

Oil, labour and revolution in Iran: a social history of labour in the Iranian oil industry, 1973-83
Jafari, P.

Citation

Jafari, P. (2018, October 11). Oil, labour and revolution in Iran: a social history of labour in the Iranian oil industry, 1973-83. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66125

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66125

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/66125 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

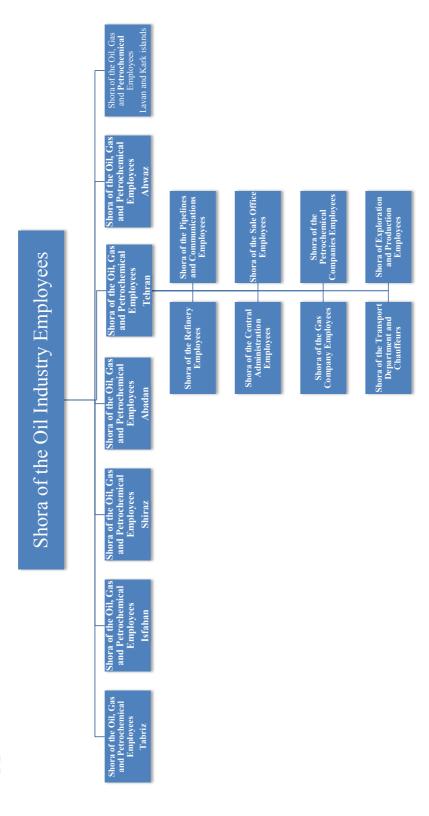
Author: Jafari, P.

Title: Oil, labour and revolution in Iran: a social history of labour in the Iranian oil

industry, 1973-83 Issue Date: 2018-10-11

Shora of Engineers and Laboratories Administration Employees Shora of United Shora Appendix I: The structure of the oil workers' showra in Tehran Shora of Safety and Security Employees Steam Departements Shora of Shouthern Shora of Southern Control Room 2 Shora of Southern Control Room 1 Control Room 3 Shora of Water, Electricity and Shoral of Tehran Refinery Employees Shora of Shift Employees Shora of Lubricant Shora of Northern Control Room 2 Shora of Northern Shora of Northern Control Room 3 Control Room 1 Shora Shora of Transport Repair Employees Repair Employees Shora of Turning Shora of General Shora of Pump Employees Maintenance Employees Shora of Shora of Electricity Shora of Precision Tools Employees **Making Factory** Employees Employees

Appendix II: structure of the oil workers' showras on the national level



Sources

Archives

British National Archives British National Archives, Kew

IICHS Institute for Iranian Contemporary Studies,

Tehran

IISH International Institute of Social History,

Amsterdam

IPMD Iran Petroleum Museum and Documents,

Tehran

IRDC Islamic Revolution Documents Centre,

Tehran

LMDCIR Library, Museum and Document Centre of

Iran Parliament, Tehran

NA Nationaal Archief, Den Haag

NIOC Ahwaz National Iranian Oil Company, archives of

the public relations office in Ahwaz and the

library of the NIOC headquarters, Ahwaz

NLAI National Library and Archives of Iran,

Tehran.

Libraries

Leiden University NIOC library in Ahwaz NIOC library in Tehran

Shahid Chamran University of Ahwaz

Independent newspapers and periodicals

Persian

Ayandegan

Enqelab-e Islami

Ettela 'at

Gofto-gu

Kayhan

Ketab-e Jom'e

Mash'al

Nameh-ye San 'at-e Naft-e Iran (NIOC)

Payam-e Jonub (NIOC)

Peyk-e Naft (NIOC)

English

BBC Summary of World Broadcasts

Oil & Gas Journal

The Economist

The Globe and Mail

The New York Times

The Washington Post

Time

Periodicals of political organisations and parties

Persian

Ahangar

Cheh bayad kard? (publication of the Sazman-e Kargaran-e Sosyalist [Socialist Workers Party of Iran])

Ghiyam-e Kargar. Organ-e Kargari-ye Sazaman-e Mojahedin-e Khalgh-e Iran (published by the Mojahedin)

Haqiqat (published by Ettehadiyeh-ye Kommonistha-ye Iran [Communist Unity of Iran])

Jangal: nashriyeh-ye Mojahedin-e Khalq-e Iran (published by the Mojahedin)

Kar (publication of Fada'is before the split, issues 1 to 60)

Kar (Majority)

Kar (Minority)

Kar-e Jonub (special publication of *Kar* in Khuzestan)

Kargar (publication of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran, and later Revolutionary Workers' Party after split)

Kargar (SK) (published by Sazman-e Kargar [Worker Organisation])

Kargar-e Kommonist (published by the Worker-Communist Party of Iran)

Kargar-e Sosyalist (publication of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran, after the split)

Khabar-e Kargar (published by a group of Tehran industrial workers)

Manjaniq

Mojahed

Nabard-e Khalq: Vizheh-ye Kargaran va Zahmatkeshan (Fada'is publication for workers)

Nabard-e Khalq: Organ-e Sazman-e Cherikha-ye Fada 'i-ye Khalq-e Iran (publication of the People's Fada 'i Geurrilla Organisation of Iran)

Nameh-ye Mardam (Tudeh Party publication)

Nazm-e Kargar

Ommat (publication of Jonbesh-e Mosalmanan-e Mobarez [Militant Muslims Movement]

Peygham-e Emruz

Peykar (published by Sazman-e Peykar dar Rah-e Azadi-ye Tabaqeh-ye Kargar [Organisation of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class])

Rah-e Kargar (publication of the Sazman-e Enqelabi-ye Kargaran-e Iran/Revolutionary Workers' Organisation of Iran)

Rah-e Tudeh

Raha'i (Vahdat-e Kommonisti publication)

Zanjir

English

Intercontinental Press

Bibliography

- 'Alam, Mohammad Reza. *Enqelab-e Islami Dar Ahwaz [The Islamic Revolution in Ahwaz]*. 2 vols. Vol. 2: Markaz-e Asnad-e Enqelab-e Islami, 1386/2007.
- 'Ayari, Rahim. "Pedar-e San'at-e Haffari-ye Novin-e Iran Bazneshasteh Mishavad [The Father of Iran's Modern Drilling Industry Retires] " http://asrekimyagari.com/asrkimiagari/NewsPrintableVersion.aspx?NID =1072.
- Abbasi-Shavazi, Mohammad Jalal, Peter McDonald, and Mimanat Hosseini Chavoshi. *Changes in Family, Fertility Behavior and Attitudes in Iran*. Working Papers in Demography No. 88. The Australian National University, August 2003.
- Abbott, John. *The Iranians: How They Live and Work*. Newton Abbot Eng.; North Pomfret, Vt.: David & Charles, 1977.
- Abrahamian, Ervand. The Coup: 1953, the Cia, and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations. 2013.
- ——. *A History of Modern Iran*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- ——. *Iran between Two Revolutions*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- ——. *Khomeinism: Essays on the Islamic Republic*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1993.
- ——. Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin. London: I.B. Tauris, 1989.
- . "Strenghts and Weaknesses of Labour Movement in Iran, 1941 1953." In *Continuity and Change in Modern Iran*, edited by Michael E. Bonine and Nikki R. Keddie. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.
- Achcar, Gilbert. *Marxism, Orientalism, Cosmopolitanism*. Chicago IL: Haymarket Books, 2013.

- Adesina, Jimi O. "Worker Consciousness and Shopfloor Struggles: A Case Study of Nigerian Refinery Workers." *Labour, Capital and Society* 22, no. 2 (1989): 288-319.
- Afacan, Serhan. "State, Society and Labour in Iran, 1906-1941: A Social History of Iranian Industrialization and Labour with Reference to the Textile Industry." PhD, Leiden University, 2015.
- Afary, Janet. *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy and the Origins of Feminism.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- ——. *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Afary, Janet, Kevin Anderson, and Michel Foucault. Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Aghajanian, Akbar. "The Economic Achievement of Rural Migrant Workers in an Iranian City." *International Review of Modern Sociology* 8, no. 1 (1978): 127-30.
- Aghajari, Naser. "Beh Yad-e Hey'at Modireh Va A'zaye Sandika-ye Kargari-ye Projehi-ye Abadan [in Memory of the Steering Committe and Members of the Project-Seasonal Workers Union of Abadan]."

 http://bield.info/كارگر-سنديكاي-اعضاء-و-مديره-هيئت-ياد-به
- Aglietta, Michel. *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The Us Experience*. London: NLB, 1979.
- Ahmadifar, Joe. *Six Plus One Worker* #199459. N.N.: Xlibries Corporation, 2011.
- Ahmadzadeh, Mas'ud. *Mobarezeh-ye Mossalahane: Ham Strategy Ham Taktik [Armed Struggle: Both Strategy and Tactics]*. Sweden: Organization of Iranian Students, 1976 [1970].
- "Akhbar-e Jonbesh-e Islami, Shomareh 2 (1 Azar 1357/22 November 1978)

 [News of the Islamic Movement, Number 1]." In *Asnad-e Nehzat-e Azadi [Documents of the Freedom Movement]*, edited.

 http://www.mizankhabar.net/asnad/archive/archive.htm.
- "Akhbar-e Jonbesh-e Islami, Shomareh 4 (11 Azar 1357/2 December 1978)

 [News of the Islamic Movement, Number 4]." In *Asnad-e Nehzat-e Azadi [Documents of the Freedom Movement]* edited.

 http://www.mizankhabar.net/asnad/archive/archive.htm.
- "Akhbar-e Jonbesh-e Islami, Shomareh 10 (12 Dey 1357/2 January 1979)

 [News of the Islamic Movement, Number 10]." In *Asnad-e Nehzat-e Azadi [Documents of the Freedom Movement]*, edited.

 http://www.mizankhabar.net/asnad/archive/archive.htm.

- Altbach, Edith Hoshino. *From Feminism to Liberation*. Cambridge, Mass.,: Schenkman Pub. Co., 1971.
- Althusser, Louis. On Ideology. London; New York: Verso, 2008 [1971].
- 'Amalkard-e Dosaleh-ye Kanun-e Showra-Ha-ye Islami-ye Kargaran Va Komiteh-ye Kargari [Performance of the Society of the Islamic Workers' Showras and the Workers Committee in the Last Two Years]. n.p.: Kanun-e Showra-ha-ye Islami-ye Kargaran, 1359/1982.
- Ancheyta, Jorge. *Modeling and Simulation of Catalytic Reactors for Petroleum Refining*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2011.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London; New York: Verso, 2006 [1983].
- Anievas, Alexander. "Revolutions and International Relations: Rediscovering the Classical Bourgeois Revolutions." [In English]. *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 4 (Dec 2015): 841-66.
- Anievas, Alexander, and Kamran Matin. *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée*. London; New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016.
- Arasteh, A. Reza. Man and Society in Iran. Leiden,: Brill, 1970.
- Argheyd, Kamal, and Edward Robert Livernash. "Iran." In *International Handbook of Industrial Relations, Contemporary Development and Research*, edited by Albert Blum. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. "Traditionalism in Twentieth-Century Iran." In *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Islam*, edited by Said Amir Arjomand, xxi, 256 p. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.
- ——. The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Arrighi, Giovanni, and John S. Saul. *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*. New York; London: Monthly Review Press, 1973.
- Ashman, S. "Capitalism, Uneven and Combined Development and the Transhistoric." [In English]. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 1 (2009): 29-46.
- "Ashna'i Ba Marakaz-e Amuzesh-e 'Ali-ye Tarbiyat-e Motekhases-e Mali:
 Daneshkadeh-ye Hesabdari Va Olum-e Mali-ye Sherkat-e Malli-ye
 Naft-e Iran [Introduction to the Higher Education Centers for the
 Training of Finanical Specialists: The Accountancy and Finance College
 of Nioc]." *Hesabres* Old series, no. 2 (Azar 1355/November-December
 1976): 18-19.

