

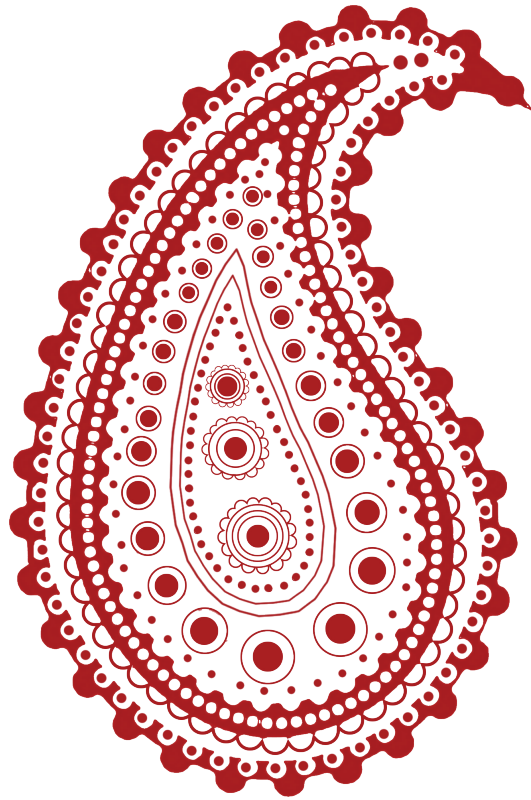
DĀNESH

THE OU UNDERGRADUATE
JOURNAL OF
IRANIAN STUDIES



The UNIVERSITY of OKLAHOMA®
College of International Studies
Department of International and Area Studies

Volume 1 (2016)



Iranian Studies Program

*The UNIVERSITY of OKLAHOMA®
College of International Studies*

DĀNESH: The OU Undergraduate Journal of Iranian Studies

Published under the auspices of the OU Iranian Studies Program, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the Department of International and Area Studies, and the College of International Studies at the University of Oklahoma.

Volume 1 (2016)

Editors-in-Chief
Andrew Akhlaghi
Elena T. Gharipour

Associate Editors
Ellie Bednarek
Jonah Gellman
Samuel McCann
Wajeeha Siddiqui
Jiyoun Yoo

Graphic Design
Elena T. Gharipour

Faculty Advisor
Afshin Marashi

© 2016, University of Oklahoma. *Dānesh* is a peer-reviewed undergraduate journal published annually in a single volume by students at the University of Oklahoma's College of International Studies. Correspondence should be addressed to OU Iranian Studies Program, Department of International and Area Studies, 729 Elm Ave, Hester Hall, Room 304, Norman, OK 73019. Email: amarashi@ou.edu. Weblink: <http://goo.gl/N5DVbK>

Volume 1 (2016)

Contents

From the Faculty Advisor	iv
From the Editors-in-Chief	v
 ARTICLES	
Unlikely Compromise: A History of the Iran-United States Claims Tribunal, 1981-2015 <i>Patrick Weigant</i>	1
Unintended Consequences: The Impact of Sanctions on the Iranian Pharmaceutical Industry <i>Elizabeth Vernon</i>	11
Iran-Contradiction: The Implications of the Arms-for-Hostages Scandal for US-Iranian Relations <i>Monica Haddock</i>	19
Painful Desires: The Creation of the Iran-Contra Affair <i>Heath Rosenberger</i>	29
Operation Eagle Claw: The Ramifications of Political Divisions in U.S. Decision-Making During the Iranian Hostage Crisis of 1979-1981 <i>Mary Bowman</i>	38
Celebrity on the Peacock Throne: Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's Superstar Portrayal In U.S. Popular Culture, 1965-1978 <i>Elizabeth Ennenga</i>	46
Who Lost Iran?: A Critical Reassessment of U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Iran, 1953-1979 <i>Nicholas Eckenrode</i>	54
The Church Committee: Unveiling the Past and Unravelling the Future <i>Lisa Hackert</i>	62

From the Faculty Advisor

It is with great pleasure that I introduce this inaugural issue of *DĀNESH: The OU Undergraduate Journal of Iranian Studies*. The initiative for this journal grew from the hard work and dedication of undergraduate students in the University of Oklahoma's Iranian Studies Program. In particular, I would like to acknowledge **Andrew Akhlaghi** (MA 2016) and **Elena Gharipour** (BA 2016) for their tireless effort in leading this project from its inception, in the spring of 2015, to the publication of this inaugural issue.

