigning for the 1980 election again. In this election, Carter would lose to Reagan, a large part of his defeat being his failure to rescue the hostages. I included this picture on the section of my website talking about his reelection campaign.

Nilsson, Thomas. *South Tower of the World Trade Center collapsing*. 11 Sept. 2001. *Thomas Nilsson*, thomasnilsson.com/the-homefront/dxpnnesyryn1siz3emuohnfmfyvj.

This photo shows the South Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City collapsing during the 9/11 terrorist attacks. I included a picture of 9/11 on my website because many people, including the former hostages during the Iran Hostage Crisis, feel that the extreme Islam shown during the hostage crisis only grew throughout the years to spur 9/11.

"Obama's Iran Gamble." 9 Dec. 2013. Time,

content.time.com/time/covers/europe/0,16641,20131209,00.html.

This Time magazine cover highlights Obama's controversial dealings with Iran to create the 2015 nuclear deal. I discuss on my conclusion page how one of the consequences of the Iran Hostage Crisis was the breaking of formal Iran-U.S. relations and the use of compromise only when both sides have a mutual interest. In terms of the nuclear deal, Iran wanted economic sanctions lifted, and the U.S. wanted supervision over Iran's growing nuclear program. The compromise was shaky and will most likely be disbanded. Time describes Obama's choice to enter the deal as a "gamble," and I think every compromise with Iran since the hostage crisis has been a gamble because of our past conflict and tension. I used this photo on the conclusion page of my website.

Parade for oil nationalization, Tehran. 3 June 1951. *Abadan Times*,

abadantimes.com/2016/05/25/the-making-of-skilled-and-permanent-iranian-workers-education-discipline-and-iranianization/.

This photo shows a parade for oil nationalization in Tehran. An oil rig with the Iranian flag on top is carried by the crowd, showing their desire for the Iranian oil industry to be placed under Iranian authority. This picture displays how a large majority of Iranian people wished for oil nationalization, making it difficult to understand why Britain and the U.S. felt they had the authority to stage a coup d'état and usurp Mossadegh, the leader of the nationalization movement, in 1953.

Prayer outside the embassy. 20 Nov. 1979. *CBS News*,

www.cbsnews.com/pictures/look-back-u-s-hostage-crisis-iran-1979/11/.

This photo shows Iranians collectively praying outside the U.S. Embassy. The Iran Hostage Crisis is widely seen as a product of modern Islamic fundamentalism. The conflict was a product of political but also religious tensions, so seeing Islam being actively practiced outside the U.S. Embassy shows a denunciation of the West and the importance of Islam to those who take extreme action.

Premier Mohammad Mossadegh rides on the shoulders of Iranian nation in Tehran's Majlis Square on Sept. 27, 1951, outside the parliament building, after reiterating his oil nationalization views to his public supporters. 27 Sept. 1951. *Abadan, Civilization & Modernity*, abadancm.com/2017/03/01/nationalisation-in-1951/.

This photograph provided by Abadan, Civilization and Modernity shows Mossadegh and his supporters lifting him up. I used this photo when explaining Operation Ajax, the CIA mission that successfully removed Mossadegh from power despite wide support for him throughout the country. The enthusiasm from his supporters for his work in nationalizing oil is something I hope to encapsulate on my website since the U.S. taking him out of power was one of the defining reasons the hostage crisis occurred.

President Jimmy Carter - Statement on Iran Rescue Mission. Miller Center, April 25, 1980. *YouTube*, www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Km3dx7wppA.

This video provided by the Miller Center is footage of Jimmy Carter's statement on the failed mission to rescue the hostages. In his speech broadcasted to the nation, he addresses his doubts that the release of the hostages could be seen through diplomatic negotiation with Iran, and he explains his choice to resolve the crisis through military intervention. I used a video clip where he specifically explains his thought process behind letting the mission be executed since it shows Carter's loss of hope of peaceful compromise and shift to military force.

Pro-Shah riot. 28 Feb. 1953. *The Times of Israel*,

www.timesofisrael.com/us-publishes-full-papers-showing-how-cia-plotted-1953-iran-coup/.

This picture shows a pro-Shah riot outside the home of Mossadegh, the leader of protests against him. On my website, I describe Mossadegh's efforts to nationalize the oil industry in Iran and protest the Shah, but this photo shows pro-Shah sentiment that was countering much of the anger with the Shah filling the country. The country was truly divided in feelings toward the Shah, and this photo shows a group of people very much pleased with political scene of the country.

A pro-Khomeini demonstrator wearing a jacket adorned with pictures of victims of the shah's repression and a hat reading "crown of martyrs." Tehran, January 1979. The New York Times, lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/09/29/showcase-58/?_r=1.

This photo shows a protestor at an anti-Shah demonstration with pictures of victims of the Savak, the secret police force of the Shah, shown on his jacket. Much of the Savak's brutality was suppressed during the Iranian Revolution, but this picture accurately shows how the people knew of what was going on in the country and how much they were opposed to it.

Recently released hostages. 1981. *KGOU*, 1 July 2016,

kgou.org/post/best-world-views-iranian-hostage-turned-ambassador-still-optimistic-would-love-return.

This photo shows the hostages after their release. They were seen as heroes in the United States throughout the crisis and upon their return. Almost every hostage is seen in this photo, and not one hostage died while in the embassy. I used this photo on the portion of my website that describes their return home to the U.S.