- Ashraf, Ahmad. "Kalbodshekafi-ye Enqelab: Naqsh-e Kargaran-e San'ati Dar Enqelab-e Iran [Anatomy of the Revolution: The Role of Industrial Workers in the Iranian Revolution]." *Goftogu*, no. 55 (2010): 55-123.
- Ashraf, Ahmad, and Ali Banuazizi. "The State, Classes and Modes of Mobilization in the Iranian Revolution." *State, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 3 (1985): 3-40.
- Assadi, A. L. I., and Marcello L. Vidale. "Survey of Social Attitudes in Iran." International Review of Modern Sociology 10, no. 1 (1980): 65-84.
- Assadi, Ali, et al. Gerayesh-Haye Farhangi Va Negaresh-Haye Ejtema'i Dar Iran: Gozareshi Az Yek Nazarkhahiye Melli Dar Sal-e 1353 [Cultural Views and Social Attitudes in Iran: Report from a National Survey in 1353] Tehran: Pajuheshkadeh-ye 'olum-e ertebati va tose'eh-ye Iran, 1356/1977.
- Assadi, Ali, Majid Tehranian, Abbas Abdi, and Mohsen Goudarzi. Seda'i Ke Shenideh Nashod: Negaresh-Ha-ye Ejtema'i-Farhangi Va Towse'e-ye Namotezaven Dar Iran [the Voice That Wasn't Heard: Social-Cultural Surveys and Uneven Development in Iran]. Tehran: Nashr-e Ney, 1395/2016.
- Assadi, Morteza, and Ahmad Nad'aliyan. "Barresi-ye T'sir-e Iydologi Va Tafakor-e Siyasi Dar Be Kargiri-ye 'Anasor-e Tasviri Dar Asar-e Naqashi-ye Enqelab-e Islami [Study of Ideological Influence and Political Thinking on the Application of Images in the Paintings of the Islamic Revolution]." *Negareh, Scientific Research Journal*, no. 25 (2013/1392): 65-87.
- Atabaki, Touraj. "Chronicles of a Calamitous Strike Foretold: Abadan, July 1946." In *On the Road to Global Labour History: A Festschrift for Marcel Van Der Linden*, edited by Karl Heinz Roth. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- ———. "Disgruntled Guests: Iranian Subaltern on the Margins of the Tsarist Empire." *International Review of Social History* 48, no. 03 (2003): 401-26.
- ——. "Far from Home, but at Home: Indian Migrant Workers in the Iranian Oil Industry." [In English]. *Studies in History* 31, no. 1 (Feb 2015): 85-114.
- ——. "From 'Amaleh (Labor) to Kargar (Worker): Recruitment, Work Discipline and Making of the Working Class in the Persian/Iranian Oil Industry." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84, no. Special Issue -1 (2013): 159-75.
- ———. "Iran (Persia)." In *Handbook Global History of Work*, edited by Karin Hofmeester and Marcel van der Linden. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2018.

- ———, ed. *Iran in the 20th Century: Historiography and Political Culture*, vol. 20. London; New York: I.B. Tauris in association with the Iran Heritage Foundaton, 2009.
- ———. "Ravayati Az Jonbeshe Kargaran Dar Goftar Va Kerdar-e Cherikha-ye Fada'iye Khalq [a History of the Workers' Movment in the Discourse and Practice of the People's Fada'iyan]." In *Rahi Digar: Ravayat-Ha'i Dar Bud Va Bash-e Cherikha-ye Fada'i-ye Khalq-e Iran. Daftar-e Nokhost [Another Road: Narratives Abou the Everyday Life of the People's Fada'i Guerrilla Organisation. First Volume]*, edited by Touraj Atabaki and Nasser Mohajer. Paris: Noghteh, 2017.
- ——. "Time, Labour-Discipline and Modernization in Turkey and Iran: Some Comparative Remarks." In *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Ataturk and Reza Shah*, edited by Touraj Atabaki and Erik Jan Zurcher, 234 p. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.
- Atabaki, Touraj, and Erik Jan Zürcher. *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Ataturk and Reza Shah.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.
- Axworthy, Michael. *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic*. London: Penguin Books, 2014.
- "Az Kargaran-e 'Etesabi-ye San'at-e Naft Che Miamuzim? Gozareshi Az 'Etesab-e 'Azim Va Yekparcheh-ye Kargaran-e Palayeshgah-e Abadan [What Can We Learn from the Striking Oil Workers? A Report of the Big and United Strikes of the Workers of the Abadan Refinery]." N.N.: Mobarezan-e rah-e ijad-e tabaqe-ye kargar-e Iran, Dey 1357/December 1978-January 1979.
- Azad, Shahrzad. "Workers' and Peasant's Councils in Iran." *Monthly Review*, no. October 1980 (1980): 14-29.
- Azari Sharzaee, Reza. "Moruri Bar Zohur Va Soqut-e Padideh-ye Khalq-e Arab: 1357-58 [a Look at the Rise and Demise of the Arab People Phenomenon: 1979-80]." *Goftogu*, no. 25 (1378/1999): 63-79.
- Azghandi, Seyyed Alireza. *Tarikh-e Tahavolat-e Siyasi Va Ejtema'i-ye Iran,* 1320-1357 [the History of Political and Social Developments in Iran, 1941-1979]. Tehran: Sazaman-e mottale'e va tadvin-e kotob-e 'olum-e ensani-ye daneshgah-ha, 1390/2011.
- Azzellini, Dario, ed. *An Alternative Labor History: Worker Control and Workplace Democracy*. London: Zed Books, 2015.
- ———. "Introduction." In *An Alternative Labor History: Worker Control and Workplace Democracy*, edited by Dario Azzellini. London: Zedbooks, 2015.

- Bahramitash, Roksana, and Hadi Salehi Esfahani. "Nimble Fingers No Longer! Women's Employment in Iran." In *Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics*, edited by Ali Gheissari. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Bakhash, Shaul. *The Politics of Oil and Revolution in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1982.
- Bakker, Isabella, and Stephen Gill. *Power, Production, and Social Reproduction: Human in/Security in the Global Political Economy.*Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Balta, Paul, and Jim Paul. "Fear Reigns in Abadan." *MERIP Reports*, no. 75/76 (March-April 1979 March-April 1979): 18-19.
- Bamberg, James H. *The History of the British Petroleum Company: British Petroleum and Global Oil, 1950-1975: The Challenge of Nationalism.* 3 vols. Vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., 2000.
- ———. *The History of the British Petroleum Company: The Anglo-Iranian Years, 1928-54.* 3 vols. Vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., 1994.
- Bani-Sadr, Abol-Hassan. *Eqtesad-e Towhidi [Harmonious Economy]*. n.p.n.d. ———. *Naft Va Solteh [Oil and Domination]*. Tehran: Mosaddeq Publishers, 1356/1977.
- Baqi, 'Emadaldin. Faradastan Va Foroodastan: Khaterat-e Shafahi-ye Enqelab [Rulers and the Subaltern: Oral History of the Revolution]. Tehran: Jame'e Iranian, 1379/2000.
- Baran, Paul A., and Paul M. Sweezy. *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966.
- Barang, Marcel. *Iran: Rebirth of an Empire [Translation from Le Monde Diplomatique, May 1975]*. Iranian Students Society in Great Brittain, 1975.
- Barrett, Ross, and Daniel Worden. *Oil Culture*. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
- Bartsch, William H. "The Industrial Labor Force of Iran: Problems of Recruitment, Training and Productivity." *Middle East Journal* 25, no. 1 (1971): 15-30.
- "Bastan-e Shirha-ye Naft Az Yunit-e 5 Ahwaz Aghaz Shod [the Shut Down of the Oil Piplelines Started from the Nr. 5 Unit in Ahwaz]."

 http://www.dana.ir/news/236242.html/العتارات اعتادات المادة الما

- Batatu, Hanna. The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba'thists, and Free Officers. London: Saqi Books, 2004 [1978].
- Bayat, Asef. "Capital Accumulation, Political Control and Labour Organization in Iran, 1965-75." *Middle Eastern Studies* 25, no. 2 (1989): 198-207.
- ——. "Historiography, Class and Iranian Workers." In Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East: Struggles, Histories, Historiographies, edited by Zachary Lockman, 165-210. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- ———. "Labor and Democracy in Post-Revolutionary Iran." In *Post-Revolutionary Iran*, edited by Hooshang Amirahmadi and Manoucher Parvin, vii, 262 p. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1988.
- ——. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- ———. *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- ———. Workers and Revolution in Iran: A Third World Experience of Workers' Control. London: Zed, 1987.
- ——. "Workers' Control after the Revolution." *MERIP Reports*, no. 113 (March-April 1983).
- Bayat, Assef. "Does Class Ever Opt out of the Nation? Nationalist Modernization and Labor in Iran." In *Identity Politics in Central Asia and the Muslim World*, edited by Willem Schendel van and Erik Zurcher, 189-207. London: I.B. Tauris, 2001.
- Bayat, Kaveh, and Majid Tafreshi, eds. *Khaterat-e Dowran-e Separi Shodeh. Khaterat Va Asnad-e Yusuf Eftekhari [Memories of an Elapsed Period. Memoirs and Documents of Yusuf Eftekhari]*. Tehran: Ferdows, 1370/1991.
- Bayat, Mangol. "Mahumud Taleqani and the Iranian Revolution." In *Shi 'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*, edited by Martin S. Kramer, x, 324 p. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1987.
- Bazargan, Mehdi. Enqelab-e Iran Dar Do Harekat [the Iranian Revolution in Two Moves]. Nehzat-e Azadi, 1363 [1984].
- ——. "Pasokh Be Mondarajat-e Ruznameh-ye Ayandegan (16/11/1357) [Response to the Content of Ayandegan Daily (4 February 1979)." In *Asnad-e Nehzat-e Azadi [Documents of the Freedom Movement]*, edited. http://www.mizankhabar.net/asnad/archive/archive.htm.
- Behbahani, Mohammad Zeyd. *Majarahaye Man [My Adventures]*. Ahwaz: Tarava Publication, 1391/2012.

- Behkish, Mohammad-Mehdi. *Eqtesad-e Iran Dar Bastar-e Jahani Shodan* [Iran's Economy in the Context of Globalization]. Tehran: Nashr-e Ney, 1380/2001.
- Behnam, Jamshid. Sakhtha-ye Khanevadeh Va Khishavandi Dar Iran [Family and Kinship Structures in Iran]. Tehran: Kharazmi, 1350/1971.
- Behnam, M. Reza. *Cultural Foundations of Iranian Politics*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986.
- Behrooz, Maziar. *Rebels with a Cause: The Failure of the Left in Iran*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris 1999.
- Beinin, Joel, and Zachary Lockman. Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882-1954. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Belchem, John. "Ethnicity and Labour History. With Special Reference to Irish Migration." In *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labor History*, edited by Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcel van der Linden, vi, 250 p. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002.
- Belchem, John, and Neville Kirk. *Languages of Labour*. Aldershot: Scolar, 1997.
- Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1 (2000): 611.
- Benjamin, Milton R., and Barry Came. "The Shah's Growing Pains." *Newsweek*, 1 March 1976.
- Benson, John. *The Working Class in England, 1875-1914*. London; Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Benston, Margaret. "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation." *Monthly Review* 21, no. 4 (1969): 13-27.
- Bergene, Ann Cecilie, Sylvi B. Endresen, and Hege Merete Knutsen. *Missing Links in Labour Geography*. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Bharier, Julian. *Economic Development in Iran, 1900-1970*. London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Bhattacharya, Tithi. "Introduction: Mapping Social Reproduction Theory." In *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression*, edited by Tithi Bhattacharya. London: Pluto Press, 2017.
- ———. Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression. London: Pluto Press, 2017.
- Bill, James A. "The Politics of Student Alienation the Case of Iran." *Iranian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1969): 8-26.

- Bina, Cyrus. A Prelude to the Foundation of Political Economy: Oil, War, and Global Polity. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Bini, Elisabetta, Giuliano Garavini, and Federico Romero. *Oil Shock: The 1973 Crisis and Its Economic Legacy*. London; New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Bird, Kai. "Iranian Oil Workers and Revolution." In *America's Engery. Reports* from the Nation on 100 Years of Struggle for the Democratic Control of Our Resources, edited by Robert Engler, 233-38. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- Black, Brian. *Crude Reality: Petroleum in World History*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012.
- Blackledge, Paul. "Thinking About (New) Social Movements. Some Insights from the British Marxist Historians." In *Marxisme and Social Movements*, edited by Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky and Alf Gunvald Nilsen. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Blok, Aad. Generations in Labour History: Papers Presented to the Sixth British-Dutch Conference on Labour History, Oxford 1988.

 Amsterdam: Stichting beheer IISG, 1989.
- Blokland, Talja, and Mike Savage. "Networks, Class and Place." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25, no. 2 (2008): 221-26.
- Boroumand, Ladan. "Les Overiers, L'ingénieur Et Les Militantes Khomeinistes." *Peuples Méditerranéens*, no. 8 (July-September 1979): 59-78.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." In *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change; Papers in the Sociology of Education*, edited by Richard K. Brown, xii, 410 p. London: Tavistock 1973.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Braverman, Harry. Labor and Monopoly Capital; the Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century. New York,: Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- ———. Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.
- Brenner, Robert. *The Economics of Global Turbulence: The Advanced Capitalist Economies from Long Boom to Long Downturn, 1945-2005.* London; New York: Verso, 2006.
- Bridge, Gavin, and Philippe Le Billon. *Oil*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013.
- Brumberg, Daniel, and Ariel I. Ahram. *The National Iranian Oil Company in Iranian Politics*. N.p.: The James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University, 2007.