Since the founding of the OU Iranian Studies Program in 2011, our goal has been to promote knowledge regarding all aspects of the history, culture, society, and politics of Iran and the Persianate world. As the program has grown over the past five years, the work of OU undergraduate students in the field of Iranian Studies has become truly outstanding. The publication of *DĀNESH*, a peer-reviewed journal published under the auspices of the OU Iranian Studies Program and the OU College of International Studies, is dedicated to highlighting the research of a growing undergraduate program in Iranian Studies at the University of Oklahoma. As we continue to mature, we are confident that the vitality of the program will be reflected in the pages of this journal.

The name of the journal, *DĀNESH*, comes from the Persian word meaning *knowledge*, *learning*, and *wisdom*. We believe this is a fitting name for a journal that seeks to foster deep and compassionate understanding of one of the world's most culturally rich and historically complex civilizations. It is with this goal in mind that we inaugurate the publication of *DĀNESH*.

Afshin Marashi
Farzaneh Family Chair in Iranian Studies
Director, OU Iranian Studies Program

From the Editors-in-Chief

We are extremely proud to have been a part of this project. We are proud of both the quality of research in the journal and to have been part of such a wonderful process. Each of these papers addresses an important aspect of U.S.-Iranian relations. We hope that these papers will provide much needed context and perspective to the ongoing debates on U.S.-Iranian relations.

We are also privileged to have had such a positive experience editing the journal. Our associate editors worked extremely hard on each of these papers and they were a joy to work with throughout the process. Ultimately, any journal is only as strong as the writers and in this regard we were very fortunate. All of the writers came into this process with the utmost professionalism. We are also indebted to the University of Oklahoma Libraries for helping us archive and host the journal through the SHAREOK system.

The quality and overall process of making the journal are a reflection of the kind of academic environment in the Iranian Studies program and the University of Oklahoma. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the crucial role of Dr. Afshin Marashi. Without his guidance and dedication to the Iranian Studies program, none of this would have been possible.

Andrew Akhlaghi
Elena T. Gharipour
Editors-In-Chief

Celebrity on the Peacock Throne: Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's Superstar Portrayal in U.S. Popular Culture, 1965-1978

Elizabeth Ennenga

© University of Oklahoma

Foreign policy is not a science; it is an art. The creation of policies, the opinions formed towards other countries, and the relationships between nations are all part of the delicate balance that leads to foreign relations between countries. Within the U.S., foreign policy and international relations are prevalent topics of discussion not only amongst policy specialists, but average citizens as well. Because of this fascination, there is a demand for media coverage on this topic. International issues, more specifically foreign affairs, are common topics covered by news organizations, namely magazines, like *Time* and *Life*.

While these reporting bodies play an important role in sharing information with U.S. citizens, one wonders what factors influence the opinions held by the authors of these articles. Scholars, such as Alexander Craig, make critical observations about the relationship between media and international relations, asserting that these reporters influence "international relations most noticeably in (their) home country."¹ With their opinions being revered by U.S. citizens, it is important to know how journalists come to form opinions on foreign affairs in a "socio-historical context."²

In order to answer this question, that is to say, "How do American journalists come to their opinions on foreign affairs?" one must look at what the actor most involved in foreign affairs in the U.S.: the federal government. Craig discussed the interests governments have in influencing media, as the media publicizes their beliefs to their own country and abroad.³ Governments influence the opinions of these journalists in order to make sure their views are publicized. This has created a culture in which the U.S. media's depiction of foreign affairs shift with the government's rather fluid opinions on other nations. In a matter of years, the media's representation of other nations or foreign leaders can undergo dramatic transformations. This trend is apparent throughout history, but was most clearly represented in America's relationship with Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, specifically from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s.