Released hostages. 21 Jan. 1981. *Quartz*,

qz.com/581869/35-years-after-release-survivors-of-the-us-iran-hostage-crisis-could-receive-4-4-million-each/.

This photo shows released hostages. I used this photograph on the webpage that described their release. The former hostages look both relieved and tired from their time in captivity.

Released hostages at a press conference, Tehran. 19 Nov. 1979. *CNN*,

www.cnn.com/2014/10/27/world/ac-six-things-you-didnt-know-about-the-iran-hostage-crisis/index.html.

This picture shows some of the hostages who were released on November 17, 1979, at a press conference. These released hostages were either African-American or women. I discuss the release of these hostages on my website when explaining the PLO's significance in negotiations since Gary Sick, a former member of the National Security Council and Jimmy Carter's presidential cabinet, claims that the PLO did not ultimately negotiate the release of all the hostages but did successfully negotiate for the release of the thirteen on November 17.

Released hostages disembark at Rhein-Main Air Base in West Germany. Jan. 1981. *ABC News*,

abcnews.go.com/Politics/iran-hostage-crisis-victims-compensation-36-years/story?id=35946041.

This photo shows hostages disembarking the plane that brought them out of Iranian airspace to freedom in Germany. After, they would be sent back to the United States. The hostages look relieved and happy after 444 days imprisoned by Iranian students. I included this photo on my conclusion page where I discuss the negotiation that led to their release and how the compromise struggled to come about.

A resident washes “Yankee Go Home” graffiti off a wall in Tehran on August 21, 1953. Zahedi ordered a clean-up after the coup. *CNN*, www.cnn.com/2013/08/19/politics/cia-iran-1953-coup/index.html.

This photograph shows an Iranian man wiping anti-American graffiti off a wall in Tehran following the 1953 coup. This photo shows the amount of anger Iranians had toward America after they staged the coup. The Iranians’ anger with foreign influences permeating their country later led to the hostage crisis.

Ronald Reagan's Secret Dealings With Iran. 17 Nov. 1986. *Time*, content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19861117,00.html.

This *Time* magazine cover highlights the Iran-Contra affair and Ronald Reagan's secretive negotiations with Iran. I wanted to include this affair on my conclusion page to highlight the surge of terrorism after the Iran Hostage Crisis and the U.S.'s dismay with Reagan's shifty negotiations with Iran in the aftermath of the hostage crisis. This *Time* magazine cover brings attention to the Contra affair and displays American suspicions with Iran.

San Francisco Chronicle front page. 25 Apr. 1980. *The Woodstock Whisperer*,
woodstockwhisperer.info/2017/11/26/iran-hostages-ayatollah-khomeini/.

This photo shows a cover of the *San Francisco Chronicle* the day after the failed rescue mission, Operation Eagle Claw. The large, bolded headline announces the death of eight men on the mission. This information was surprising since America was mostly afraid of the hostages being executed. Instead, eight military men were killed and many more were injured.

Shah and Farah Pahlavi in exile at Morocco. *Iran Politics Club*,
iranpoliticsclub.net/photos/shah-farah5/index.htm.

This picture, provided by the Iran Politics Club, shows the Shah and his wife in exile in Morocco. The Shah spent time in many different countries before coming to America for cancer treatment. Despite self-abdicating, he appears to be happy in this picture. Also, he looks healthy despite the fact that his health would soon decline and require him to be transported to the United States for medical treatment. This picture shows the Shah and his wife looking pleased with their new lives outside of Iran, and it begs the question whether the Shah felt relieved to leave behind the conflict in his country or not.

Shah And Wife Leave Iran 1979. *The Royal Watcher*,

royalwatcherblog.com/2017/01/16/royal-flashback-january-16/shah-and-wife-leave-iran-1979/.

This photo shows the Shah and his wife before boarding the plane that would forever take them off Iranian soil. The world was not sure if the Shah's sudden departure from Iran was his abdication, but it was later confirmed to be true. In this photo, the Shah looks anxious while his wife seems calm. The picture captures the fear and possibly even relief that came with the Shah leaving the country, as he was leaving it in a state of instability.

Shah grants Land Deeds to a farmer. *Iran Politics Club*,

www.iranpoliticsclub.net/photos/shah-revolution/index.htm.

This photo shows the Shah awarding land deeds to women in Iran. Land reform was one of the most important points of his development plan, the "White Revolution." His reform plan, which would turn Iran into an increasingly westernized country, angered many Iranians who opposed the West's overbearing influence in the country already. The Shah's willingness to provide land reforms and reach out to women was radical and extreme for Iranians with such a strict interpretation of Islam.

Shah hands land deeds to village women, 1963. *Iran Politics Club*,
www.iranpoliticsclub.net/photos/shah-revolution/index.htm.

This photo shows the Shah handing land deeds to Iranian women. One of the facets of his plan, the “White Revolution,” was land reform. Here, his efforts to reach out to the Iranian people and make social change, which was overly-Western to many Iranians and deeply resented, is illustrated.

Shah Leaves for Iran for Indefinite Stay; Crowds Exult, Many Expect Long Exile.
twitter.com/OnThisDayNYT/status/556579395725688832.