- Buchan, James. *Days of God : The Revolution in Iran and Its Consequences*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012.
- Bujeh, Sazman-e Barnameh va. *Mohajerat Va Shahrneshini Dar Iran*[Migration and Urbanization in Iran]. Tehran: Sazman-e Barnameh va Bujeh, N.N.
- Burawoy, Michael. *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process under Monopoly Capitalism*. Chicago, Illinois London: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- ——. The Politics of Production: Factory Regimes under Capitalism and Socialism. London: Verso, 1985.
- Burnett, Judith. *Generations: The Time Machine in Theory and Practice*. Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Burris, Val. "The Discovery of the New Middle-Class." [In English]. *Theory and Society* 15, no. 3 (1986): 317-49.
- Butler, David, and Loren Jenkins. "Calm but Not Quiet." *Newsweek*, 27 November 1978, 57.
- Callinicos, Alex. "The Limits of Passive Revolution." *Capital & Class* 34, no. 3 (October 1, 2010 2010): 491-507.
- Making History: Agency, Structure, and Change in Social Theory.
 Historical Materialism Book Series, 2nd rev. ed. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004.
- ———. "The 'New Middle Class' and Socialist Politics." In *The Changing Working Class: Essays on Class Structure Today*, edited by Alex Callinicos and Chris Harman. London: Bookmarks, 1987.
- Camfield, David. "Re-Orienting Class Analysis: Working Classes as Historical Formations." [In English]. *Science & Society* 68, no. 4 (Win 2004): 421-46.
- Carchedi, Guglielmo. Frontiers of Political Economy. London: Verso, 1991.
- Castree, Noel, Neil Coe, Kevin Ward, and Mike Samers. *Spaces of Work : Global Capitalism and Geographies of Labour.* London: SAGE, 2004.
- Chanzanagh, Hamid Ebdollahi. "National Historical Events in Iranian Collective Memory." *International Journal of Social Sciences and humanity studies* 5, no. 1 (2013): 123-32.
- Chaquèri, Cosroe. *The Russo-Caucasian Origins of the Iranian Left : Social Democracy in Modern Iran*. Caucasus World. Richmond: Curzon, 2001.
- Chaquèri, Cosroe, ed. *The Condition of the Working Class in Iran: A Documentary History.* 4 vols. Tehran: Antidote Publications, 1989.

- Chehabi, H. E., Peyman Jafari, and Maral Jefroudi. *Iran in the Middle East: Transnational Encounters and Social History*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- Chehabi, Houchang E., and Vanessa Martin. *Iran's Constitutional Revolution:*Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational

 Connections. International Library of Iranian Studies. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010.
- Chelkowski, Peter. "Popular Entertainment, Media and Social Change in Twentieth-Century Iran." In *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 7 from Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, edited by Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville, 765-814. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Chernow, Ron. *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* New York: Vintage Books, 2007.
- CIA. Centers of Power in Iran: Intelligence Report. Washington D.C.: CIA, 1972.
- Clarke, John. Changing Welfare, Changing States: New Directions in Social Policy. London: SAGE, 2004.
- Clarke, Simon. "What in the F---' Name Is Fordism?". In *Fordism and Flexibility: Divisions and Change*, edited by G. Nigel Gilbert, Roger Burrows and Anna Pollert, xii, 206 p. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992.
- Cliff, Tony. "Deflected Permanent Revolution." *International Socialism Journal* first series, no. 12 (1963).
- Committee Against Repression in Iran (CARI). *The Iranian Working Class: A Survey of Conditions, Repression and Struggles*. London: CARI, 1977.
- Cook-Johnson, Gail. *High-Level Manpower in Iran : From Hidden Conflict to Crisis.* New York: Praeger, 1980.
- Corsten, M. "The Time of Generations." [In English]. *Time & Society* 8, no. 2 (Sep 1999): 249-72.
- Cox, Laurence, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen. We Make Our Own History: Marxism and Social Movements in the Twilight of Neoliberalism. London: Pluto Press, 2014.
- Crinson, Mark. "Abadan: Planning and Architecture under the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company." *Planning Perspectives* 12, no. 3 (1997/01/01 1997): 341-59.
- Cronin, Stephanie. "Popular Politics, the New State and the Birth of the Iranian Working Class: The 1929 Abadan Oil Refinery Strike." [In English]. *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 5 (2010): 699-732.
- ——. "Writing the History of Modern Iran: A Comment on Approaches and Sources." *Iran* 36 (1998): 175-84.

- Dabashi, Hamid. *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.
- Daneshamuzan-e havadar-e jonbesh-e mosalmanan-e mobareze Shiraz. *Kargaran, Showra-Ha Va Mobarezeh-ye Zed-e Amperialisti [Workers, Councils and the the Anti-Imperialist Struggle]*. N.N.: N.N., n.n.
- Darlington, Ralph. "Agitator 'Theory' of Strikes Re-evaluated." *Labor History* 47, no. 4 (2006/11/01 2006): 485-509.
- Davani, Gholam Hossein. Majmu'eh-ye Qavanin Va Moqararat-e Kar Va Tamin-e Ejtema'i [Collectiion of Labour and Social Welfare Laws and Regulations]. Tehran: Kiyumars, 1389/2010.
- Davidson, Ray. *Challenging the Giants: A History of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union*. Denver, Colo.: Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union, 1988.
- Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz : Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. New ed. London; New York: Verso, 2006(1990).
- De Coualt, J. "Abadan Ya Shri Mottekhassesan: Shri Keh Utubus Va Pezeshk Va Mo'allem Va Bellakhareh Anva'e Tafrihat Dar an Majjanist va Betore Kolli Pul dar an Ravaj Nadarad (Abadan, the City of Technicians: The City Where All Public Services Are Free of Charge)." *Khandaniha* 7, no. 23 (Ordibehesht 1326/May 1947).
- De Groot, Joanna. *Religion, Culture and Politics in Iran: From the Qajars to Khomeini*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2007.
- De Ste. Croix, G. E. M. *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Dehqani, Ashraf. *Hamaseh-ye Moqavemat [the Legend of Resistance]*. Tehran: Nashr-e Mardom, N.N.
- Della Costa, Mariarosa, and Selma James, eds. *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972.
- Deming, Angus, and Tony Clifton. "Who Is Running Iran?". *Newsweek*, no. 15 March 1979 (62.
- Dencker, John C., Aparna Joshi, and Joseph J. Martocchio. "Towards a Theoretical Framework Linking Generational Memories to Workplace Attitudes and Behaviors." *Human Resource Management Review* 18, no. 3 (9// 2008): 180-87.
- Devereaux, Steve. *Drilling Technology in Nontechnical Language*. Tulsa: PennWell, 2012.
- Do Gozaresh Az: Sherkatha-ye Haffari Va Mobarezat-e Kargaran-e Sherkat-e Sahami-ye "Kesht Va San'at-e Neyshekar-e Karun' [Two Reports:

- Drilling Companies and the Struggles of the Workers of the Karun Sugarcane Company]. n.n.: People's Fada'i Guerrilla Organisation, n.n.
- Doeringer, Peter B., and Michael J. Piore. *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis*. Lexington, Mass: Heath, 1971.
- Dumas, Firoozeh. Funny in Farsi: A Memoir of Growing up Iranian in America. 1st ed. New York: Villard, 2003.
- Dumper, Michael, and Bruce E. Stanley. *Cities of the Middle East and North Africa: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2007.
- "E'lamiyeh-ye Qahremanan-e San'at-e Naft [Statement of the Heroes of the Oil Industry]." *Akhbar-e Engelab*, 16 Dey 1357/6 January 1979, 1.
- Edgerton, William F. "The Strikes in Ramses Iii's Twenty-Ninth Year." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10, no. 3 (1951): 137-45.
- Ehrenreich, B., and J. Ehrenreich. "The Professional-Managerial Class." In *Between Labour and Capital*, edited by Pat Walker, xxx, 337 p. Hassocks: Harvester, 1979.
- Ehsani, Kaveh. "Disappearing the Workers: How Labor in the Oil Complex Has Been Made Invisible." In *Working for Oil: Comparative Social Histories of Labor in the Global Oil Industry*, edited by Touraj Atabaki, Elisabetta Bini and Kaveh Ehsani: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018.
- ——. "Social Engineering and the Contradictions of Modernization in Khuzestan's Company Towns: A Look at Abadan and Masjed-Soleyman." *International Review of Social History* 48, no. 03 (2003): 361-99.
- ———. "The Social History of Labor in the Iranian Oil Industry: The Built Environment and the Making of the Industrial Working Class (1908-1941)." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2014.
- Elbaum, Max, and Robert Seltzeer. *The Labour Aristocracy: The Material Basis for Opportunism in the Labour Movement the Theory of the Labour Aristocracy.* Chippendale, Australia: Resistance Books, 2004.
- Eley, Geoff, and Keith Nield. *The Future of Class in History: What's Left of the Social?* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.
- ——. "Why Does Social History Ignore Politics?". *Social History* 5, no. 2 (1980): 249-71.
- Elkan, Walter. "Employment, Education, Training and Skilled Labor in Iran." *Middle East Journal* 31, no. 2 (1977): 175-87.
- Elwell-Sutton, L. P. "Abadan Ii. Modern Abadan." In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, *Online Edition*, 1982.
- Emami, Alireza. *Oil and Iranian Development*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 1980. Doctoral Dissertation.

- Employees, Common Syndicate of the Oil Industry. "Az Nashriyeh-ye Sandika-ye Moshtarak-e Naft [from the Journal of the Common Syndicate of Oil]." *Ketab-e Jom'eh*, no. 31 (28 Farvardin 1359/17 April 1979): 136-37.
- Ershad, F. . "Migration and Life Style: Work and Leisure in an Industrialized City (Arak)." PhD, Chelsea College, 1978.
- Ershad-e Islami-ye Khuzestan. *Khuzestan Hamgam Ba Enqelab [Khuzestan During the Revolution]*. Vol. 1: Vezarat-e Ershad-e Islami, Bahman 1362/January-February 1984.
- Esfahani, Hadi Salehi, and M. Hashem Pesaran. "The Iranian Economy in the Twentieth Century: A Global Perspective." *Iranian Studies* 42, no. 2 (2009/04/01 2009): 177-211.
- Evans, Jessica. "The Uneven and Combined Development of Class Forces: Migration as Combined Development." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29, no. 3 (2016/07/02 2016): 1061-73.
- Fakhimi, Qobad. Si Sal Naft-e Iran: Az Melli Shodan-e Naft Ta Enqelab-e Islami [Thirty Years of Iranian Oil: From the Nationalization of Oil to the Islamic Revolution]. Tehran: Mehrandish, 1387/2008.
- Falola, Toyin. "Writing and Teaching National History in Africa in an Era of Global History." *Africa Spectrum* 40, no. 3 (2005): 499-519.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth* [in Translation of Les damnés de la terre]. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.
- Farhi, Farideh. *States and Urban-Based Revolutions: Iran and Nicaragua*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990.
- Fateh, Mostafa. *Panjah Sal Naft-e Iran [Fifty Years of Iranian Oil]*. Tehran: Kavosh, 1335/1956.
- Fatemi, Khosrow. "Leadership by Distrust: The Shah's Modus Operandi." *Middle East Journal* 36, no. 1 (1982): 48-61.
- Fattahi, Mohammad. Tarikh-e Shafahi-ye Showra-ye Kargaran-e Naft.

 Goftogu-ye Mohammad Fattahi Ba Yadollah Khosrowshahi [Oral
 History of the Oil Workers' Council. Interview with Yadollah
 Khosrowshahi by Mohammad Fattahi]. N.N.: Komiteh Entesharat-e
 Bonyad-e Padzu, 1392/2013.
- Ferguson, Iain, Michael Lavalette, and Gerry Mooney. *Rethinking Welfare: A Critical Perspective.* London: SAGE, 2002.
- Ferguson, Susan. "Capitalist Childhood, Anti-Capitalist Children: The Social Reproduction of Childhood." unpublished paper, , 2015.
- Ferrier, Ronald W. *The History of the British Petroleum Company: The Developing Years 1901-1932*. 3 vols. Vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- ——. "The Iranian Oil Industry." In *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 7* from Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic, edited by Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville, 639-701. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Ferrier, Ronald. W. *The History of the British Petroleum Company*. 3 vols. Vol. 1, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Fesharaki, Fereidun. *Development of the Iranian Oil Industry : International and Domestic Aspects*. New York, Washington, London: Praeger, 1976.
- Fine, Ben. *Labour Market Theory: A Constructive Reassessment*. Routledge Frontiers of Political Economy. London; New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Fischer, L. *Oil Imperialism: The International Struggle for Petroleum.* New York: Taylor & Francis, 2016.
- FitzGerald, Frances. "Giving the Shah Everything He Wants." *Harpers Magazine* (November 1974): 55-84.
- Floor, Willem. "The Brickworkers of Khatunabad: A Striking Record (1953–1979)." *International Review of Social History* 48, no. 3 (2003): 427-55.
- Labour Unions, Law and Conditions in Iran (1900-1941). Occasional Paper Series,. Durham City: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, 1985.
- Foley, Gerry. "Arabs in Iran Begin to Fight for Their Rights." *Intercontinental Press* 17, no. 19 (21 May 1979): 504.
- Foran, John. "The Iranian Revolution of 1977-79: A Challenge for Social Theory." In *A Century of Revolution : Social Movements in Iran*, edited by John Foran, 263p. London: UCL Press, 1994.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Mythical Leader of the Iranian Revolt." *Corriere della sera*, 26 November 1978.
- ——. "The Revolt in Iran Spreads on Cassette Tapes." *Corriere della sera*, 19 November 1978 19 November 1978, 1-2.
- Fozooni, Babak. "Religion, Politics and Class: Conflict and Contestation in the Development of Football in Iran." *Soccer & Society* 5, no. 3 (2004/01/01 2004): 356-70.
- Friedl, Erika. "Tribal Enterprises and Marriage Issues in Twentieth-Century Iran." In *Family History in the Middle East Household, Property, and Gender*, edited by Beshara Doumani. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Friedman, Andrew L. *Industry and Labour: Class Struggle at Work and Monopoly Capitalism.* London: Macmillan, 1977.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