***Author Bio:** Elizabeth Ennenga is a junior International Security Studies and Anthropology double major at the University of Oklahoma. She plans to pursue a graduate degree in Persian Studies after graduation.

¹ Alexander Craig, "The Media and Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 31, no. 2 (1976): 320.

² William A. Dorman and Mansour Farhang, *The US Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 13.

³ Alexander Craig, "The Media and Foreign Policy," 320.

During the history of the relationship between the U.S. and Iran, there have been key players who helped shape diplomatic ties between the two countries. Both the U.S. and Iran had important politicians and opinion makers that were well known in the two countries. One of the most important members that took part in U.S.-Iranian relations was Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. A well-known face to both the Iranian and U.S. publics, Mohammad Reza Shah ruled in Iran from 1941-1979, with a brief loss of power during the coup d'état of 1953, as a modernizing autocrat.⁴ He had a close relationship with many high-ranking officials in the United States, including President Richard Nixon.

Mohammad Reza Shah kept Iran politically close with the U.S., which allowed him to become a widely recognized politician to the U.S. public. There were an abundance of articles written about Mohammad Reza Shah in mainstream U.S. media, creating an Iranian celebrity that became a household name in the Western world. In Iran, he lived an opulent life, which intrigued the U.S. public and caused many to want to learn more about the mysterious Iranian ruler. There was an exuberant amount of vested interest in Iran by the U.S. public, and their fascination with the Shah's life led to an exceptional number of articles on the Iranian ruler to be written by U.S. magazines. Exploring U.S. media from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s, it is possible to see how the Shah was represented from his golden age all the way to the harsh criticisms of his ability to rule towards the end of his reign. More importantly, a critical examination of media in this era allows for an analysis of the intimate relationship between U.S. foreign policy and U.S. media coverage.

The "Golden Boy" Era

In the mid-1960s, Mohammad Reza Shah was in the midst of being the United States' "Golden Boy" from the East. This time period was at the height of U.S. support of the Shah and his policies. However, in Iran there were many disgruntled citizens who were not pleased with the Shah. U.S. media did not attempt to view Iranian issues through the viewpoint of Iranian citizens, but instead took to devaluing the reasons that led to various groups of Iranians finding faults with the Shah and his policies.

Mohammad Reza Shah was well liked in the U.S. during the mid-1960s. He was seen as a Middle Eastern ally with a life that suited a king. *Life* magazine's article in January of 1966, "Modern Monarch on the Peacock Throne" exemplified the positive opinion the U.S. media held about the Shah during the height of his power. The description of Mohammad Reza Shah in *Life* Magazine's January, 1966 issue was a friendly one, filled with information that would make anyone idolize his lifestyle. The mid-1960s were a critical time for Mohammad Reza Shah.⁵ While many Iranians were dissatisfied with the reinstatement of the Shah, the U.S. Government was extremely pleased to see the Shah back in power, as it was the U.S. government that had helped the Shah to get there.

In the article, the Shah was presented as one of only a few monarchical rulers whose power was more than symbolic. At this time, Mohammad Reza Shah was highly criticized by Iranians who were unhappy that the former, popularly elected leader,

⁴ Zhand Shakibi, "Pahlavism: The Ideologization of Monarchy in Iran," *Politics, Religion, and Ideology* 14, no. 1 (March 2013): 114.

⁵ Zhand Shakibi, "Pahlavism: The Ideologization of Monarchy in Iran," 115.