This image shows the front page of an issue of the *The New York Times* with the headline article describing the Shah’s departure from Iran that would later be confirmed as his abdication. I used this image on the page of my website that explains where the Shah went around the world after leaving Iran. This picture encapsulates the entire world’s curiosity with Iran, its leader, and its political atmosphere. While in the country, the Shah kept opposition repressed, but it seems from this photo, which suggests abdication as a possibility for the Shah’s sudden departure from Iran, that the world was beginning to uncover the true political climate in Iran. This newspaper might be one of the first sources to begin conversations about the Shah’s controversial rule.

Shah visits a newly built school, 1963. *Iran Politics Club*,

www.iranpoliticsclub.net/photos/shah-revolution/index.htm.

This photo shows the Shah interacting with a student at a newly built school. His plan referred to as “the White Revolution” called for westernized reforms in the country, and education reform and expansion resulted from it. Despite the Shah’s heavy involvement in reforming the country and bringing about western ideals, many Iranians were upset with his reform program. Their anger later led to his abdication. This photo illustrates his efforts before his regime ended.

Skene, Gordon. “CBS World News Roundup.” *Past Daily*, 19 Jan. 1981,

pastdaily.com/2017/01/19/january-19-1981-last-full-day-carter/.

This audio clip is of the CBS World News Roundup on January 19, 1981, and focuses on the Algiers Accords. A news reporter present at the signing ceremony speaks of the experience. I used this audio clip on my webpage explaining the document, which negotiated the release of the hostages, to clarify what happened the day it was signed and how Warren Christopher represented the U.S.

Slum in Abadan, Iran, Abadan:Retold,

www.abadan.wiki/en/abadan-oil-city-dreams-and-the-nostalgia-for-past-futures-in-iran/.

This picture shows a slum in Abadan. There was intense poverty throughout Iran due to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's (AIOC) exploitation of the Iranian oil industry. I wanted to show the exploitive power of the AIOC in Iran since the West's interference in the countries affairs led to worse conflicts that can be traced to the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Soldiers and tanks stand in the streets of Tehran after the deposition of Mossadegh in August 1953. *The Daily Mail*,

www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2397133/CIA-finally-admits-1953-coup-deposed-Iranian-prime-minister-stood-West.html.

This photo shows tanks and soldiers threateningly standing in the streets of Tehran after the CIA's successful ousting of Mossadegh. From this photo, it can be seen how tension began to build in the country following the coup and how conflict would only emerge out of it in years after. The coup was one of the factors that ultimately led to further conflict in the form of the Iran Hostage Crisis, and this picture effectively captures sentiments of anger and hostility building in the country.

"SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY LEAVES FOR IRAN." *Nightly News*, NBC, 6 Nov. 1979.

I was sent this clip from the NBC's November 6, 1979, nightly news segment from NBCUniversal Archives. I mention this particular clip on my website. Ramsey Clark's and William Miller's trip to Iran in the first days of the hostage crisis was purposely kept secret, but NBC News correspondent Richard Valeriani leaked the information on the *Nightly News*. When Khomeini and Iranian authorities discovered that Americans were aware of this first attempt at negotiation, Khomeini ordered for Clark and Miller to not be allowed entry into Tehran. This breach of information ruined the first and potentially successful negotiation attempt of the Iran Hostage Crisis. I include this news clip on my website page about failed negotiations.

Supporters straining to see Khomeini arrive. 1 Feb. 1979. 44: *Iran and the Remaking of the World*, Collection of David Burnett.

This photo shows a crowd of excited Iranian women straining to see Khomeini disembark the plane bringing him back to Iran from exile. One woman in the center uses binoculars to see better. This photo shows the level of enthusiasm among the Iranian people at the return of Khomeini, a man so ideologically opposed to the oppressive shah. Their happiness and exhilaration are quite evident in this photo emailed to me by the photographer, David Burnett.

SYND 5/1/80 STUDENTS HOLD ANTI KURT WALDHEIM PROTEST AT US EMBASSY IN TEHRAN. AP Archive, 1980. *YouTube*, www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1CNP5QWuDs.

This video shows protests outside of the U.S. Embassy when Kurt Waldheim came from the United States to attempt negotiating the release of the hostages. He was unsuccessful in the end, and the anti-American sentiment shown by the protestors might have factored into the unsuccessful compromise.

SYND 1 2 79 AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI RETURNS IN TRIUMPH TO IRAN. AP Archive.

This footage from AP Archive shows Ayatollah Khomeini returning to Iran from exile. His return was one of the most exciting events in Iran at the time, and the video shows the level of enthusiasm among the Iranian people. People surround his car and yell in triumph as he sets foot on Iranian soil. I wanted to include a clip from this video on my website to illustrate the intense support for Khomeini throughout the country.

Taking out the trash in an American flag at the embassy. 13 Nov. 1979. *CBS News*,

www.cbsnews.com/pictures/look-back-u-s-hostage-crisis-iran-1979/7/.

This photo shows Iranian students at the embassy carrying trash using an American flag.

The anti-American sentiment still fervently existed nine days after the takeover since this photo was taken November 13, 1979. The strong feelings of hatred for America in each Iranian was quite possibly the reason why the takeover lasted for 444 days.

The New York Times article on 1983 Beirut attacks by Hezbollah. 23 Oct. 1983. *Before Its News*,

beforeitsnews.com/opinion-conservative/2017/10/october-23-1983-beirut-and-many-marines-dead-3332667.html.