- Ghamari-Tabrizi, Behrooz. *Foucault in Iran Islamic Revolution after the Enlightenment*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Ghanoonparvar, M. R. "Oil and Persian Fiction: Literary Depictions of Coping with Modernity and Change." In *Iran in the Middle East: Transnational Encounters and Social History*, edited by H. E. Chehabi, Peyman Jafari and Maral Jefroudi, 199-212. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- Ghosh, Amitav. "Petrofiction: The Oil Encounter and the Novel." In *Incendiary Circumstances: A Chronicle of the Turmoil of Our Times*, x, 305 p. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2005.
- Ghotbi, A. Kargaran-e Kafsh-e Melli: Agar Iran Hamintor Bemanad Soghut Mikonad [Workers of Melli Shoe: If Iran Remains the Same, It Will Collapse]. Tehran1980.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. Hutchinson University Library Sociology. 2nd ed. London: Hutchinson, 1981[1973].
- Gluckstein, Donny. *The Western Soviets Workers' Councils Versus Parliament,* 1915-1920. London: Bookmarks, 1985.
- "Goftogu Ba Saeed Jalili: Mardom Khedmatresan-e Vaqe'ira Be Zur Kandida Mikardand [Interview with Saeed Jalili: People Would Nominate Those Who Served Them by Force]." *Mehrnews* (1 Shahrivar 1392/23 August 2013). http://www.mehrnews.com/news/2036830/حواقعی-رسان-خدمت-مردم/کاندیدا-ز ور-به-را
- Goldberg, Ellis. *Tinker, Tailor, and Textile Worker: Class and Politics in Egypt, 1930-1952*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Goodey, Chris. "Workers' Councils in Iranian Factories." *MERIP Reports*, no. June 1980 (1980): 5-9.
- Goodrich, Carter L. *The Frontier of Control*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920.
- Goudarzi, Mohsen. "Vaghti Jame'eh Az Towse'eh Aqab Mimanad [When Society Lags Behind Development]." *Mehrnameh*, no. 29 (Tir 1392/June-July 2013): 128-34.
- "Gozaresh-e Kameli Az Dastgiri Kargaran Va Karmandan-e Mobarez-e San'ate Naft-e Ahwaz Va Peyamadha-ye an [Full Reprot of the Arrest of the Militant Employees of the Oil Industry in Ahwaz and Its Consequences]." *Kar*, 31 Khordad 1357/21 June 1979.
- Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. London,: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985.
- Grint, Keith. *The Sociology of Work: Introduction*. 3rd ed. Cambridge, Eng.; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2005.

- Gutmann, M. C. "Rituals of Resistance A Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance." [In English]. *Latin American Perspectives* 20, no. 2 (Spr 1993): 74-92.
- Hagan, Michael. "New Perspectives on Class Formation." *Social Science History* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 77-94.
- Hahn, Peter L., and Mary Ann Heiss. *Empire and Revolution : The United States and the Third World since 1945*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001.
- Hakimian, Hassan. "Industrialization and the Standard of Living of the Working Class in Iran, 1960–79." *Development and Change* 19, no. 1 (1988): 3-32.
- Hale, William E., Robert H. Davis, and Mike Long. *One Hundred Twenty-Five Years of History*. Irving, Tex.: Exxon Mobil Corp., 2007.
- Halliday, Fred. *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- Harman, Chris. *Marxism and History : Two Essays*. London: Bookmarks, 1998.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- ——. *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
- ———. Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution. New York: Verso, 2012.
- ——. *Social Justice and the City*. Johns Hopkins Studies in Urban Affairs. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Hayter, Teresa, and David Harvey. *The Factory and the City: The Story of the Cowley Automobile Workers in Oxford*. London; New York: Mansell Publications, 1993.
- Heathorn, Stephen. "E.P. Thompson, Methodism, and the "Culturalist" Approach to the Historical Study of Religion." 10, no. 2 (1998): 210-26.
- Hegland, Mary Elaine. *Days of Revolution: Political Unrest in an Iranian Village*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.
- Heller, Agnes. A Theory of History. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2016.
- Henderson, Wayne, and Scott Benjamin. *Standard Oil: The First 125 Years*. Osceola: Motorbooks International, 1996.
- Heshmatzadeh, Mohammad Baqer. *Iran Va Naft: Jame'e Shenasi-ye Siyasi Dar Iran*. Tehran: Markaz Bazshenasi Eslam va Iran, 2000 [1379].

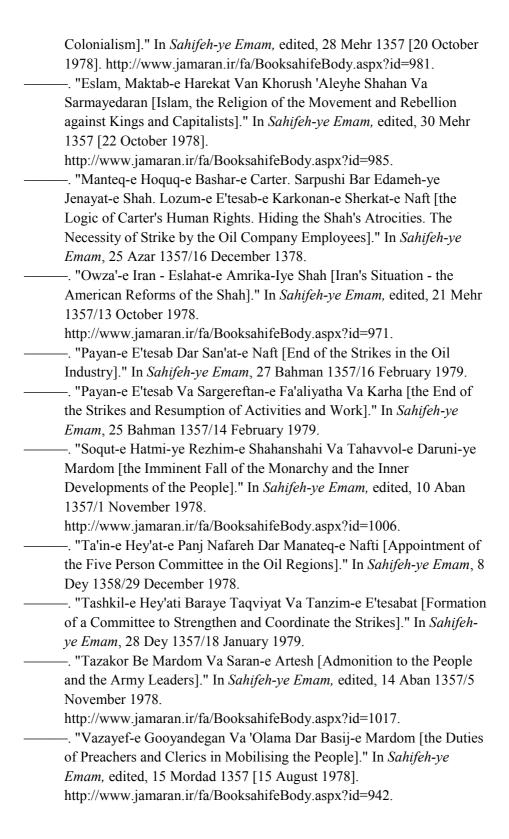
- Hetherington, Norriss S. "Industrialization and Revolution in Iran: Forced Progress or Unmet Expectation?". *Middle East Journal* 36, no. 3 (1982): 362-73.
- Heydari, Gholam. "Sinama Dar Abadan Be 'Omr-e Palayeshgah [Cinema in Abadan Is as Old as Its Refinery]." *Film* 3, no. 28 (Shahrivar 1364/1985): 28-30.
- Hiro, Dilip. *The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict.* New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Hirschman, Albert O. "A Generalized Linkage Approach to Developmetn, with Special Reference to Staples." In *The Essential Hirschman*, edited by Jeremy Adelman, xvii, 384 pages. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- ——. *The Strategy of Economic Development*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*. London: Abacus, 1995.
- ———. Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984.
- Hodson, Randy, and Teresa A. Sullivan. *The Social Organization of Work.* 5th ed. Australia, Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 2012.
- Home, R. "Town Planning and Garden Cities in the British Colonial Empire, 1910-1940." *Planning Perspectives* 5, no. 1 (1990): 23-37.
- Hoodfar, Homa. "Family Law and Family Planning Policy in Pre- and Post-Revolutionary Iran." In *Family in the Middle East Ideational Change in Egypt, Iran, and Tunisia*, edited by Kathryn M. Yount and Hoda Rashad, XV, 269 S. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Hooglund, Eric J. *Land and Revolution in Iran, 1960-1980*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982.
- ——. "Rural Socioeconomic Organization in Transition: The Case of Iran's Bonehs." In *Continuity and Change in Modern Iran*, edited by Michael E. Bonine and Nikki R. Keddie. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.
- Hormatipour, Mohammad, and Ashraf Dehqani. *Dar Bareh-ye Sharayet-e 'Eyni-ye Enqelab [On the Objective Conditions of the Revolution]*. N.N.: People's Fada'i Guerrilla Organizations, 1978.
- Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of to-Morrow*. The M I T Paperback Series,. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965 [1902].
- Huber, Matthew T. *Lifeblood: Oil, Freedom, and the Forces of Capital.*Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

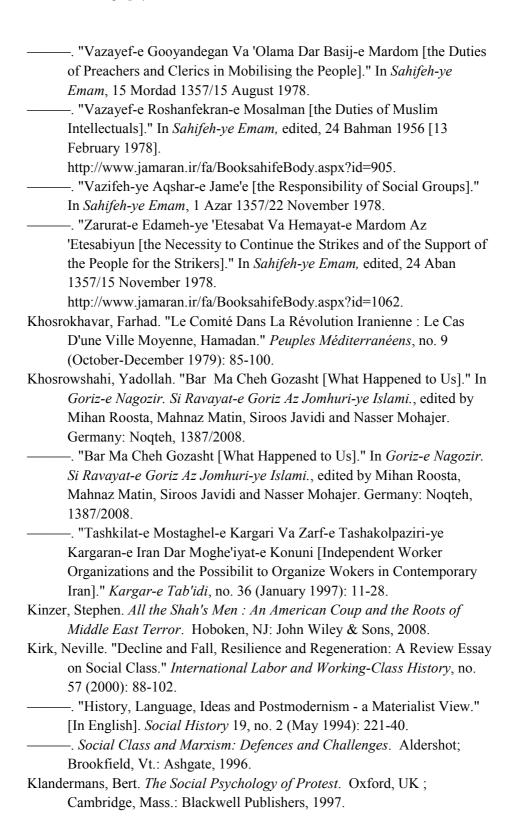
- ——. "Petrocapitalism." In *International Encyclopedia of Geography:*People, the Earth, Environment and Technology, edited by Noel
 Castree, Michael F. Goodchild, Audrey Kobayashi, Weidong Liu and
 Richard A. Marston. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2017.
- Hudson, Ray. *Producing Places*. New York: Guilford Press, 2001.
- Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave : Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Hussein, Mahmoud. *Class Conflict in Egypt, 1945-1970*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.
- Hyman, Richard. *Industrial Relations: A Marxist Introduction*. London: Macmillan, 1975.
- ——. "Introduction: White-Collar Workers and Theories of Class." In *The New Working Class? White-Collar Workers and Their Organizations: A Reader*, edited by Richard Hyman and Robert Price, xiii, 285 p. London: Macmillan, 1983.
- Hyman, Richard, and Robert Price. *The New Working Class? White-Collar Workers and Their Organizations: A Reader*. London: Macmillan, 1983.
- International Labor Office. *Employment and Income Policy for Iran*. Geneva: International Labor Office, 1973.
- International Labour Office. *Labour Conditions in the Oil Industry in Iran*. Geneva: ILO, 1950.
- "Iran Cuts Off Oil Exports to USA." In *BBC Summary of World Broadcast*, ME/6271/A6, 14 November 1979.
- "Iran: The Oil Flows." Newsweek, no. 19 March 1979: 72.
- "Iran's Oil Output Rises but Industries Face Strike." *The Globe and Mail*, 18 December 1978.
- Irani, Ali Asghar. Naqsh-e Palayeshgah-e Abadan Dar Ta'min-e Faravardehaye Nafti [the Contribution of Abadan Refinery to the Delivery of Oil Products]. N.N.: Ravabet Omumi-e San'at-e Naft-e Iran, 1355 [1976].
- "Iranian Oil Output Returning to Normal." *Oil and Gas Journal*, 20 November 1978, 48.
- Iranian Oil Worker. "How We Organized Strike That Paralyzed Shah's Regime. Firsthand Account by Iranian Oil Worker." In *Oil and Class Struggle*, edited by Petter Nore and Terisa Turner, 293-301. London: Zed Press, 1980.
- "Iranian Workers Demand: "Abolish Capitalism and Plunder"." *Intercontinental Press* 18, no. 1 (14 January 1980): 12.