Mohammad Mossadegh, had been removed from power.⁶ However, the U.S. government was happy to see Mossadegh gone. The Red Scare caused the U.S. government to fear Mossadegh's populist movement as a prelude to a communist takeover. The article described the events leading up to the coup d'état as Mohammad Reza Shah allowing the citizens of Iran to choose who would govern them, with the Shah being their choice.⁷ The article asserted that the Shah's actions represented what the Iranian people wanted, but this was not entirely accurate. The *Life* article quoted the Shah stating, "Let the people make their choice—Mossadegh or me."⁸ After the 1953 coup d'état, the U.S. government was happy to see the Shah back in power, as they knew they had rid themselves of the threat of communism spreading to one of their allies.

Appreciation for the Shah was prevalent throughout the mainstream U.S. media during this period. He was portrayed as "the handsome and regal" ruler who was bravely modernizing Iran and "shucking the ancient traditions."⁹ In the wake of a great deal of opposition to the Shah's rule in Iran, *Life* used their article as a reminder of all the great qualities the Shah possessed. The article described the opulence of the Shah's palace, mainly focusing on the Peacock Throne Hall where important ceremonies were held.¹⁰ This description not only boasted about the wealth and celebrity-like life of Mohammad Reza Shah, but also reiterated the Shah's commitment to his country. The article praised the success of the "positive reforms" from the Shah's White Revolution, painting him as an empathetic ruler who desperately wanted to modernize and improve Iran.¹¹ By asserting that Iranian citizens wanted Mohammad Reza Shah to rule them, *Life* made the Shah look like a true humanitarian for the programs he implemented.

Not only did it describe the first roses to bloom and the beautiful nightingales, *Time* magazine's 1967 article, "Iran: Revolution from the Throne," gives a brief account of the great successes Iran has had in its antiquity.¹² Iran was represented as an alluring land with a rich history, with nothing but abundant success in their past. The article continued to talk about the modern successes Iran, an "underdeveloped land," was experiencing: a booming economy, developments in the oil industry, and no need for foreign aid.¹³ Emphasizing the U.S. was no longer giving large amounts of foreign aid to Iran, *Time* Magazine praised the country for its ability to stabilize itself after World War II.

All of the credit for the achievements enumerated in the article was given to Mohammad Reza Shah. *Time* Magazine praised the Shah for focusing on modernizing his country, while other Middle Eastern leaders "feuded, fussed, and fought with each other."¹⁴ Once again, U.S. media stated that the Shah was not like every other Middle Eastern political leader; he had goals that were transparent and friendly to the U.S., making him a positive role model. The article also mentioned that Mohammad Reza Shah was a pro-west leader who was able to have relations with countries like the Soviet Union

⁶ Homa Katouzian, *Musaddiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran* (I.B. Tauris: 1999), xiv.

⁷ Lee Griggs, "Modern Monarch on the Peacock Throne," *Life*, January 14, 1966, 47.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰ Lee Griggs, "Modern Monarch on the Peacock Throne," 38.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹² "Iran: Revolution from the Throne," *Time*, October 6, 1967, 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

without fearing he would adopt their ideology.¹⁵ The article only listed positive qualities about the leader of Iran, as this was his “Golden Age.”

Not only did the article aim to shine a positive light on the Shah’s political decisions, but it also described the drama in his life almost as a fantasy. The style in which this information is shared reasserts that Mohammad Reza Shah was perceived as a celebrity in U.S. media. The narrative described the Shah as a shallow playboy who was not taking his role as the ruler of Iran seriously, until he left the trivial fun behind in order to be the respectable ruler the Iranians needed.¹⁶ He was viewed as coasting through his job, as he had plenty of money and -abstaining from engaging in global politics. It was not until the emergence of a “crusty old nationalist named Mohammed Mossadegh, who as Premier nearly overthrew the Shah” that Mohammad Reza Shah truly began to put effort into leading Iran.¹⁷ The U.S. government feared Mossadegh, as they felt he intended to create a communist regime in Iran, and was consequently misrepresented in U.S. media. This narrative of the Shah continued as *Time* quoted Mohammad Reza Shah on his realization that Iran was in need of modernization. The article stated Iran would either “develop or die.”¹⁸ Not only was this a misrepresentation of the events surrounding the 1953 coup d’état, it also dramatized the political decisions the Shah made once he was reinstated. The article created a villainous Mossadegh who was responsible for Mohammad Reza Shah’s moment of enlightenment, which led to yet another enumeration of the Shah’s successes.

