

NATIONAL WINNER
YEAR LEVEL 11-12



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1979: A SIGNIFICANT YEAR

1979: A Significant Year

To what extent was the year 1979 a significant turning point in Middle-Eastern and Western relations?

1979 marked a momentous shift in relations between the nations of the Middle-East and the West. The Middle-East and North Africa (MENA)¹ region includes the Arabian Peninsula, comprising of countries such as Iran, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, Palestine and Israel (Figure 1).² The dominant religion throughout this area is Islam.³ The Western world, or Occident, consist of regions that were historically influenced by Western Christianity, mainly Europe and the United States (US) (Figure 2).⁴ Tensions in the Middle-East culminated in 1979, highlighting the religious, cultural, political and ethnic divide internally within the MENA region, and externally between the Middle-East and the West, predominantly the US.⁵ Rivalries within the Middle-East exist due to the different types of leadership, where Sunni Muslims believe in consensual leadership and Shia Muslims follow a hereditary system.⁶ The Iranian revolution and subsequent establishment of the Islamic Republic saw an expansion of fundamental Islamic ideals,⁷ emphasising ideological differences with Western principles of liberal modernity.⁸ The capture of the Grand Mosque in Mecca had many impacts, including the further spread of Islamic fundamentalism, which also

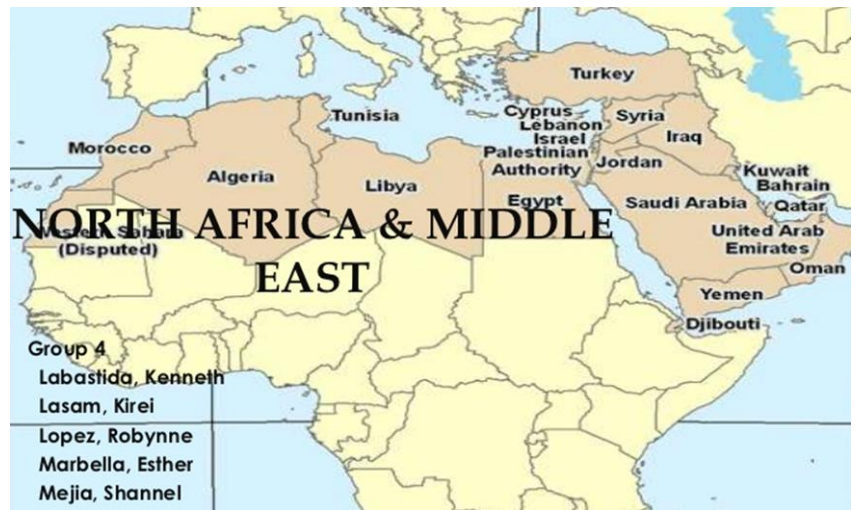


Figure 1: Map of the Middle-Eastern and North African Region (MENA), shaded in brown

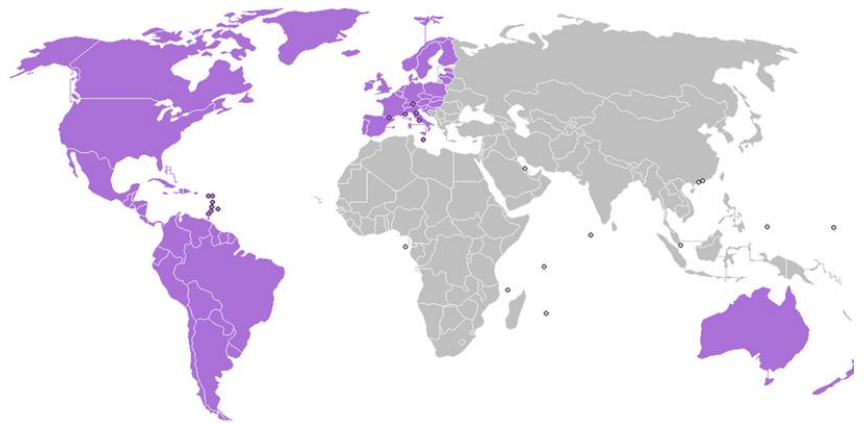


Figure 2: Map of Western countries, highlighted in purple

¹ Idaho State University . n.d. *Middle East Facts*. Accessed 06 15, 2021. <https://www.isu.edu/history/student-opportunities/class-projects/middle-east-facts/>