- Issawi, Charles. *The Economic History of Iran, 1800-1914*. Publications / University of Chicago Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Ivanov, M. *Tarikh-e Novin-e Iran [Modern History of Iran]*. Stockholm: Tudeh Publication, n. d.
- Jafari Lahijani, Majid. *Honar Dar Garmagarm-e Enqelab, 1357-59 [Art in the Heat of the Revolution, 1978-81]*. Vol. 1, Tehran: Pajuheshgah-e Farhang va Mo'aref, 1387/2008.
- Jafari, Peyman. "Rupture and Revolt in Iran." *International Socialism Journal*, no. 124 (2009): 95-163.
- Jalil, T. Workers Say No to the Shah: Labour Law and Strikes in Iran. London: Campaign for the Restoration of Trade Union Rights in Iran, 1977.
- Jam'i az Fa'alin-e Kargari. Sandika-ye Kargaran-e Porozeh'i Va Fasli-ye Abadan Va Hoomeh [Union of Contract and Seasonal Workers of Abadan and Surroundings]. n.p.: Jam'i az Fa'alin-e Kargari, 2009. http://www.kargaran-iran.com/Maqale/s-k%5B1%5D.pdf.
- James, Selma. *Sex, Race and Class*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press/Race Today Publications, 1975.
- Jamshidi, M., M. Malek-Zavarei, and I. Vakilzadeh. "Problems of Automatic Control Education in Developing Countries." *Automatica* 15, no. 1 (1// 1979): 105-12.
- Jaquith, Cindy. "Workers Form Committees to Run Plants and Offices." *Intercontinental Press* 17, no. 9 (12 March 1979): 240-44.
- Javadi-Najjar, Z. "Barresi-ye Nahve-ye Gozaran-e Awghat-e Faraghat-e Kargaran-e Karkhanejat-e Gharb-e Tehran (a Survey on the Leisure Time of the Factory Workers of Western Tehran)." BA diss., Tehran University, 1974.
- Jazani, Bizhan. Capitalism and Revolution in Iran: Selected Writings of Bizhan Jazani. London; Connecticut: Zed Press, 1980.
- Jefroudi, Maral. ""If I Deserve It, It Should Be Paid to Me": A Social History of Labour in the Iranian Oil Industry, 1951-1973." PhD, Leiden University, 2017.
- ——. "Revisiting "the Long Night" of Iranian Workers: Labor Activism in the Iranian Oil Industry in the 1960s." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84, no. Special Issue -1 (2013): 176-94.
- Jonker, Joost, J. L. van Zanden, Stephen Howarth, and K. E. Sluyterman. *A History of Royal Dutch Shell*. 4 vols Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Joyce, Patrick. "The End of Social History?". *Social History* 20, no. 1 (1995): 73-91.

- Kalecki, M. "Political Aspects of Full Employment." *The Political Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1943): 322-30.
- Kamaee, Mina, and Leila Mohammadi. *Dokhtaran-e Odp [the Odp Girls]*. Tehran: Sureh-ye Mehr, 1393/2015.
- Kamali, Hossein. *Eqtesad-e Siyasiye Ravabet-e Kar Dar Iran [the Political Economy of Labour in Iran]*. Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Guidance, 1380/2001.
- Kapuscinski, Ryszard. Shah of Shahs. London: Penguin Books, 2006 [1982].
- Kargar, Jamshid. "Dar Bareh-ye San'at-e Naft Va Mobarezat-e Karkonan-e an [About the Oil Industry and the Struggles of Its Workers]." http://www.negah1.com/kargari/jamshid1.htm.
- ———. "Enqelab 57, Tabaqeh Karagar Va Jonbesh-e Showra'i [the 1979 Revolution, the Working Class and the Council Movement]." http://www.kargaran-iran.com/Maqale/2012/02/post_370.html.
- Kargar-e Irani Dar Iran-e Emruz [the Iranian Worker in Today's Iran]. Tehran: Markaz-e Tahqiqat 1977.
- Karimi, Z. Pamela. *Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran : Interior Revolutions of the Modern Era*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Karshenas, Massoud. *Oil, State, and Industrialization in Iran*. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh. Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804-1946. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- ——. "Iran's Population Policies." In *Reproductive States : Global Perspectives on the Invention and Implementation of Population Policy*, edited by Rickie Solinger and Mie Nakachi. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Katouzian, Homa. *The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo-Modernism*, 1926-1979. New York: New York University Press, 1981.
- Katznelson, Ira. "The Bourgeois Dimension, a Provocation About Institutions, Politics, and the Future of Labor History." [In English]. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 46 (1994): 7-32.
- ——. "Working-Class Formation: Constructing Cases and Comparisons." In Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States, edited by Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg, viii, 470 p. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Kaye, Harvey J., and Keith McClelland. *E.P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Polity, 1990.

- Kazemi, Farhad. *Poverty and Revolution in Iran: The Migrant Poor, Urban Marginality, and Politics*. New York: New York University Press, 1980.
- Kazemi, Mohsen. Neveshtam Ta Bemanad: Yaddashtha-ye Roozaneh-ye Jange Ayatollah Jami [I Wrote So It Will Not Be Forgotten. Daily Notes on the Days of War by Ayatollah Jami]. Tehran: Sureh Mehr, 1387/2008.
- Keddie, Nikki R. "Comment on Cyrus Schayegh, "'Seeing Like a State': An Essay on the Historiography of Modern Iran" (Ijmes 42 [2010]: 37-61)." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, no. 3 (2010): 540-43.
- ———. Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Keddie, Nikki R., and Yann Richard. *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. Updated ed. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006.
- ------. *Modern Iran : Roots and Results of Revolution*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Kent, Marian. Moguls and Mandarins: Oil, Imperialism and the Middle East in British Foreign Policy 1900-1940. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2013.
- Kerr, Clark. *Industrialism and Industrial Man: The Problems of Labor and Management in Economic Growth*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Keynes, John Maynard, and Paul R. Krugman. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2007 [1936].
- Khajeh-Sarvi, Gholamreza. *Khaterat-e Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani [Memoirs of Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani]*. Tehran: Markaz-e asnad-e enqelab-e islami, 1385/2006.
- Khatam, Azam. "'Asaluyeh Dar Ayineh-ye Abadan: Az Sherkat-Shahr Ta Ordugah-Ha-ye Karkonan-e Naft Dar Iran [Asaluyeh in the Mirror of Abadan: From Company Towns to Camps for the Employees of the Iranian Oil Industry]." *Goftogu*, no. 60 (2012): 56-80.
- Khodadadiyan, Farshid. "Sandika-ye Karkonan-e San'at-e Naft Va Enqelab-e 57 [the Oil Industry Employees' Union and the 1978-79 Revolution]." *Zendegiye No* (
- Khomeini, Ruhollah Musavi. "Da'vat Az Ruhaniyun Baraye Komak Be Mahruman [Invitation to Clerics to Assist the Needy]." In *Sahifeh-ye Emam*, edited, 18 Aban 1358/9 November 1978. http://www.jamaran.ir/fa/BooksahifeBody.aspx?id=1139.
- ——. "Eslam Va Ruhaniyat, Do Sang-e Bozorg Dar Moqabel-e Nofuz-e Este'mar [Islam and the Clergy, Two Big Obstacles for the Infiltration of

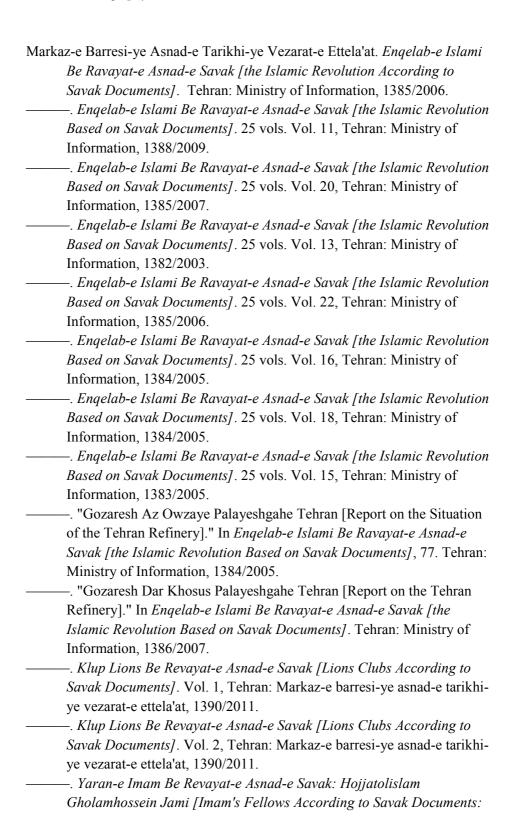




- Klare, Michael T. *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict.* 1st ed. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001.
- Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine : The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. 1st ed. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2007.
- Kocka, Jürgen. *White Collar Workers in America, 1890-1940: A Social-Political History in International Perspective*. London; Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980.
- Kocka, Jürgen "New Trends in Labour Movement Historiography: A German Perspective." In *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labor History*, edited by Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcel van der Linden, vi, 250 p. New York: Berghahn Books, 2002.
- Komisiyun-e kargari-ye sazman-e ettehad-e fada'ian-e khalq-e Iran. *Negahi Be Jonbesh-e Kargaran-e Bikar Dar Iran Dar Sal-Ha-ye 1357-58: Goftogu Ba Kiyumars Shahani [a Look at the Unemployed Workers' Movement in Iran in 1978-79: An Interview with Kiyumars Shahani]*. n.p.: Sazman-e ettehad-e fada'ian-e khalq-e Iran, 1382/2003.
- "Kongereh-ye Sarasari-ye Showra-Ha-ye Islami-ye Karkhanejat Tote'ehi 'Aleyhe Tashakol-e Kargaran." *Peykar*, no. 43 (29 Bahman 1358/18 February 1980): 4.
- Korpi, Walter. *The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism: Work, Unions, and Politics in Sweden.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Krinsky, John. "Marxism and the Politics of Possibility: Beyond Academic Boundaries." In *Marxism and Social Movements*, edited by Colin Barker, Cox Laurence, John Krinsky and Alf Gunvald Nilsen. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Kurzman, Charles. "Can Understanding Undermine Explanation? The Confused Experience of Revolution." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 34, no. 3 (2004): 328-51.
- ——. "Historiography of the Iranian Revolutionary Movement, 1977-79." *Iranian Studies* 28, no. 1-2 (1995): 25-38.
- ——. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Labban, Mazen. "Book Review Mazen Labban on Timothy Mitchell's 'Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil'." *AntipodeFoundation* (19 March 2013).
- Labor Legislation, Practice and Policy. Ilo Mission Working Paper Ix. Geneva: ILO, 1973.
- Ladjevardi, Habib. *Labor Unions and Autocracy in Iran*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1985.

- Lahsa'izadeh, 'Abdolali. *Jame'eh Shenasi-ye Abadan [the Sociology of Abadan]*. Tehran: Kiyanmehr, 1385 [2006].
- Le Goff, Jacques *Must We Divide History into Periods?* New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Lederer, Emil. *Die Privatangestellten in Der Modernen Wirtschaftsentwicklung*. Tübingen,: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck), 1912.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959-May 1961*. Radical Thinkers. English-language ed. London: Verso, 2011.
- ——. *The Production of Space*. Oxford; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991.
- LeMenager, Stephanie. *Living Oil: Petroleum Culture in the American Century.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilich. *Imperialism : The Highest Stage of Capitalism : A Popular Outline*. London: Junius : Pluto Press, 1996.
- Lesani, Abolfazl. *Tala-ye Siyah Ya Bala-ye Iran [Iran's Black Gold or Curse]*. Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1357/1979.
- Lewis, Jane, Marilyn Porter, and Mark Shrimpton. *Women, Work, and Family in the British, Canadian, and Norwegian Offshore Oilfields*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Lockman, Zachary. "Labor History in the Middle East and North Africa." In *Global Labour History: A State of the Art*, edited by Jan Lucassen, 117-46. Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2008.
- ———, ed. *Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East: Struggles, Histories, Historiographies.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Lockwood, David. *The Blackcoated Worker: A Study in Class Consciousness*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1958.
- ——. *The Blackcoated Worker: A Study in Class Consciousness*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1958.
- Looney, Robert E. "Absorptive Capacity of the Prerevolutionary Iranian Economy." *Journal of Energy and Development*, no. Spring 1983 (1983): 319-40.
- ——. *A Development Strategy for Iran through the 1980s.* New York: Praeger, 1977.
- Louis, W.R. Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez, and Decolonization. I. B. Tauris, 2006.
- Lucassen, Jan. "Writing Global Labour History C. 1800-1940: A Historiography of Concepts, Periods and Geographical Scope." In

- *Global Labour History: A State of the Art*, edited by Jan Lucassen, 39-89. Bern, Switzerland; New York: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Lucassen, Leo. "Working Together: New Directions in Global Labour History." [In English]. *Journal of Global History* 11, no. 1 (Mar 2016): 66-87.
- Luxemburg, Rosa. *The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions*. London: Bookmarks, 1986[1906].
- Luxton, Meg, and Kate Bezanson. *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism*. Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Lynn, Janice. "How Iranian Left Voted in Elections." *Intercontinental Press* 18, no. 11 (24 March 1980): 279-80.
- MacKinnon, Danny. "Reconstructing Scale: Towards a New Scalar Politics." *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 1 (February 1, 2011 2011): 21-36.
- Mahdavi, Hossein. "The Pattern and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: The Case of Iran." In *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, edited by Michael Cook, 428-68. London, New York,: Oxford U.P., 1970.
- Mahmudi, Jalil, and Nasser Saeedi. Shoq-e Yek Khize-e Boland. Nokhostin Ettehadiyeha-ye Kargari Dar Iran [the Excitement of a Great Leap. The First Trade Unions in Iran]. Tehran: Qatreh, 1381/2002.
- Maljoo, Omid. "Eqtesad-e Siyasi-ye Niru-ye Kar Dar San'at Dar Iran-e Pas Az Jang [the Political Economy of the Workforce in the Oil Industry after the War]." (1391/2012). Published electronically 12 Shahrivar 1391/2 September 2012. http://www.ofros.com/maghale/maljoo_oillabor.pdf.
- Mallet, Serge. *The New Working Class*. Nottingham: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for Spokesman Books, 1975.
- Malm, Andreas. Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming. London; New York: Verso, 2016.
- Maloney, Suzanne. *Iran's Political Economy since the Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mann, Michael. *Consciousness and Action among the Western Working Class*. Studies in Sociology. London: Macmillan, 1973.
- Mannheim, Karl. *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952 [1928].
- Marcel, Valérie, and John V. Mitchell. *Oil Titans: National Oil Companies in the Middle East.* London; Baltimore: Chatham House; Brookings Institution Press, 2006.