Representations of Other Iranians

Another article, from *Harper’s Magazine* in 1965, perfectly exemplified the U.S. media’s positive coverage of Mohammad Reza Shah, no matter what his critics said. John Fischer of *Harper’s Magazine* wrote an editorial describing the tensions between Mohammad Reza Shah and his citizens, pointing out only the faults of different groups of Iranian citizens; he even titled the article, “The Shah and His Exasperating Subjects.”¹⁹ The article discussed the general complaints Iranians had against Mohammad Reza Shah, yet it presented the grievances more as the result of personal antipathy towards the Shah than valid claims that highlight real issues. These opportunistic grievances included businessmen who wanted to keep their “ancient habits and petty monopolies,” among many more.²⁰ Fischer addressed the general grievances commonly made about Mohammad Reza Shah, then delegitimized the fears of Iranians by stating that the Shah of Iran paled in comparison to other leaders, such as Adolf Hitler, when it came to creating a police state.²¹ The article presented Mohammad Reza Shah as a different type of ruler than what Iranians portrayed him to be.

The *Harper’s Magazine* article proceeded to defend the Shah by presenting the Iranian groups who vocalized their unhappiness with Mohammad Reza Shah in a

¹⁵ “Iran: Revolution from the Throne,” 2.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ John Fischer, “The Shah and His Exasperating Subjects,” *Harpers Magazine*, April, 1965, 24.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

negative light. Fischer asserted that the antiquated feudal lords were unhappy with the Shah's governance out of fear that the Shah would "break up their estates and distribute the land to the peasants who farm it."²² Muslim religious leaders disliked the Shah because of his drive to modernize the country through his program.²³ The article essentially made the argument that the Shah was being criticized for his reform policies, although the United States strongly supported these policies.

Another tactic used to negatively portray disgruntled Iranian citizens who were not satisfied with Mohammad Reza Shah was by claiming those vocalizing their anti-Shah opinions were communists who worried he would "ruin their chances of capturing Iran."²⁴ The Red Scare had more than adequately caused fear of the spread of communism in the United States and its allies. The Shah had been the United States choice of ruler, as he was also anti-communist. By claiming the negative opinions towards Mohammad Reza Shah were coming from communists, their accusations would be completely discredited by the U.S. public, as communists were not trusted and appeared bitter.

The First Lady of Iran

A further area of interest for the media was the Shah's family. Not only did U.S. media extensively cover the life of Mohammad Reza Shah, they discussed the help given to Iran by his wife—Empress Farah. Empress Farah was represented as a revered first lady figure in the U.S. media. Not only was she extremely beautiful, with U.S. media documenting her fashion decisions, she was also seen as an active advocate for issues such as Women's Rights, healthcare, and the environment.²⁵

The U.S. media presented the Empress to be quite like the first lady of the United States; she was seen as a vital asset to the development of Iran. The idea of American media portraying the Shah and Empress as celebrities was exemplified in this article on Farah in the 1975 *Saturday Evening Post*. The article did not focus on the political world of Iran, but the societal world of Empress Farah, which proved that U.S. citizens took interest in the lives of the First Family of Iran, like they did with the family of the U.S. President.

Empress Farah discussed her vitamin regimen and vacation destinations, which allowed people to get a peek into the life of real Iranian royalty.²⁶ This displayed the perks Empress Farah received due to the fairytale she was living in. The article made sure to note that Empress Farah was not only a fashionable woman on the arm of an important man. Her thoughts on Iran were also valued. She stated that helping her busy husband with his work was something she found riveting. The *Saturday Evening Post* described her as a sort of work partner to Mohammad Reza Shah, and she even claimed to pick up the slack for him. Empress Farah expressed her political role as "an advocate for the

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Joy Billington, "The Shah's Advocate," *Saturday Evening Post*, November 1975, 11.