² Labastida, Kenneth. 2012. *North Africa and Middle East*. Accessed 06 15, 2021. <https://www.slideshare.net/KennethLabastida/north-africa-middle-eastfinal>

³ Kiprop, Joseph. 2019. *Which Religions are Practiced in the Middle East?* Accessed 06 12, 2021. <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/which-religions-are-practiced-in-the-middle-east.html#:~:text=%20Which%20Religions%20Are%20Practiced%20In%20The%20Middle,Samaritanism%20which%20has%20close%20ties%20to...%20More%20>

⁴ Trubetskoy, Sasha. 2017. *List of Western Countries*. Accessed 06 12, 2021. <https://sashamaps.net/docs/maps/list-of-western-countries/>

⁵ Lycett, Andrew. 2014. *The West and the Middle East: Fierce Rivalries*. Accessed 06 20, 2021. <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/west-and-middle-east-fierce-rivalries>

⁶ Arthington, Madeline. 2019. *The Difference between Shiite and Sunni Muslims and Why It Matters*. Accessed 06 20, 2021. <https://www.imb.org/2019/05/24/difference-between-shiite-sunni-muslims/>

⁷ Cengage. n.d. *Ideology, Political, Middle East*. Accessed 06 20, 2021. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/ideology-political-middle-east>

⁸ Berkowitz, Peter. 2016. *Political Studies: What is Liberal Modernity?* Accessed 06 20, 2021. <https://hertogfoundation.org/courses/liberal-modernity>

contributed to changing international relationships. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan gave rise to some of the boldest and strongest terrorist groups of the modern era, profoundly changing international relations between the Middle-East and the rest of the world. However, the nature of the Middle-East itself contrasts politically and economically with the Occident, exacerbated by the formation of Israel and remnants of imperialism in this region, further impacting relations with the West.

In 1979, formerly exiled Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was established as the leader of Iran following the deposition of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, the last Shah, of Iran. Khomeini began instituting Iran as the new Islamic Republic,⁹ representing a significant shift in Middle-Eastern and Western relations. The conversion to the Islamic Republic substantially changed the administration of Iran, transitioning from an autocratic monarchy to a theocratic republic led by religious authorities, and governed by the principles of Islam.¹⁰ The formation of the Islamic Republic set Iran on an isolationist path, withdrawing from both the 1959 military cooperation agreement with the US and the Anti-Soviet Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO), terminating three-quarters of a \$12 billion oil deal with the US and completely severing Iran's ties with Israel.¹¹ The previously Pro-Western, Pro-American Iran became rapidly and radically Islamist,¹² "fighting against the Western World" and particularly, "American...devourers."¹³ This can be attributed to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, a cultural phenomenon which requires strict conformity to religious texts¹⁴ in direct opposition to Western ideals of "modernisation, industrialisation and rational bureaucracy."¹⁵ Islamic fundamentalism, which began circulating throughout the MENA region,¹⁶ was feared by the West, who associated the movement with extremism and radicalism.¹⁷ These concerns, exacerbated by Khomeini's urging to "export the revolution,"¹⁸ were supported by Article 11 of Iran's Constitution, that "the Islamic Republic of Iran has a duty...to constantly strive to bring about the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Islamic world."¹⁹ Khomeini's regime was willing to achieve this goal through "hard power" instituted by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC),²⁰ a strategy that Mosa Zahed, founding director of the Middle-East Forum for Development, has since labelled "religious terrorism,"²¹ corroborating Western fears regarding extremism. The IRGC had a distinct role in the consolidation of the Islamic Republic, initially providing military power to support the revolutionaries, but has grown to exert political pressure to prevent ideological dissidence in contemporary Iran.²² This constitutionally legal intervention by a military arm of a revolutionary force directly opposes Western ideals of liberty and democracy, presenting a further

⁹ Maloney, Suzanne, and Keian Razipour. 2019. *The Iranian revolution—A timeline of events*. Accessed 06 11, 2021.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/01/24/the-iranian-revolution-a-timeline-of-events/>.

¹⁰ Lumen Learning. n.d. *The Islamic Republic of Iran*. Accessed 06 11, 2021. <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-hccc-worldhistory2/chapter/the-islamic-republic-of-iran/>.

¹¹ Hiro, Dilip. 2018. *Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi-Arabia, Iran and the struggle for Supremacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 68.

¹² Ibid., 86.

¹³ Middle East Research and Information Project. 1980. "Khomeini: 'We Shall Confront the World with Our Ideology.'" MERIP Journal 22-25.

