



# Labor Unions and Autocracy in Iran

HABIB LADJEVARDI

*SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS*

1985



# Contents

Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction	xiii
1 Genesis of the Labor Movement	1
The Formative Years: 1906–1921	1
The Years of Confrontation: 1922–1925	9
Autocracy and Labor Under Reza Shah: 1926–1941	17
2 Rebirth of the Labor Unions	28
Reestablishment of the Constitutional Monarchy	28
Formation of the Tudeh Party and Its Unions	29
Government Response to Labor Unrest	39
The Majles and the Workers	42
Unification of the Tudeh Unions	46
3 Years of Confrontation: 1944–1946	50
Polarization of Politics	50
Hard Line against the Left	54
Conciliatory Moves toward the Left	57
The Qavam Labor Law	61
Qavam's Move to the Right	64
4 Suppression of the Tudeh Labor Unions: 1946–1949	70
Reemergence of Autocracy	70
Destruction of the CUC	76
5 Soviet Influence on the Labor Movement:	
<i>The Case of Tabriz</i>	95
Introduction to Tabriz	95
The Years of Soviet Nonintervention	97

Soviet Intervention	105
Soviet Support of Azerbaijan Autonomy	109
6 British Influence on the Labor Movement:	
<i>The Case of Abadan</i>	117
Introduction to Abadan	117
The Formation of Labor Unions in Abadan	121
The Abadan General Strike	129
The British Analysis of the KUC Initiative	136
Suppression of the KUC	139
The Creation of "Nonpolitical" Unions	144
7 Employers' Influence on the Labor Movement:	
<i>The Case of Esfahan</i>	148
Introduction to Esfahan	148
The Formation of Iran's First Independent Union	151
The Disintegration of the UWE	160
The Disintegration of the Employer-Sponsored Unions	168
8 Rise and Fall of Government-Controlled Unions:	
1946-1953	172
Formation of Anti-Tudeh Unions	172
Entry of the Court into Labor Affairs	175
Disintegration of Government-Controlled Unions	180
The Strike of the Oil Workers	188
The Mossadegh Government and Labor	189
9 Workers Without Unions: 1953-1963	193
Government Attitude toward Labor	193
Ministry of Labor	195
Employers	196
Workers	198
Tudeh Unions	200
Government Unions	201
Syndicates and Factory Councils	203
Wages and Working Conditions	205
Two-Party System	206
10 Anglo-American Influence over Labor	210
1959 Labor Law	212
Role of SAVAK in Labor Affairs	213
Challenge to Autocracy	215
Sharif-Emami Cabinet: 1960-1961	218
Amini Cabinet: 1961-1962	220
Alam Cabinet: 1962-1964	223

Epilogue	233
Years of Autocracy: 1963–1978	233
Post-Revolutionary Iran	246
Appendixes	255
A Biographical Notes	255
B Comparison of Estimated Number of Employees in Various Industries and Members Claimed by the CUC	265
Notes	269
Bibliography	305
Index	313
<b>Tables</b>	
<b>Table 1</b> Membership of General Trade Union of Tehran in 1922	8
<b>Table 2</b> Nonagricultural Labor Force in 1955	198