²⁶ Ibid., 11.

causes she believes in.”²⁷ The description of Empress Farah’s life in the magazine made it apparent that the U.S. media truly did view the Imperial family of Iran as celebrities.

The Great Shift

Mohammad Reza Shah’s image drastically changed in the mid-1970s for multiple reasons. One of the greatest issues that caused the Shah to no longer be the “Golden Boy” to his American allies was oil. *Time* magazine’s article, “Oil, Grandeur, and a Challenge to the West”, described Western grievances with the oil the Shah controlled after the oil crisis.²⁸ With the Shah’s newfound control in the form of oil, the U.S. media began to paint him in a very different light.

Not only did the article state that Mohammad Reza Shah was seen as weak and insecure previous to obtaining a great sum of oil, they asserted that the West viewed him in a negative light.²⁹ This record was in stark contrast to the mid-1960 musings on the Shah, where he was revered as a selfless leader prepared to modernize his beautiful country. The divergence in these opinions highlighted an important point, that media portrayals were completely circumstantial, and the U.S. media could change its mind easily.

The emergence of the oil issue completely swayed the U.S. public’s opinion of Iran and the Shah, creating a juxtaposition with the description of the Shah given less than a decade earlier. In 1973, the emergence of the oil crisis significantly altered the foreign relations between the U.S. and Iran. While average production per well in the U.S. was only 17 barrels a day, Iran was producing an average of 11,838 barrels per well per day due to the Shah’s role in OPEC.³⁰ The article asserted that Mohammad Reza Shah did not have true power as a ruler until the oil was obtained.³¹ What was once seen as envy of the opulent lifestyle was seen as proof of the Shah’s “oil power”. *Time* gave an in-depth explanation of the grand celebration of Mohammad Reza Shah’s birthday in the opulent palace; it described his decision to pardon many prisoners and the “thousand courtiers and high officials” in attendance.³² The assertion was that he now has the power to have a grand celebration because his power had been legitimized thanks to the oil.

The article also attributed the transformations that came about in Iran to the money and power of Iran’s natural wealth. *Time* highlighted that, “no other member of the club of suddenly wealthy oil nations is advanced enough...to match Iran’s projected scale of social and economic growth over the next two decades.”³³ In earlier years, the U.S. media attributed the transformation of Iran to the reforms Mohammad Reza Shah was instating in order to modernize the country. The oil money was said to be supporting the improvements in the quality of life in Iran, and was even helping create gender equality.³⁴ These claims were not entirely untrue, as women were receiving new rights as early as

²⁷ Ibid., 12.

²⁸ “Oil, Grandeur, and a Challenge to the West,” *Time*, November 4, 1974, 28.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Cyrus Bina, “Internationalization of the Oil Industry: Simple Oil Shocks or Structural Crisis?” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 11, no. 3 (1988): 359.

³¹ “Oil, Grandeur, and a Challenge to the West,” 28.

³² Oil, Grandeur, and a Challenge to the West,” 28.

³³ Ibid., 33.

³⁴ Ibid.

the mid-1960s. The Shah's new leverage over the U.S. was causing the U.S. media to criticize a man they once adored.

The Shah's image continued to be tarnished in the U.S. media, as the political conditions in Iran became increasingly complicated at the end of the 1970s. After years of reports on the Shah's human rights violations in the mid-1970s, the Shah was running out of allies, both foreign and domestic. This led to a revolutionary situation in Iran. The first traces of the Islamic Revolution can be seen in this time period. At this point, the United States and Iran had a remarkably different political relationship than they did during Mohammad Reza Shah's "Golden Era." The United States continued to condemn the Shah, particularly how he handled the opposition that was emerging against his rule.