This photo shows the headline of *The New York Times* on October 23, 1983, after attacks on the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut by Hezbollah. The headline reports that 161

Americans were killed. I mentioned the Hezbollah attacks on my conclusion page when explaining the strained relations between the U.S. and Iran since Hezbollah supported the Lebanese militant group.

Trikosko, Marion S. *President Jimmy Carter, Vice President Walter Mondale, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown after disembarking from their helicopter to meet about the Iran Hostage Crisis at Camp David, Maryland. 23 Nov. 1979. The Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2005696441/.*

This photo shows Jimmy Carter walking with cabinet member Cyrus Vance to a November 23, 1979, meeting about the Iran Hostage Crisis. Carter worked the duration of the crisis to free the hostages but was met with many unsuccessful attempts at compromise. Cyrus Vance was an important collaborator of Jimmy Carter and helped him until he resigned in the wake of Operation Eagle Claw, which he disagreed with.

Two hostages. Nov. 1979. *Al Arabiya*, english.alarabiya.net/en/features/2017/11/21/How-a-hostage-crisis-became-a-source-of-in-come-and-arms-for-Iranian-government.html.

This photo shows two captured Americans. I used this photo on my webpage describing the Iran Hostage Crisis and sought through this photo to communicate the tension and terror during the takeover.

Unrest during the Iranian Revolution. 21 Dec. 1978. 44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photo, taken by photographer David Burnett, shows fighting in the streets quite commonly seen during the Iranian Revolution. I used this as the first photo on my web page about the Iranian Revolution since this photo shows the tension and violence happening throughout Iran during that time. It is difficult to find photos of the Iranian Revolution online because much of the unrest was actively suppressed by the Shah, but David Burnett took many photos during that time that illustrated the hostility in the country. This photo was sent to me in an email from David Burnett along with eighteen other photographs.

"U.S. Secretly Gave Aid to Iraq Early in Its War Against Iran" Article. 26 Jan. 1992. *The New York Times*,
timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1992/01/26/issue.html?action=click.

This picture is of an article from The New York Times on January 26, 1992, about the U.S.'s aid to Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War. This article provides an example of how Iran-U.S. relations were strained after the hostage crisis, since the U.S. gave intelligence and weaponry to Iraq, Iran's enemy during the war. I put this photo in a section of my website discussing the loss of diplomatic relations in the years after the hostage crisis.

Warren Christopher, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, being handed the formal document of the Algiers Accords. 19 Jan. 1981. *Mashregh News*

This photo shows Warren Christopher prior to the signing ceremony of the Algiers Accords. As secretary of state, he signed for the U.S. and Jimmy Carter later signed documents to accept Christopher's actions. The Algiers Accords was the final compromise and negotiated the release of the hostages. It is unfortunate that Carter himself could not be present instead of Christopher to do the signing.

Watching crowds scatter when police gunfire erupts. 44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photograph shows demonstrators scattering after the shah's brutal police force fired into the crowd. This photo, along with eighteen others, was emailed to me by the photographer, David Burnett. The people's daily battles with the Savak, the shah's oppressive and hostile police force, was unknown to the rest of the world, and this photo shows the tension between those in favor of the shah and those against him. There was a deep rift in political views during the Iranian Revolution resulting in violence and terror shown in this photo.

Wounded demonstrators are carried to an ambulance. 44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World, Collection of David Burnett.

This photograph shows demonstrators carrying a wounded man through a protest. I was emailed this photo by the photographer, David Burnett, along with eighteen other photos in his gallery “44 Days: Iran and the Remaking of the World.” The U.S. was unaware of the hatred toward the shah throughout Iran, and this photo shows both the liveliness of the anti-shah protests during the Iranian Revolution and the way the shah’s police would attack protesters and attempt to suppress opposition.

Wreckage from Operation Eagle Claw. Task and Purpose,

taskandpurpose.com/operation-eagle-claw-iranian-embassy-hostage-rescue/.

This picture shows wreckage from the failed rescue mission Operation Eagle Claw. Once the plan was aborted, there was a collision between a plane and a helicopter, causing eight deaths and many injuries. I included this picture on my website to show the catastrophe of the situation.

Interviews

Bohrman, David. Interview. 14 May 2018.

I was able to interview David Bohrman, an original producer of ABC's *Nightline*. *Nightline*, a television program that still exists today, was aired to report on the hostage crisis. It was originally named *The Iran Crisis—America Held Hostage*. After the New Jersey state competition, I emailed Mr. Bohrman to ask for an interview, and we soon after talked over Skype. He answered my questions about why ABC viewed the crisis as one important enough to create an entire television program about, how the coverage of the crisis evolved over the 444 days it lasted, why it is important to understand the Iran Hostage Crisis, and what effects the crisis has had today. The interview opened my eyes to the ways the media connected the American people to the hostage crisis and simultaneously molded their perception of Iran. We also discussed terrorism and how the crisis gave the first glimpses of terrorism seen in the past few decades. It was enlightening to hear Mr. Bohrman connect the crisis to 9/11 since he was responsible for all of CNN's live coverage of the September 11 attacks. A thirty-second-long clip from our interview is included on my conclusion page.

Hossainzadeh, Nura A. Interview. 29 Mar. 2018.

On March 29, 2018, I traveled to Princeton University to conduct an interview with Nura Hossainzadeh, a Lecturer at Princeton and an expert on the political theory of Ayatollah Khomeini. We spoke for an hour, and she answered questions about Khomeini's time in exile, how he influenced Iranians, and how his political thought impacted the Iranian government. Because Iran has a very complicated history and Islam is difficult to fully understand, she answered many of my questions about the two topics.