- *Hojjatolislam Gholamhossein Jami*]. Tehran: Markaz-e barresi-ye asnad-e tarikhi-ye vezarat-e ettela'at, 1392/2013.
- Markaz-e mottale'at va tahqiqat-e Jang. *Roozshomar-e Jang-e Iran Va Iraq [the Calendar of the Iran-Iraq War]*. Vol. 1, Tehran: Markaz-e mottale'at va tahqiqat-e jang, 1375/1996.
- Marriott, James, and Mika Minio-Paluello. *The Oil Road: Journeys from the Caspian Sea to the City of London*. London; New York: Verso, 2012.
- Marshall, Phil. *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Iran*. London: Bookmarks, 1988.
- Marshall, T. H. *Social Policy in the Twentieth Century*. Hutchinson University Library: Politics. 2nd ed. London: Hutchinson, 1967.
- Martin, Vanessa. Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- Martin, William H., and Sandra Mason. "The Development of Leisure in Iran: The Experience of the Twentieth Century." *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 2 (2006/03/01 2006): 239-54.
- Marx, Karl. "18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon." In *Marx/Engels Collected Works*. New York: International, 1966 [1852].
- ——. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy.* 3 vols. Vol. 1, Harmondsworth; London: Penguin Books; New Left Review, 1976.
- ——. "The Civil War in France." In *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Collected Works*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1986[1871].
- ——. "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right. Introduction." In *Early Writings [of] Karl Marx*, 3-451 p. Harmondsworth; London: Penguin; New Left Review, 1975.
- Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *On Britain*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953.
- Massey, Doreen B. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Matin, Kamran. *Recasting Iranian Modernity: International Relations and Social Change*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013.
- ——. "Redeeming the Universal: Postcolonialism and the Inner Life of Eurocentrism." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 2 (2013): 353-77.
- "Matn-e Mosahebe Ba Jenab-e Aqaye Mohandess Mehdi Bazargan (Ordibehesht 1361 [Transcript of Interview with Mehdi Bazargan (April-May 1982)]." In Asnad-e Nehzat-e Azadi [Documents of the Freedom Movement], edited.
 - http://www.mizankhabar.net/asnad/archive/archive.htm.

- Mazra'ekar, Mohammad. "'Etesab-e Kargaran-e Naft Dar Sal-e 57 Va Zamineha-ye An. Bakhshe Avval [the Oil Workers' Strike in 1978-1979 and Its Causes. Part I]." *Kargar-e Komonist*, no. 78 (21 February 2008).
- ——. "'Etesab-e Kargaran-e Naft Dar Sal-e 57 Va Zamineha-ye An. Bakhshe Avval [the Oil Workers' Strike in 1978-1979 and Its Causes. Part I]." *Kargar-e Komonist* no. 78 (21 February 2008). http://www.wpiran.org/00-k-komonist/kk78/html/kk78-sm.htm.
- ———. "'Etesab-e Kargaran-e Naft Dar Sal-e 57 Va Zamineha-ye An.
 Bakhshe Dovvom [the Oil Workers' Strike in 1978-1979 and Its Causes.
 Part Two]." *Kargar-e Komonist*, no. 80 (20 March 2008).
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney G. Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- McIlroy, John, Alan Campbell, and Joan Allen. "Introduction Histories of Labour: National and International Perspectives." In *Histories of Labour: National and International Perspectives*, edited by Joan Allen, Alan Campbell and John McIlroy, 399 p. Pontypool, Wales: Merlin, 2010.
- McMurray, Scott. *Energy to the World: The Sotry of Saudi Aramco*. 2 vols Houston: Aramco Services Company, 2011.
- McNally, David. *Bodies of Meaning: Studies on Language, Labor, and Liberation*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001.
- ——. "Intersections and Dialectics: Critical Reconstructions in Social Reproduction Theory." In *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression*, edited by Tithi Bhattacharya, 94-111. London: Pluto Press, 2017.
- ——. "Language, History, and Class Struggle." *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 47, no. 3 (1995): 13-30.
- Meiksins, Peter F. "A Critique of Wright's Theory of Contradictory Class Locations." *Critical Sociology* 15, no. 1 (April 1, 1988 1988): 73-82.
- Melamid, Alexander. "Satellization in Iranian Crude-Oil Production." *Geographical Review* 63, no. 1 (1973): 27-43.
- Messkoub, Mahmood. "Social Policy in Iran in the Twentieth Century." *Iranian Studies* 39, no. 2 (2006/06/01 2006): 227-52.
- Meyer, Rachel, and Howard Kimeldorf. "Eventful Subjectivity: The Experiential Sources of Solidarity." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 28, no. 4 (2015): 429-57.
- Middle East Research Institute. *Iran (Routledge Revival): Meri Report.*London: Taylor & Francis, 2015.

- Middlebrook, Kevin J. *The Paradox of Revolution: Labor, the State, and Authoritarianism in Mexico*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Milani, Mohsen M. *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution : From Monarchy to Islamic Republic.* 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.
- Miller, G. E. "Frontier Masculinity in the Oil Industry: The Experience of Women Engineers." [In English]. *Gender Work and Organization* 11, no. 1 (Jan 2004): 47-73.
- Mills, C. Wright. *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. *Barresi-ye Masa'el-e Kolli-ye Niru-ye Ensani Va Eshteghal: Shahrestan-e Abadan*. Tehran: Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1363/1984.
- Ministry of Oil. Gozaresh-e Khadamat Va Komak-Ha-ye Sazman-Ha-ye Tabe' Vezarat-e Naft Dar Rabeteh Ba Jang-e Tahmili [Report on the War Related Services of Organisations of the Ministry of Oil]. Tehran: Ministry of Oil, 1360/1981.
- ———. A'in Nameh-ye Ejra'i-ye Tarh-e Tashakol-e Karkonan-e Zir-e
 Pusheshi-ye Vezarat-e Naft Dar Sherkat-Ha-ye Ta'voni Va Vabasteh Be
 Markaz-e Gostaresh-e Khadamat-e Towlidi Va 'Omrani [Executive
 Egulations of the Placement Scheme of the Covered Employees of the
 Ministry of Oil in Cooperative Companies Related to the Production
 and Construction Centers]. n.p.: Mininstry of Oil, n.d.
- ——. Khadamat Va Komakhaye Palayeshgah-e Abadan Va Khadamat Dar Rabete Ba Jange Tahmili [Services and Assistance of the Abadan Refinery and Services in Relation to the Imposed War]. n.p.: Vezarat-e Naft, 1361/1982.
- "Minutes of the 41th Session of the Committee for the Coordination of the Oil Strikes (30 January 1979)." In *Asnad-e Nehzat-e Azadi [Documents of the Freedom Movement]*, edited.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil.* London: Verso, 2011.
- ——. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Moaddel, Mansoor. "Class Struggle in Post-Revolutionary Iran." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23, no. 03 (1991): 317-43.
- ——. *Class, Politics, and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

- "Mobarezat-e Kargaran-e Sherkat-e Haffariye Iran Redding and Bits [the Struggles of the Workers of the Iran Reading and Bates Driling Company]." *Kar*, 18 Mordad 1358/9 August 1979, 7.
- Mobarezat-e Zahmatkeshan-e Kharej Az Mahdudeh, 1356 [the Struggle of the Toilers in the Urban Periphery, 1977]. Tehran: Peykar Organisation, 1977.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. "Hidden from History? Women Workers in Modern Iran." *Iranian Studies* 33, no. 3-4 (2000/09/01 2000): 377-401.
- ———. "Industrial Development, Culture and Working-Class Politics: A Case Study of Tabriz Industrial Workers in the Iranian Revolution." *International Sociology* 2, no. 2 (1987): 151-75.
- ——. "Making History, but Not of Their Own Choosing: Workers and the Labour Movement in Iran." In *The Social History of the Modern Middle East*, edited by Ellis Goldberg, xiii, 236 p. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.
- Mohaddes, Kamiar, and M. Hashem Pesaran. *One Hundred Years of Oil Income and the Iranian Economy: A Curse or Blessing?* Cesifo Working Paper Series No. 4118. 21 Ferbruary 2013.
- Montgomery, David. "Strikes in Nineteenth-Century America." *Social Science History* 4, no. 1 (1980): 81-104.
- Moqtada'i, 'Abdolhassan. *Az Kudak-e Kar Ta Ostandar [from a Child Worker to Governer]* Tehran: Kavir, 1395/2016.
- "Moruri Bar Mobarezat-e 'Etesabi-ye Kargaran-e Iran Ta Pish Az Enqelab-e Bahman-e 1357 [a Review of Workers' Strikes in Iran before the February 1979 Revolution]." https://avayekar.org/?p=2964.
- "Mosahebeh Ba Aghaye Mohandes Abolfazl Hakimi [Interview with Engineer Abolfazl Hakimi]." In *Asnad-e Nehzat-e Azadi [Documents of the Freedom Movement]*, edited.
 - http://www.mizankhabar.net/asnad/archive/archive.htm.
- Moslem, Mehdi. *Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran*. 1st ed. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002.
- Motaghedi, Robabeh. "The Impact of the Oil Industry on Chaing of the Subaltern Social Life in Southern Iranian Oilfields, 1908-1932." PhD, Alzahra University, 2013.
- Motahhari, Morteza. 'Adl-e Elahi [Divine Justice]. Tehran: Entesharat-e Sadra, n.d.
- "Motale'eh Shahr-e Ahwaz [Study of Ahwaz City]." Tehran: Tehran University Institute for Social Study and Research, 1963/1342.
- Movahed, H. Do Sal-e Akhar: Reform Ta Enqelab [the Last Two Years: From Reform to Revolution]. Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1363/1984.

- Muttitt, Greg. *Fuel on the Fire: Oil and Politics in Occupied Iraq*. London: The Bodley Head, 2011.
- Nateq-Nouri, Ali Akbar. *Khaterat-e Hojjatolislam Nateq-Nouri [Memoirs of Hojjatolisalm Nateq-Nouri]*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution Documents Center, 1382/2001.
- National Iranian Oil Company. *Abadan*. N.N.: National Iranian Oil Company, 1354 [1975].
- ———. Albom-e Marakez-e Nafti Dar Zaman-e Jang [Album of Oil Centers During the War]. Tehran: National Iranian Oil Company, 1368/1989.
- ———. Palayeshgah-e Abadan Va Moqe'iyat-e Beynolmellali-ye an [Abadan Refinery and Its Internationial Position]. N.P.: National Iranian Oil Company, 1972.
- ——. San'at Naft-e Iran Dar Sal-e 1976 [the Iranian Oil Industry in 1976]. N.N.: NIOC, 1976.
- ——. Sherkat-e Melli-ye Naft-e Iran: Abadan [National Oil Company of Iran: Abadan]. Abadan: National Iranian Oil Company, 1345/1965.
- Nazemi, Ali Akbar. *Enqelab Be Ravayat-e Akbar Nazemi*. Tehran: Sureh-ye mehr, 1388/2009.
- Nejat-Hosseini, Mohsen. *Bar Faraz-e Khalidj-e Fars [above the Persian Gulf]*. Tehran: Nashr-e Ney, 1380/2001.
- Ness, Immanuel, and Dario Azzellini. *Ours to Master and to Own: Workers' Control from the Commune to the Present*. Chicago, Ill.: Haymarket Books, 2011.
- Nikazmerad, Nicholas M. "A Chronological Survey of the Iranian Revolution." *Iranian Studies* 13, no. 1-4 (1980/01/01 1980): 327-68.
- Nikbakht, Rahim. Zendegi Va Mobarezat-e Ayatollah Shahid Doktor Mohammad Mofatteh [Life and Struggle of Martyr Ayatollah Mohammad Mofatteh]. 25 vols. Vol. 16, Tehran: Markaz-e Asnad-e Enqelab-e Islami, 1384/2005.
- Nima, Ramy. *The Wrath of Allah: Islamic Revolution and Reaction in Iran*. London: Pluto Press, 1983.
- NIOC. 20 Saleh Gozashteh Va Vaz'e Mojud Sherkat-e Naft-e Melli-ye Iran [the Last 20 Years and the Current Situation of Nioc]. Tehran: NIOC, 1359/1980.
- -----. Naft Va Abadan [Oil and Abadan]. Abadan: NIOC, 1345/1966.
- ———. *Palayeshgah-e Abadan [Abadan Refinery]*. n.n.: NIOC, 1347/1968. Noble, Stephanie M., and Charles D. Schewe. "Cohort Segmentation: An
- Noble, Stephanie M., and Charles D. Schewe. "Cohort Segmentation: An Exploration of Its Validity." *Journal of Business Research* 56, no. 12 (12// 2003): 979-87.