In 1978 Steven Strasser and Paul Martin of *Newsweek* wrote an article that accurately exemplified Western criticisms of the events occurring in Iran. The article criticized the way the Shah had handled many of the trying situations that had previously occurred, such as "Black Friday" of September 8, 1978. On that day, many Iranians were killed for not following martial law.³⁵ The article listed a variety of issues occurring in Iran, some of which made the Shah look as if he was losing control. The first issue listed in the article was the Shah's use of "unprecedented television coverage" of debates that were occurring between him and members of the Parliament.³⁶ The purpose was for the Shah to be able to reach large quantities of citizens, but as *Newsweek* pointed out, the Shah did not think this through and was presented as foolish for not anticipating that his opposition would use the publicity to their advantage.

The article then discussed the Shah's investigation into the events that occurred on Black Friday, and described his actions as those of a politician trying to "soothe the opposition" who were outraged by the massacre.³⁷ No longer was Mohammad Reza Shah depicted as a selfless leader, but as a politician putting on a show in order to find some peace in his country. The description of the events insinuated that the Shah was creating a sort of police state as he saw his reign coming to an end. The article even stated his army was ready for any sort of disturbance from the opposition.³⁸

Depicting Mohammad Reza Shah as the ringmaster of a grand show for the public continued throughout the rest of the *Newsweek* article. Strasser and Martin criticized the Shah for his decision to fire court minister, Abbas Hoveyda, while trying to ease tensions for himself. They asserted the Shah terminated Hoveyda from his duties in an effort to concede some to the Mullahs, or Muslim leaders of Iran, who persecuted Hoveyda for practicing the Baha'i faith.³⁹ The article presented the Shah as willing to sacrifice anyone in order to save himself and his power.

The final blow to the Shah's image came in the conclusion of the article. Strasser and Martin argued that Mohammad Reza Shah is tarnishing the reputation of his family in the method he has taken to govern Iran.⁴⁰ This argument came easily after reading rest of the article, as they presented the Shah as making any attempt to save his rule. Ending the

³⁵ Steven Strasser and Paul Martin, "Iran: Carrot and Stick," *Newsweek*, August 25, 1978, 48.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

article with a critical, yet thought-provoking, question, *Newsweek* inquired whether the Shah could keep power while fully exercising the use of the military and giving no real concessions to critics.⁴¹ It was apparent that by the late 1970s, the U.S. media no longer praised their former golden boy.

Conclusion

Mohammad Reza Shah's image was perceived in a multitude of ways in the U.S. media during a relatively short period of time. From the mid-1960s, when the Shah was placed on a pedestal and viewed as the Middle Eastern "Golden Boy," to the late 1970s when American media became highly critical of the decisions made by Mohammad Reza Shah, the U.S. media had held a variety of opinions on the Shah. The historical relevance of the dates in which these articles were written were very telling, as U.S. media was very much swayed by global politics events happening around the world greatly affect public opinion on foreign affairs.

The case of Mohammad Reza Shah also demonstrated that the political opinions held by the U.S. government influence the media. The representation of Mohammed Mossadegh as a villainous communist that stood in the way of Mohammad Reza Shah's ability to modernize Iran, is an opinion the media received from the U.S. government.⁴² The earlier view of the Shah as the "golden boy" of the East represents a time in which he was seen as an ally to the U.S. In the end, he was persecuted in the U.S. media, as the oil issues and human rights violations displeased the U.S. government. The path that the U.S. media's opinion of the Shah follows confirms that the political climate in the U.S. affected how the U.S. public perceived Mohammad Reza Shah.

Looking back on articles from the 1960s and 1970s with modern knowledge shows that the U.S. media had a large bias in their depictions of Mohammad Reza Shah. Depending on the relationship the U.S. had with a country, the information given to the U.S. public may be less than accurate. This critical comparison of the U.S. media's bias following foreign policy could be applied to other foreign leaders, such as President Mubarak in Egypt, in an effort to see the extent of foreign policy's influence. Mohammad Reza Shah, once a type of international celebrity was now seen as a sort of Richard Nixon figure in Iran. While he was praised for certain decisions he made, he is also highly criticized for the numerous mistakes he made during his reign.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Iran: Revolution from the Throne," 2.