¹⁴ Munson, Henry. 2019. *Fundamentalism*. Accessed 06 11, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/fundamentalism>.

¹⁵ Griffin, William E. 1979. "The Revival of Islamic Fundamentalism: The Case of Iran." *International Security* 132-138.

¹⁶ Hiro, Dilip. 2018. *Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi-Arabia, Iran and the struggle for Supremacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 88.

¹⁷ Ben-Dor, Gabriel. 1996. *The uniqueness of Islamic fundamentalism, Terrorism and Political Violence*. Taylor and Francis Online 239-252.

¹⁸ The New York Times. 1981. "The New York Times Newspaper." AROUND THE WORLD; Khomeini Urges Export Of Iranian Revolution. <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/10/15/world/around-the-world-khomeini-urges-export-of-iranian-revolution.html>.

¹⁹ Iran (Islamic Republic of)'s Constitution of 1979. Retrieved from:

https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Iran_1989.pdf?lang=en Accessed 06 28, 2021

²⁰ Porat, Ran. 2019. *The Political Legacy of the Iranian Revolution: Theocratic Tyranny and Religious Terrorism*. Accessed June 12, 2021. <https://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/the-political-legacy-of-the-iranian-revolution-theocratic-tyranny-and-religious-terrorism/>.

²¹ Zahed, Mosa. 2016. *Iran's fictional moderates: A horrifying reality*. Accessed June 12, 2021.

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/node/53671>.

²² Dagher, Munqith. 2020. *The Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) from an Iraqi View – a Lost Role or a Bright Future?* Accessed June 12, 2021. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/iranian-islamic-revolutionary-guard-corps-irgc-iraqi-view-%E2%80%93-lost-role-or-bright-future>.

fissure in beliefs and, consequently, political relations. The seizure of the US embassy at the Iranian capital of Tehran was another critical moment for relations between the West and Iran, and by extension, the greater Middle-East. On November 4th 1979, Iranian students seized the embassy, capturing 52 American hostages who were imprisoned for 444 days. This event was a major impact of the Iranian Revolution as it signified the intentions of the Iranian people to end American interference,²³ exacerbated US concerns regarding extremism²⁴ and changed the opinions of US citizens in relation to the Islamic world and the Muslim religion itself.²⁵ The significance of this event, and the Iranian Revolution at large, is present in the contemporary West, where many citizens, particularly in the US, remain suspicious and fearful of the Islamic world.²⁶

The seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca stunned the Saudi-Arabian government, prompting a swing towards more repressive and anti-Western policies. On November 20th 1979, hundreds of Islamic extremists captured the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi-Arabia, and held it under siege for two weeks.²⁷ The captors were a group of jihadis, who view violence as necessary to achieve their goals of restoring God's rule on earth while protecting the Muslim world and religion.²⁸ There was confusion over who had actually seized the mosque; the US believed it was "a group of armed fundamentalists...from Iran"²⁹ attempting to spread Iranian revolutionary principles. This angered Khomeini, who accused America and Israel of the attack. These political tensions were exacerbated by further spread of anti-Western ideals through the Middle-East, causing citizens from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Libya and Kuwait to target American centres, including a five-hour siege of Islamabad's American embassy where two marines were killed in a building fire.³⁰ The violent nature of the Mecca mosque seizure, with the leader Juhayman ul-Utabi proclaiming "if anyone [resists] at the gates, shoot them,"³¹ seemed to confirm Western fears of Islamic extremism. This event was the first occurrence of transnational jihad collaboration, with members of the rebel group originating from Pakistan, Iran, Saudi-Arabia, Egypt and even some American converts to Islam,³² making it the earliest manifestation of international modern-day terrorism. Additionally, it was the first co-operation of Saudi-Arabian Wahabi zealots and jihadi extremists from Egypt's Islamic Brotherhood, which became the two main components of terrorist group al-Qaida.³³ The Grand Mosque seizure can therefore be considered the birthplace of al-Qaida, expanding the influence of radical Islamic groups through increased exposure, and also inspiring Osama bin Laden to form al-Qaida with the goal of "drive[ing] Western influences from the Middle-East."³⁴ The Mecca Mosque seizure was also a cultural turning point between the Occident and Saudi-Arabia, who exchanged Western influences for religious conservatism.³⁵ This can be attributed to the competition toward being the most Islamic that occurred

²³ History.com Editors. 2019. *Iran Hostage Crisis*. Accessed June 13, 2021. <https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/iran-hostage-crisis>.