- Nomani, Farhad, and Sohrab Behdad. *Class and Labor in Iran: Did the Revolution Matter?* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2006.
- Nooriyan, Seyyed Mehdi, and Shabnam Hatampoor. "Naqsh-e San'at-e Naft Dar Zohur-e Se Nevisandeh-ye Saheb-e Sabk-e Maktab-e Dastan Nevisi-ye Jonub [the Role of the Oil Industry in the Emergence of Three Authors of the Southern School of Fiction Writing]." *Kavosh Nameh*, no. 28 (1939/2014): 209-38.
- Nore, Petter, and Terisa Turner. *Oil and Class Struggle*. London: Zed Press, 1980.
- Novak, Richey. *A Love Affair: An Essay on Life, Love and Being Together*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2015.
- O'Connor, Harvey. *History of Oil Workers International Union (Cio)*. Denver, Colo.: Oil Workers International Union (CIO), 1950.
- Odell, Peter R. *Oil and World Power*. Pelican Books. 8th ed. Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
- Office, NIOC Health and Hygiene. *Tarikhcheh Behdari Va Behdasht-e Abadan Va Manategh-e Naftkhiz [Brief History of Healthcare and Hygiene in Abadan and the Oil Region]*. Abadan: NIOC Health and Hygiene Office, 1382/2003.
- Oil Services Company of Iran. Working with the Oil Services Company of Iran (Private Company). n.n.: Oil Services Company of Iran, 1977.
- "Oil Workers in Ahwaz Strike to Demand Release of Prisinors". Intercontinental Press 17, no. 24 (25 June 1979): 621.
- Organisation of Administration and Personnel Affairs. *Nezam-e Arzeshgozari-ye Kargozaran Islami [Value System of Islamic Human Resources]*. Tehran: Organisation of Administration and Personnel Affairs, 1364/1985.
- Oskarsson, Sven, and Eric Ottosen. "Does Oil Still Hinder Democracy?". *The Journal of Development Studies* 46, no. 6 (2010/07/01 2010): 1067-83.
- Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza. *Answer to History*. New York: Stein and Day, 1980.
- Paidar, Parvin. Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Pakdaman, Nasser. "Ettehadiyeha-ye Kargari: Sazman Dadan Be Tajrobeh-ye Bozorg-e Enqelab-e Iran [Workers' Syndicates: Organizing the Great Experience of the Iranian Revolution]." *Ketab-e Jom'eh*, no. 33 (Ordibehesht 1358/April-May 1979: 98-109.
- "Paksazi Dar Bahrebardari-ye Marun [Purges in the Marun Oil Production]." *Kar*, 31 Khordad 1358/20 April 1979, 8.

- Palat, Madhavan K. "Police Socialism in Tsarist Russia, 1900-1905." *Studies in History* 2, no. 71 (1986): 71-136.
- Palmer, Bryan D. Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- . E.P. Thompson: Objections and Oppositions. London: Verso, 1994.
- Parsa, Misagh. "Ideology and Political Action in the Iranian Revolution." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 31, no. 1 (2011): 53-68.
- ——. *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution*. Studies in Political Economy. New Brunswick; London: Rutgers University Press, 1989.
- ———. States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Payam, Habib. *Roozshomar'e Enqelab-e Islami Dar Khuzestan*. Ahwaz: Entesharat-e Khuzestan, 1390/2011.
- Peck, Jamie. Work-Place: The Social Regulation of Labor Markets.

 Perspectives on Economic Change. New York: Guilford Press, 1996.
- Pelaschi, Hazhir. "Dar Khoruskhan-e Khun Tabaram Mikhanam Goftogu Ba Ali Pichgah [Interview with Ali Pichgah]." *Manjaniq* no. 2 (Dey 1390 [December 2011-January 2012]).
 - http://docs.manjanigh.com/manjanigh2.pdf.
- ———. "Showra-ye Naft Ra Estehale Kardand [They Transmuated the Oil Workers Council]." *Manjaniq* 2, no. 2 (Dey 1390/December-January 2011): 138-43.
- Perrone, Luca, Erik Olin Wright, and Larry J. Griffin. "Positional Power, Strikes and Wages." *American Sociological Review* 49, no. 3 (1984): 412-26.
- Perry, Matt. *Marxism and History*. Theory and History. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Pfiester, Sam L. Solomon's Temple: Musjid-I-Suleiman & the Quest for Oil in the Middle East. Chengalera Press, 2014.
- Pierson, Christopher. *Beyond the Welfare State? The New Political Economy of Welfare*. 2nd ed. University Park, Penn: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.
- Pirzad, Zuya. *Things We Left Unsaid*. Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2012.
- Pliskin, Karen L. "Camouflage, Conspiracy, and Collaborators: Rumors of the Revolution." *Iranian Studies* 13, no. 1/4 (1980): 55-81.
- Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. 2nd Beacon pbk. ed. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 2001.

- Post, Charles. "Exploring Working-Class Consciousness: A Critique of the Theory of the 'Labour-Aristocracy'." [In English]. *Historical Materialism-Research in Critical Marxist Theory* 18, no. 4 (2010): 3-38.
- Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. Labor and the State in Egypt: Workers, Unions, and Economic Restructuring. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Poulantzas, Nicos. Classes in Contemporary Capitalism. London: NLB, 1975. Poulson, Stephen C. Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Iran: Culture, Ideology, and Mobilizing Frameworks. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005.
- Pouyan, Amir-Parviz. Zarurat-e Mobarezeh-ye Mosalahane Va Radde Teoriye Baqa' [the Necessity of Armed Struggle and the Refutation of the Survival Theory]. N.N.: The People's Fada'iyan Organization, 1971.
- Poya, Maryam. "Iran 1979: Long Live Revolution!... Long Live Islam?"." In *Revolutionary Rehearsals*, edited by Colin Barker. London: Bookmarks, 1987.
- ——. Women, Work and Islamism: Ideology and Resistance in Iran. London; New York: ZED Books, 1999.
- Przeworski, Adam. "Proletariat into a Class: The Process of Class Formation from Karl Kautsky's the Class Struggle to Recent Controversies." *Politics & Society* 7, no. 4 (December 1, 1977 1977): 343-401.
- Purdy, Gordon A. *Petroleum: Prehistoric to Petrochemicals*. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1958.
- Qasemzadeh, Mahmoud. *Eqtesad-e Naft-e Iran [Economy of Iranian Oil]*. Tehran: Tehran University 1347/1968.
- Qezli, Mohsen, and Seyyed 'Abdolhossein Mostafavi. "Dastan-e Peyvastan-e San'at-e Naft Be Enqelab [the Story of the Oil Industry Joining the Revolution]." *Mash'al*, no. 676 (12 Bahman 1392/1 February 2014): 21-22.
- Quataert, Donald. Workers, Peasants, and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire, 1730-1914. Beylerbeyi, Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993.
- Rahmani, Ayub. "Chera-I Va Mo'zalha-ye Taghir-e Sharayet-e Kar-e Naftgaran Goftogu-ye "Saman-e No" Ba Esmail E. Az Kargaran Ghadimi-ye Sherkat-e Melli-ye Naft-e Iran [Reasons and Challenges of the Changes in the Working Conditions of Oil Workers Interview by Saman-e No with Esmail E. One of the Former Workers of the National Iranian Oil Company]." *Saman-e no*, no. 11-12 (1389 [2010]): 53-65.
- Rahnema, Ali. *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shariati*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.

- Rahnema, Saeed. "Work Councils in Iran the Illusion of Worker Control." [In English]. *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 13, no. 1 (Feb 1992): 69-94.
- Rasokhi-Langarudi, Ahmad. *Mardan-e Naft: Shakhsiyat-Ha-ye Tarikhi-ye Jahan-e Naft [Oil Men: Historical Figures of the World of Oil]*. Tehran: Kavir, 1385/2006.
- Razmahang, Manuchehr. "Goftogu Ba Mostafa Katira'i [Interview with Mostafa Katira'i]." *Iran Farda*, 18-23.
- Razmandegan-e Azadiye Tabaqeh-ye Kargar [Fighters for the Liberation of the Working Class]. "Gozareshi Az 'Etesabat-e Qahremananeye Kargaran-e San'at-e Naft-e Jonub [a Report of the Heroic Strikes of the Oil Workers in the South]." Dev 1957/December 1978-January 1979.
- . Gozareshi Az Owza'-e Eqtesadi-Siyasi Va Farhangi Khalq-e Arab-e Iran [a Report on the Economical, Political and Cultural Conditions of the Arab People of Iran]. n.p.: Razmandegan-e azadiye tabaqeh-ye kargar, n.d.
- "Revayat-e E'tesab-e Karkonan-e San'at-e Naft Az Zaban-e Yek Enqelabiye Nafti Az Khette Jonub [the Story of the Oil Workers' Strike by a Revolutionary from the Southern Region]." *Naft News* (11 Dey 1385/1 January 20117).
- Rippy, Merrill. Oil and the Mexican Revolution. Leiden: Brill, 1972.
- Roozshomar-e Enqelab-e Islami [Calendar of the Islamic Revolution]. Vol. 13, Tehran: Sazman-e Tabliqat-e Islami, 1393/2014.
- Roseberry, William. *Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989.
- Rosenberg, David. "The "Labour Aristocracy" in Interpretation of the African Working Classes." Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1976.
- Rosenberg, Justin. "Globalization Theory: A Post Mortem." *International Politics*, no. 42 (2005): 2-74.
- Ross, Michael. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Rouhani, Fo'ad. San'at-e Naft-e Iran: Bist Sal Pas Az Melli Shodan [the Iranian Oil Industry: Twenty Years after Nationalization]. Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahami-ye Ketabha-ye Jibi, 2536/1977.
- Rouhi, Homa. A Woman from Kerman with Memories of the Iranian Revolution. Bloomington: AuhtorHouse, 2011.

- Rowlinson, Michael, and John Hassard. "Marxist Political Economy, Revolutionary Politics, and Labor Process Theory." *International* Studies of Management & Organization 30, no. 4 (2000): 85-111.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber, and John D. Stephens. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Sadri, Mahmoud, and Ahmad Sadri. "The Mantle of the Prophet: A Critical Postscript." *State, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 3 (1985): 136-47.
- Safavi, Mohammad. "The Voice of the Workers: Iran's Labour Movement and Reflections on the Project-Seasonal Workers' Union of Abadan, 1979–1980." In *Iran's Struggles for Social Justice: Economics, Agency, Justice, Activism*, edited by Peyman Vahabzadeh. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Saffari, Siavash. "Two Pro-Mostazafin Discourses in the 1979 Iranian Revolution." *Contemporary Islam* 11, no. 3 (2017/10/01 2017): 287-301.
- Santiago, Myrna I. *The Ecology of Oil: Environment, Labor, and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1938*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Saville, John. "The Origins of the Welfare State." In *Social Policy and Social Welfare: A Reader*, edited by David Boswell, John Clarke and Martin Loney, viii, 309 p. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1983.
- Sazman-e Barnameh va Budjeh. Sarshomari-ye 'Omumi-ye Nofus Va Maskan-e Aban Mah 1355: Ostan-e Khuzestan, Shahrestan-e Abadan [General Account of the Population and Housing in October/November 1976: Khuzestan Province, City of Abadan]. Tehran: Statistical Centre of Iran, 1358 [1979].
- Schayegh, Cyrus. ""Seeing Like a State": An Essay on the Historiography of Modern Iran." [In English]. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, no. 1 (Feb 2010): 37-61.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts.*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- ———. Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. Yale Agrarian Studies. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- ——. Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

- Scoville, James G. "The Labor Market in Prerevolutionary Iran." *Economic Development & Cultural Change* 34, no. 1 (1985): 143.
- Seccombe, Ian, and Richard Lawless. *Work Camps and Company Towns:*Settlement Patterns and the Gulf Oil Industry. Occasional Papers Series
 No. 36. Durham: University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern &
 Islamic Studies, 1987.
- Selbin, Eric. *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: The Power of Story*. London; New York: Zed 2010.
- Sewell, William H. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Shahidi, Hossein. *Journalism in Iran: From Mission to Profession*. Iranian Studies. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Sharifi, Nuraldin. "Jaygah-e Bakhsh-e Naft Dar Ta'min-e Nahadeh Baray-e Bakhshha-ye Towlidi Va Ta'ghirat-e an Dar Keshvar: Yek Tahlil-e Dadeh-Setandeh [the Importance of the Oil Sector as Provider of Input for Manufacturing Sectors and Its Changes in Iran: An Input-Output Analysis." *Majaleh tahqiqat-e eqtesadi* 46, no. 97 (1390/2011): 35-64.
- Shokati, Hamid, and Mehdi Khanbaba-Tehrani. *Negahi Az Darun Be Jonbesh-e Chap-e Iran [a Look from within to the Leftist Movement of Iran]*. Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahami Enteshar, 1380[1368]/2001[1989].
- Showra-ye Aliye Barnamehrizi-ye Ostan-e Khuzestan. *Gozaresh-e Ejtema'i-eqtesadi-ye Khuzestan [Social-economic Report of Khuzestan]*. Vol. 1, N.N.: Showra-ye Aliye Barnamehrizi-ye Ostan-e Khuzestan, 1361 [1982].
- "Showraye Kargaran-e Mobarez-e Sherkat Naft-e Pars Eradeh-ye Khodra Tahmil Kard [the Council of the Militant Workers of the Pars Oil Company Hold Their Ground]." *Kar*, 22 Mordad 1358/13 August 1979, 4.
- Silver, Beverly J. Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization since 1870. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- "Siyahkal Va Jonbesh-e Kargari [Siyahkal and the Workers' Movement]." https://pishgaam13.wordpress.com/2011/02/04/kar590-karegari/.
- Skocpol, Theda. "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." *Theory and Society* 11, no. 3 (1982): 265-83.
- Smith, Christian. *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Smith, Michael E., Ashley Engquist, Cinthia Carvajal, Katrina Johnston-Zimmerman, Monica Algara, Bridgette Gilliland, Yui Kuznetsov, and Amanda Young. "Neighborhood Formation in Semi-Urban