Web sites, e-sources

Ode, Robert C. "Diary of Robert C. Ode during the Iran Hostage Crisis." *The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum*,
www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/assets/documents/r_ode/Ode_pages1thru50.pdf.

The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum provides the full diary of hostage Robert C. Ode. He kept the diary throughout the hostage crisis. The hostages have been interviewed about the crisis, but Bob Ode's diary gives the specifics of many events and a view into the U.S. embassy throughout the hostage crisis. I quoted the first entry of his diary on the day of the takeover.

“Iran: The Revolutionary Council Takes Charge.” *Central Intelligence Agency*, 1 Nov. 1979,
www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs.

This report by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) regarding the Revolutionary Council, its goals, and the implications of its rule in Iran for the people. It gave me sufficient information about the Revolutionary Council’s relationship with the provisional government headed by Bazargan.

Laingen, Bruce. Interview. *BBC News*, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3978523.stm.

This webpage includes the transcripts of BBC interviews with Bruce Laingen, a former hostage, and Ebrahim Asgharzadeh, an Iranian student captor, during the Iran Hostage Crisis. I used a quote from Laingen’s interview where he speaks of the 9/11 terrorist attacks having roots in the Iran Hostage Crisis. This quote proves that the Iran Hostage Crisis influenced extreme Islam throughout the world for decades to come.

Unpublished & other sources

“Algiers Accords.” 19 Jan. 1981.

This document, the Algiers Accords, outlines the many different ways the hostage crisis would be negotiated. By signing the document, the U.S. gave up all right to interfere in Iran like it had been for decades. It also put forth a money exchange between the two countries. This document was the last and only successful attempt at negotiation during this conflict. It took the interference of another country, Algeria, to make it official.

Secondary Sources

Periodicals

Allen-Ebrahimian, Bethany. "64 Years Later, CIA Finally Releases Details of Iranian Coup."

Foreign Policy, 20 June 2017. *Foreign Policy*,

foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/20/64-years-later-cia-finally-releases-details-of-iranian-coup-iran-tehran-oil/.

This article provided by *Foreign Policy* gives an overview of the 1953 coup d'état of the Prime Minister of Iran. It explains the recent release of previously classified documents by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that reveal the CIA's role in orchestrating the coup. The article provides information about the coup itself and helped me compile information about it for my website.

"Carter 'Crisis Team' Gets Its Act Together." *The New York Times*, 30 Dec. 1979.

This article, published in *The New York Times* just a little over a month into the hostage crisis, describes the Security Coordinating Council's failed mission to send emissaries to Tehran to negotiate the release of the hostages. The article gave me information about the goals of the committee and its work under National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. It was very helpful when researching about this event, which is not extensively covered on the internet.

Henniker-Major, Edward. "Nationalisation: The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 1951 Britain vs. Iran." *Moral Cents: The Journal of Ethics in Finance*, vol. 2, no. 2, Summer-Fall 2013, pp. 16-34. *Seven Pillars Institute for Global Finance and Ethics*, sevenpillarsinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Nationalisation-of-the-AIOC-EDIT-ED.pdf.

This journal article allowed me to understand the origins of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC), which I focused on when explaining the 1953 coup d'état of Iran's democratically elected Prime Minister. The 1953 coup has an important connection to my topic, the Iran Hostage Crisis. I used the article to gain an understanding of how the AIOC is tied to Iran's oil industry and how its expansion created much tension amongst the Iranian people.

Israeli, Ofer, Dr. "Twilight of Colonialism: Mossadegh And the Suez Crisis." *Middle East Policy*, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 2013, pp. 147-56. *Middle East Policy Council*, www.mepc.org/twilight-colonialism-mossadegh-and-suez-crisis.

This article gives insight into Mossadegh's relationship with the Suez Crisis. I mostly used the information in the article relating to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's influence in Iran and Mossadegh's efforts to nationalize it. I used a quote in the article from the British Minister of Defense, Emanuel Shinwell, regarding the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran. His exasperation with the nationalization efforts is expressed in the quote, as he wonders if Iran or other countries will be inspired to nationalize more and bigger things like the Suez Canal. This quote captures Britain's anger with the nationalization of the oil industry, which later led to the coup that put Mossadegh out of power.

Maricham, James M. "Khomeini Appoints A Dissident to Lead Provisional Regime." *The New York Times*, 6 Feb. 1979. *The New York Times*,
www.nytimes.com/1979/02/06/archives/khomeini-appoints-a-dissident-to-lead-provisional-regime-warns.html.

This article from The New York Times explains that Khomeini appointed Bazargan as head of the provisional government he formed upon returning from exile. I needed confirmation that Khomeini formed the provisional government, and this article gave me the information I needed to continue writing my web copy for my page about the Iran Hostage Crisis.

McGlinchey, Stephen. "How the Shah Entangled America." *The National Interest*, 2 Aug. 2013. *The National Interest*,
nationalinterest.org/commentary/how-the-shah-entangled-america-8821.

I used this article from *The National Interest* to learn more about the Shah of Iran's relationship with the United States. Iranians were quite unhappy with the Shah's dependency on the western nation, so I wanted to understand the specifics of their resentment. The article explains how Iran and the United States became allies and in what ways they supported each other. I used this information when explaining the bitterness in Iran before the revolution.

Nossiter, Bernard N. "Role of U.N. in the Hostage Situation Proved Minor." *The New York Times*, 23 Jan. 1981. *The New York Times*,
www.nytimes.com/1981/01/23/world/role-of-un-in-the-hostage-situation-proved-minor.html.

This article from *The New York Times* describes the U.N.'s inability to negotiate the release of the hostages. It provided information about Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's failed attempt at compromise and summarized his role in talking with the Iranian students. The Iran Hostage Crisis was marked by several failed attempts at negotiation, and Kurt Waldheim's time in Iran is one of them.

"Text of Agreement Between Iran the U.S. to Resolve the Hostage Situation." *The New York Times*, 20 Jan. 1981. *The New York Times*,
www.nytimes.com/1981/01/20/world/text-of-agreement-between-iran-and-the-us-to-resolve-the-hostage-situation.html?pagewanted=all.

This article from *The New York Times* gave me information about the Algiers Accords, the compromise that released the hostages after 444 days. It summarizes the document and what diplomatic relations between the U.S and Iranian governments will look like. This compromise was the only successful attempt at negotiation out of many. It required the intervention of another country to help bring Iran and the U.S. into a compromise.

Weisman, Steven R. "Carter 'Crisis Team' Gets Its Act Together." *The New York Times*, 30 Dec. 1979.

This article published in *The New York Times* a little more than a month into the hostage crisis describes the Security Coordinating Committee's attempt to send two emissaries to Tehran to initiate negotiations for the release of the hostages. The mission failed. I used this article to obtain more information about the goals of the committee and its work under National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski

Nonperiodicals

Bowden, Mark. *Guests of the Ayatollah: The First Battle in America's War with Militant Islam*. New York, Grove Press, 2006.

This book by Mark Bowden gives a detailed account of the Iran Hostage Crisis. Bowden's book provided me with many quotes that I used on my website, and it also led to many more primary sources. The book was especially helpful when researching compromise attempts, like the Security Coordinating Council's failed attempt to send two emissaries to Tehran to negotiate the release of the hostages with Iranian authorities. For events only covered briefly and not in great detail online, Bowden's book was extremely helpful.

Bukovich, Keith. "Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah." *Encyclopedia of the Contemporary World (1950 to Present)*. Infobase, 2016,
online.infobase.com/HRC/Search/Details/244466?q=khomeini.

I used this encyclopedia entry about Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to understand more about the leader who took control of Iran after the Shah's abdication and who was heavily involved in the hostage situation. The entry gives a brief summary of the reasons for his expulsion from Iran in 1964 and his return. The information is quite specific and helpful in my research of the Ayatollah.

Gerges, Fawaz A. *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?*
Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1999.

This book contains information about the United States' diplomatic relations with Iran and changing American foreign policy in the wake of the rise of political Islam. I used this book to look into Carter's relations with Iran during the Iranian Revolution and during the Iran Hostage Crisis. I pulled a quote from this book explaining how Khomeini's form of Islam fundamentalism spurred extreme Islam in the Middle East, especially when Islam extremists seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca the same year as the hostage crisis.

Lawson, Don. *America Held Hostage: The Iran Hostage Crisis and the Iran-contra Affair*. New York, F. Watts, 1991.

Don Lawson's book focuses on both the Iran Hostage Crisis and the Iran-Contra Affair. I used his book specifically for information about the factors that led to the Iran Hostage Crisis, especially the 1953 coup that usurped Mossadegh. This book gave me important details regarding the coup, and I even used a quote from Don Lawson on my website to explain the anti-American sentiment produced by the coup.

McDermott, Rose. "The Decisions about Admitting the Shah." *Risk-taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy*, Ann Arbor, U of Michigan P, 1998, pp. 77-105.

The fourth chapter in Rose McDermott's book *Risk-Taking in International Politics* focuses solely on the decision-making behind letting the Shah of Iran into the United States for cancer treatment. She identifies the factors that ultimately led to the decision to let him in and their reservations produced in fear of tension between the United States and Iran, an increasingly Islamic state. This chapter was also helpful in linking me to various primary and secondary sources and giving me important details I could not find elsewhere, such as where and how the Shah was spending his time in exile.

Terry, Janice J. "Iranian revolution." *Encyclopedia of the Contemporary World (1950 to Present)*. World History: A Comprehensive Reference Set. *Infobase*,
online.infobase.com/HRC/Search/Details/244254?q=iranian%20revolution.

This entry gave me information about the Iranian revolution that led up to the Shah's abdication and Ayatollah Khomeini's rule. I was specifically looking for information about the White Revolution, the reform program that displeased many Iranians. I wanted to know what kind of reforms made Iranians so upset and how they eventually led to the end of the Shah's rule in Iran. The entry effectively gave a summary of what led to the revolution.

Audiovisual

"A Brief History of US-Iran Relations." *YouTube*, uploaded by ABC News, 29 June 2015,
www.youtube.com/watch?v=_a1HFBY0KLo.

This video posted by ABC News briefly explains Iran-U.S. relations and specific historical events that have contributed to the countries' strained relationship. It was especially helpful when discussing events happening after the Iran Hostage Crisis—information I needed for my conclusion page. In my thesis, I argue that the Iran Hostage Crisis laid the groundwork for tense Iran-U.S. relations, and many of the events I discuss on my conclusion page that have only worsened their relationship are highlighted in this video. It provided excellent secondary source information.