- Settlements." *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 8, no. 2 (2015/04/03 2015): 173-98.
- Smith, Neil. "Homeless/Global: Scaling Places." In *Mapping the Futures:*Local Cultures, Global Change, edited by Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim
 Putnam, George Robertson and Lisa Tickner. New York: Routledge,
 1993.
- *The dictionary of human geography* (version 4th edn). Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- ——. "Scale Bending and the Fate of the National ". In *Scale and Geographic Inquiry*, edited by Sheppard E and McMaster R B. Malden MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. "Clarifying the Relationship between Framing and Ideology." In *Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*, edited by Hank Johnston and John A. Noakes. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.
- Sohrabian, Albert. Khaterat-e Albert Sohrabian: Bargi Az Jonbesh-e Kargariye Kommonisti-ye Iran [Memories of Albert Sohrabian: A Page from the History of Iran's Communist Workers' Movement]. Hannover: Bidar, 1379/2000.
- Somers, Margaret Ramsay. "Workers of the World, Compare!" Review of Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States., Ira Katznelson, Aristide Zolberg. *Contemporary Sociology* 18, no. 3 (1989): 325-29.
- Sorel, Georges, and Jeremy Jennings. *Reflections on Violence*. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [1908].
- Stedman Jones, Gareth. *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History*, 1832-1982. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Steinberg, Marc W. Fighting Words: Working-Class Formation, Collective Action, and Discourse in Early Nineteenth-Century England. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Strasser, Steven, Loren Jenkins, and Jeffrey Antevil. "Iran: At the Brink?" *Newsweek*, 13 November 1978.
- "Strikes Maim Iranian Oil Industry, Cut Exports." *Oil and Gas Journal*, 6 November 1978.
- Sullivan, William H. Mission to Iran. 1st ed. New York: Norton, 1981.
- Supporters of People's Fada'ian Guerrilla Organisation of Iran. *Kargaran:*Nashriyeh-ye Kargaran-e Pishrow Dar San'at-e Naft-e Aghajari
 [Workers: Journal of the Progressive Workers in the Aghajari Oil

- *Industry]*. n.d.: Supporters of People's Fada'i Guerrilla Organisation of Iran 25 Farvardin 1358.
- Swyngedouw, E. "Neither Global nor Local: "Globalization" and the Politics of Scale." In *Spaces of Globalization*, edited by K Cox, 137-66. New York: Guilford, 1997.
- Szeman, Imre, and Dominic Boyer, eds. *Energy Humanities: An Anthology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017.
- "Ta'sisat-e Naft Dar Eshghal-e Nezami-ye Rezhim [Oil Installation Are Occupied by the Regime's Army]." *Navid*, no. 63 (2 Dey 1357/23 December 1978): 2.
- Taeb, Saeed. Az E'tesab-e Karkonan-e San'at-e Naft Ta Piruziye Enqelab-e Islami [from the Oil Workers' Strike until the Victory of the Islamic Revolution]. Tehran: Markaz-e Asnad-e Enqelab-e Islami, 1382/2003.
- "Tahlili Bar E'tesab-e Kargaran-e Sherkat-e Remainco [an Analysis of the Strike of the Remainco Workers]." Farvardin 1358/March-April 1979.
- "Tajrobeh-ye Showraha Va Kontrol-e Kargari Dar Enqelab [the Experience of Councils and Workers' Control During the Revolution]." *Kar (Minority)*, Bahman 1367/January-February 1989, 15-19.
- Takin, Manouchehr. "Iran's Oil Century Reviewing Oil and Gas Operations." *MEES* 52, no. 1 (2009).
- Talashonline. "Goftogu Ba Heshmat Re'isi [Interview with Heshmat Re'isi]." *Talash* no. 22 (2005). http://talashonline.com/neshrye/matn 22 2 144.html.
- Taleqani, Mahmud. *Islam Va Malekiyat [Islam and Property]*. Tehran: Enteshar, 1344/1965.
- Tarikh Va Sharayet-e Kar Dar Iran 'Ahd-e Bastan Ta Konum [History and Conditions of Labour in Iran from Ancient Times to Today]. Tehran: Mo'aseseye Kar Va Ta'min-e Ejtema'i 1350/1971.
- Tavakkol, Mohammad, and Mohammad Reza Mehdizadeh. "Barresi-ye Towse'e-ye Teknolozhi Va San'at-e Naft-e Iran 1287-1357 [Exploration of the Technoligical Development and the Iranian Oil Industry, 1908-1979]." *Nameh-ye 'olum-e ejtema'i*, no. 31 (Fall 1386/2007): 21-56.
- Therborn, Göran. *The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology*. London: NLB, 1980.
- ——. "Why Some Classes Are More Successful Than Others?". *New Left Review* I, no. 138 (March-April 1983): 37-55.
- Thompson, E. P. "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class." *Social History*, no. 3 (1978).
- ——. The Making of the English Working Class. London: Penguin, 1991 [1963].

- . "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." *Past & Present*, no. 50 (1971): 76-136.
- Thompson, Paul. *The Nature of Work: An Introduction to Debates on the Labour Process.* 2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1989.
- Thompson, Paul, and Chris Smith. "Debating Labour Process Theory and the Sociology of Work." In *Working Life: Renewing Labour Process Analysis*, edited by Paul Thompson and Chris Smith. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- ———, eds. *Working Life: Renewing Labour Process Analysis*, Critical Perspectives on Work and Employment. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Tilly, Charles, and Sidney G. Tarrow. *Contentious Politics*. Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publishers, 2007.
- Tinker Salas, Miguel. *The Enduring Legacy: Oil, Culture, and Society in Venezuela*. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Toghyani, Ebrahim. *Tajjadod-e Abadan Va Sonnatha-ye Esfehan [Abadan's Modernity and Isfahan's Traditions]*. Tehran: Ebrahim Toghyani, 1390 [2011].
- Torfi, Abbas. Amuzesh Va Fanamuzi Dar San'at-e Naft-e Iran [Education and Training in the Iranian Oil Industry]. Tehran: Abbas Torfi, 1386/2007.
- Trotsky, Leon. *History of the Russian Revolution*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2008[1932].
- Tschurenev, Jana. "Intersectionality, Feminist Theory, and Global History." In *Intersectionality Und Kritik: Neue Perspektiven Für Alte Fragen*, edited by Vera Kallenberg, Jennifer Meyer and Johanna M. Müller, 265-82. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2013.
- Turner, Terisa. "Iranian Oil Workers in the 1978-79 Revolution." In *Oil and Class Struggle*, edited by Petter Nore and Terisa Turner. London: Zed Press, 1980.
- Urry, John. *Societies Beyond Oil: Oil Dregs and Social Futures*. London; New York: Zed Books, 2013.
- Vahabzadeh, Peyman. "A Generations's Myth: Armed Struggle and the Creation of Social Epic in 1970s Iran." In *Iran in the Middle East. Transnational Encounters and Social History*, edited by H. E. Chehabi, Peyman Jafari and Maral Jefroudi. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- ——. A Guerrilla Odyssey: Modernization, Secularism, Democracy, and the Fadai Period of National Liberation in Iran, 1971-1979. Modern

- Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2010.
- van der Linden, Marcel. "Labor History." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (2nd Edition)*, edited by James D Wright, 169-73. Oxford: Elsevier, 2015.
- ———. "The 'Law' of Uneven and Combined Development: Some Underdeveloped Thoughts." [In English]. *Historical Materialism* 15, no. 1 (2007): 145-65.
- ——. Workers of the World: Essays toward a Global Labor History. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2008.
- van der Linden, Marcel *Transnational Labour History: Explorations*. Studies in Labour History. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.
- van der Linden, Marcel, and Lex Heerma van Voss. "Introduction." In *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labor History*, edited by Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcel Van der Linden. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002.
- van der Linden, Marcel, and Jan Lucassen. *Prolegomena for a Global Labour History*. Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1999.
- Van Voorst, Bruce. "Another Crude Awakening in Iran after the Revolution, Oil Workers Gush Discontent." *Time* 113, no. 23 (1979): 43.
- Velayati, Ali Akbar, Mohammad Reza Sardaripoor, and Ali Yazdinejad.

 Hekayat-e Simorgh Va Naft: Moghadameh-I Bar Tarikh-e Yeksad Salehye Khedmatha-ye Behdashti-Darmani [the Story of Oil and the Phoenix:
 An Introduction to the One Hundred Years' History of Healthcare
 Services]. Tehran: Mirmah, 1387/2008.
- Vieille, P. "Abadan: Morphologie Et Fonction Du Tissu Urbain." *Revue Géographique de l'Est* 4 (1964): 339-85.
- Vielvoye, Roger. "Iran Oil Exports Fall to 850,000 B/D." *Oil and Gas Journal*, 13 November 1978.
- ——. "New Nioc Chief Faces Explosive Situation." *Oil & Gas Journal*, no. 5 March 1979 (93.
- Vitalis, Robert. *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Vogel, Lise. *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory*. London: Pluto Press, 1983.
- Voloshinov, Valengin Nikolaevich. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. New York: Seminar Press, 1986 [1929].

- Walker, Charles R., and Robert H. Guest. *The Man on the Assembly Line*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- Wallis, Michael Oil Man: The Story of Frank Phillips and the Birth of Phillips Petroleum. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.
- Ward, Steven R. *Immortal: A Military History of Iran and Its Armed Forces*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2009.
- Weaver, Bobby D. *Oilfield Trash: Life and Labor in the Oil Patch*. 1st ed. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010.
- Webb, Peter. "Iran: Challenging the Ayatollah." *Oil & Gas Journal*, no. 11 June 1979 (60.
- White, Neil. *Company Towns: Corporate Order and Community*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Williams, Raymond. *Resources of Hope : Culture, Democracy, Socialism.* London; New York: Verso, 1989.
- Williams, Rhys H. "Religion as Political Resource: Culture or Ideology?". *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 35, no. 4 (1996): 368-78.
- Wilson, Rodney. "Industries Feel the Squeeze from High Wage Labour." Middle East Economic Digest, 30 June 1978, 10-11.
- Wilson, Sheena, Adam Carlson, and Imre Szeman, eds. *Petrocultures: Oil, Politics, Culture.* Montreal & Kingston; London; Chigaco: McGuill-Queen's University Press.
- Wood, Ellen Meiksins. *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016 [1995].
- "The World's Largest Oil Industry Microwave Network." *Tehran Journal* (22 December 1970).
- Wright, Erik Olin. *Class Structure and Income Determination*. New York; London: Academic Press, 1979.
- -----. *Understanding Class*. London and New York: Verso, 2015.
- ——. "Working-Class Power, Capitalist-Class Interests, and Class Compromise." *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 4 (2000): 957-1002.
- Yaghoubian, David N. *Ethnicity, Identity, and the Development of Nationalism in Iran*. Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East. First edition. ed. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014.
- Yeo, Eileen. "Gender in Labour and Working-Class History." In *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of Labour History*, edited by Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcel van der Linden. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2002.

- Yeomans, Matthew. *Oil: Anatomy of an Industry* New York: The New Press, 2010.
- Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991.
- "Zamineha-ye Sheklgiri Va Chera'i Az Ham Pashi Showra-ha-ye Kargari (1357-1360) [Conditions for the Emergence of Councils and the Reasons for Their Disappearance]." http://76.163.28.199/?p=57379 ftn3.
- Zaretsky, Eli. *Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life*. London: Pluto Press, 1976.
- Zia-ebrahimi, Reza. "Self-Orientalization and Dislocation: The Uses and Abuses of the "Aryan" Discourse in Iran." *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 4 (2011/07/01 2011): 445-72.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. "Moments of Madness." *Politics & Society* 2, no. 2 (1972): 183-207.
- Zoqi, Iraj. Masa'el-e Siyasi Va Eqtesadi-ye Naft-e Iran [Political and Economic Issues of Iranian Oil]. Tehran: Daneshparvar, 1387/2008.