BBC. "444 Days - Iran Hostage Crisis - BBC Documentary." YouTube, YouTube, 21 Aug. 2016,
www.youtube.com/watch?v=cMDYFSjxrCQ.

This documentary explains how the Iran Hostage Crisis came about and what happened inside the embassy during the 444 takeover using interviews from hostages and Iranian captors. I watched this documentary as a first step in my research process in order to learn about the crisis in general and decide which aspects of the crisis I wanted to look into further. I quote the documentary and use a clip from it on my website.

“Jimmy Carter’s Job Approval Rating Trend.” *Gallup*,

news.gallup.com/poll/116677/presidential-approval-ratings-gallup-historical-statistics-trends.aspx. Graph.

This graph illustrates Jimmy Carter’s low approval rating during his time as president.

The Iran Hostage Crisis took a toll on his presidency, eventually ending it, and I wanted to have a visual that confirmed the people’s increasing dismay with Carter as president.

“The Man Who Changed the World.” *Iran and the West*, episode 1, British Broadcasting Corporation, 4 Sept. 2009.

This television program gave me a lot of information about Ayatollah Khomeini and his rise to power in Iran. I specifically needed information about the Shah’s declining rule before his abdication, and this program provided videos of the Shah and interview from his advisors to provide the facts I needed.

The Road to 9/11. Directed by Sabin Streeter, 2005. *YouTube*,

www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CwaaG74j6g.

This documentary describes, defines, and tracks the rise of Islamic fundamentalism throughout history, leading up to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The Iran Hostage Crisis and Khomeini's rule in Iran are mentioned since Khomeini's interpretation of Islam invented modern Islamic fundamentalism and inspired extreme Islam around the world. I pulled a quote from this documentary for my conclusion page.

Web sites, e-sources

“Chronology of Key Events.” *Peterson Institute for International Economics*,

piie.com/publications/papers/sanctions-iran-79-1.pdf.

This chronology of key events in the Iran Hostage Crisis, provided by the Peterson Institute of International Economics, describes every major policy decision of the Carter administration and every action of the Iranian students throughout the crisis. Every couple of days during the crisis, there were new changes, conversations, and attempts at compromise. This chronology helped me to understand when each important event happened.

“CIA Finally Admits It Masterminded Iran’s 1953 Coup.” *RT*, 19 Aug. 2013,
www.rt.com/usa/iran-coup-cia-operation-647/.

This web page gave me information about the 1953 coup in Iran orchestrated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). I used this article to learn more about the coup, the timeline of the mission, and the CIA’s efforts. Also, I used a picture of demonstrators on the web page on my own website.

“Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh Biography.” *The Mossadegh Project*,
www.mohammadmossadegh.com/biography/.

This web page on the Mossadegh Project website includes an overview of the life of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh. I especially focused on the portions of his biography that explained his role in helping Iranian’s fight back against the British’s exploitive control of the Iran oil industry and how he became Prime Minister. The biography provided me with important dates such as the month and year when he became Prime Minister so I could better understand the sequence of events leading up to the 1953 coup d’état that overthrew him as Prime Minister.

Erlich, Reese. "Algiers Accords bind US to non-interference in Iran — and are always forgotten." *Public Radio International*, 26 July 2013, www.pri.org/stories/2013-07-26/algiers-accords-bind-us-non-interference-iran-and-are-always-forgotten. Editorial.

This article explains the Algiers Accords, which ended the Iran Hostage Crisis. It briefly summarizes the points made in the document. It also highlights the usually forgotten fact that the Algiers Accords does not allow the U.S. to interfere with Iran in any way. I used this article to get more information about the Algiers Accords and to explain the ultimate compromise.

Gil-White, Francisco. "Grand Theater: The US, The PLO, and the Ayatollah Khomeini." *Historical and Investigative Research*, 10 Dec. 2005, www.hirhome.com/iraniraq/plo-iran.htm#mediate.

This webpage displays research about the Palestinian Liberation Organization's (PLO) role in negotiating the release of the hostages and as an intermediary in the compromise attempt between the U.S. and Iran. There were many attempts at compromise during the Iran Hostage Crisis, and the PLO's involvement seems surprising. Their work was eventually unsuccessful because of Iran's unwillingness to work with the U.S. This webpage helped explain to me the PLO's efforts.

“Islamic Fundamentalism and Khomeini in Iran.” *Mr. Charrington’s Antique Shop*,

jpewinfield.wordpress.com/2014/03/11/islamic-fundamentalism-and-khomeini-in-iran/.

This article defines and explains Islamic fundamentalism, especially in relation to Khomeini. Khomeini’s strict interpretation of Islam and ability to turn Iran into an Islamic state is recognized. After the Iran Hostage Crisis, Khomeini’s modern Islamic fundamentalism encouraged extreme Islam around the world, provoking hostile situations such as violent takeovers and assassinations. I used the information on this web page on my conclusion page to describe the aftermath and worldwide effect of the hostage crisis.

Latham, Amanda. “Operation Ajax: Cia, Muhammad Mossadeq, and the Shah of Iran.” *The Cold War Museum*, www.coldwar.org/articles/50s/OperationAjax.asp.

This web page provided information about Operation Ajax, the Central Intelligence Agency’s (CIA) mission to oust the Prime Minister of Iran in 1953. The mission and the factors that led to the mission being executed are explained. I used this information on my website to briefly explain the coup since the CIA’s efforts proved to be a cause for the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Maloney, Suzanne. "Trump's new national security team likely spells disaster for the Iran nuclear

deal." *The Brookings Institution*,

www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/04/02/trumps-new-national-security-team-likely-spells-disaster-for-the-iran-nuclear-deal/.

This article from the Brookings Institution discusses the 2015 nuclear deal and its fate in the hands of the Trump Administration. I view the nuclear deal as another example of strained Iranian-U.S. relations, and I included a quote from this article on my conclusion page explaining how if Trump overturns it, Iran could suffer economically, and Iran-U.S. relations would be strained even further.

"Oil Agreements in Iran." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*,

www.iranicaonline.org/articles/oil-agreements-in-iran.

I used this encyclopedia entry to learn more about Britain's oppressive authority over Iran's oil industry. I specifically used this web page to read about the D'Arcy Agreement and other ways Iranians were exploited. This web page was helpful when writing the historical context on my website.

Okun, Eli. "Obama: Withdrawing from Iran nuclear deal 'is a serious mistake'." *Politico*, 8 May 2018, www.politico.com/story/2018/05/08/obama-iran-nuclear-deal-trump-574610.

This article discusses Obama's view on the Trump administration's unraveling of the 2015 Iran nuclear deal. On my website, I conclude that Iran and the U.S. retained no formal diplomatic ties after the hostage crisis, and they have only compromised on areas of mutual interest. The nuclear deal is an example of compromise on the parts of both countries. Iran wanted economic sanctions lifted, and the U.S. wanted oversight over Iran's nuclear program. Now that Trump would like to withdraw from the deal, Iran and the U.S. could have an even more tense relationship that could negatively affect already fragile relations for years to come. I quote this article on my conclusion page when discussing the nuclear deal.

"Operation Ajax (1953)." *The Latin Library*,

www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/notes/operationajax.html.

This web page provides information about Operation Ajax, the mission to execute a coup d'état of the Iranian Prime Minister in 1953. It explains what factors led to the coup d'état and how tensions between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Iranian people were brought about. It also explains the outcomes of the coup, which has shown to be important to my research since the coup set the stage for the Iran Hostage Crisis later on.

Riedel, Bruce. "Lessons from America's First War with Iran." *The Brookings Institution*, 23 May 2013, www.brookings.edu/articles/lessons-from-americas-first-war-with-iran/.

This article from the Brookings Institution discuss the Iran-Iraq War and America's intervention in the war effort. The author, Bruce Riedel, encourages Americans to think back to the Iran-Iraq War when contemplating how to approach Tehran's nuclear deal and wish to shut it down. I quoted a section of the article that explains the U.S.'s decision to support Iraq more than Iran during the war. I placed the block quote in a section of my website where I discuss the U.S.'s strained relations with Iran.

Robarge, David S. Review of *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror*. *Central Intelligence Agency*, www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol48no2/article10.html.

This web page holds a review by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) History Staff member Dr. David S. Robarge of the book *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* by Stephen Kinzer. The book contains information about the CIA's role in the 1953 coup d'état of the Iranian Prime Minister, and in his review, Kinzer writes about the CIA's portrayal in a recent public literature. His review gave me information about the coup and helped clarify how the CIA successfully orchestrated it. I

include information about the coup on the page of my website that sets the stage for the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Legal sources

United States, DC Circuit Court. *Peterson v. Islamic Republic of Iran*. Leagle,

www.leagle.com/decision/2002310264fsupp2d461305. No. No. 15-0690. This court case

deemed that Iran was responsible for the 1983 attack on U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut.

All of the victims and their families could collect financial damages from the Islamic

Republic of Iran. I pulled a quote from U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth who wrote

the decision. He states that Ayatollah Khomeini was aware of the attacks and therefore so

was the government of Iran. I mentioned the attacks on the conclusion page of my

website when discussing Iran-U.S. relations.

Unpublished & other sources

Damluji, Mona. *Documenting the Modern Oil City: Cinematic Urbanism in Anglo-Iranian's*

Persian Story. 2012. U of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. dissertation. *SOAS Research*

Online, eprints.soas.ac.uk/17966/2/documenting-the-modern-oil-city.asp.

This dissertation by Mona Damluji describes the impact of the film *A Persian Story* on showing the inner workings of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's oil refinery in Abadan, but it also describes the behind-the-scenes details of poverty and exploitation the movie

did not show. I used this article to learn more about the poverty in Abadan caused by the AIOC's exploitation. I used a quote and a picture from this dissertation.

Houlton, Tyler Q. *The Impact of the 1979 Hostage Crisis in Iran on the U.S. Presidential Election of 1980*. 2011. Georgetown University, Ph.D. thesis. *DigitalGeorgetown*, chrome-extension://oemmndcblldboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/553335/houltonTyler.pdf?sequence.

This thesis by Tyler Q. Houlton focuses on the Iran Hostage Crisis and the impact of the crisis on Jimmy Carter's failure to be reelected in 1980. This paper linked me to various primary and secondary sources, and it also provided me with great quotes I included on my website. I used the paper mostly to learn about the students' goals regarding their takeover of the U.S. Embassy and also their reaction to the crisis becoming a 444-day-long event. Also, the paper was helpful in giving me information about the failed rescue attempt, Operation Eagle Claw.