²⁴ Kamarck, Elaine. 2019. *The Iranian hostage crisis and its effect on American politics*. Accessed June 14, 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/11/04/the-iranian-hostage-crisis-and-its-effect-on-american-politics/>.

²⁵ United States Department of State. n.d. *Iranian Hostage Crisis*. Accessed June 14, 2021. <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/iraniancrises>.

²⁶ Kamarck, Elaine. 2019. *The Iranian hostage crisis and its effect on American politics*. Accessed June 14, 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/11/04/the-iranian-hostage-crisis-and-its-effect-on-american-politics/>.

²⁷ Trofimov, Yaroslav, interview by Renee Montagne and Steve Inskeep. 2009. *1979: Remembering 'The Siege Of Mecca'*. Retrieved from: <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=112051155>

²⁸ BBC News. 2014. *What is Jihadism?* Accessed June 14, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30411519>.

²⁹ Taubman, Philip. 1979. "Mecca Mosque Seized by Gunmen Believed to Be Militants From Iran." *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/11/21/archives/mecca-mosque-seized-by-gunmen-believed-to-be-militants-from-iran.html>.

³⁰ Hiro, Dilip. 2018. *Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi-Arabia, Iran and the struggle for Supremacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³¹ BBC News. 2014. *What is Jihadism?* Accessed June 14, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30411519>.

³² Trofimov, Yaroslav. 2007. *The Siege of Mecca: The Forgotten Uprising in Islam's Holiest Shrine and The Birth of Al Qaeda*. Doubleday Books.

³³ Trofimov, Yaroslav, interview by Renee Montagne and Steve Inskeep. 2009. *1979: Remembering 'The Siege Of Mecca'* from <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=112051155>

³⁴ Trofimov, Yaroslav. 2007. *The Siege of Mecca: The Forgotten Uprising in Islam's Holiest Shrine and The Birth of Al Qaeda*. Doubleday Books.

³⁵ Allison, Marissa. n.d. *Militants Seize Mecca: The Effects of the 1979 Seige of Mecca Revisited*. Accessed June 14, 2021. <http://cas.umw.edu/dean/files/2011/08/Allison.-metamorphosis-version.pdf>.

between the Islamic Republic and Saudi-Arabia following this event, leading to an escalation of religious ideologies. The Saudi-Arabian administration placed strict injunctions on society to meet the aims of Islamisation: increasing segregation of sexes, banning cinemas and no longer sending students to Western Universities.³⁶ These changes represent a cultural milestone, but were a superficial solution that failed to address the underlying tensions and allowed them to fester, from which Osama bin Laden was able to appeal and gain support.³⁷ The removal of Western influences from society combined with terrorism gaining momentum as a result of the Mecca Mosque seizure marks a significant turning point in international relations.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on the 24th of December 1979 was another event that substantially shifted Middle-Eastern and Western relations. The USSR aimed to strengthen a communist neighbour with the invasion (Figure 3) but faced fierce resistance from local Mujahedeen freedom fighters. These Islamic groups consisted of divided factions that rose from local militia or warlords, with the seven major groups uniting as the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen due to the support of outside countries.³⁸ The US in particular played a significant role in the Afghan-Soviet war, providing the Mujahedeen with money, rations and weapons such as the Stinger Missile.³⁹ The leaders of different Mujahedeen factions were appointed for



Figure 3: Map of the Soviet Union's borders in 1979 prior to their invasion of Afghanistan

their social standing, leadership and commitment to their religion.⁴⁰ This meant the seven most powerful groups, which received the greatest aid from supporting countries, were led by the most religious leaders. As a direct result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, more power and resources were given to Islamic groups with leaders who were more likely to be Islamic radicals or have the capacity for extremism.⁴¹ With this added strength, these leaders were able to advance their religious ideals and therefore contribute significantly to the spread of Islamic fundamentalism throughout the Middle-East,⁴² with Afghanistan described as a "breeding ground for terrorism."⁴³ These groups built their strength during the 10-year Afghan-Soviet war, allowing them to gain control as the Taliban in the power vacuum left by the 1989 Soviet withdrawal, becoming a force of concern for the Occident. The Taliban were ultra-conservative and oppressive, but also provided protection for extremist group al-Qaida in the 1990's. This

³⁶ Hiro, Dilip. 2018. "Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi-Arabia, Iran and the struggle for Supremacy." In Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi-Arabia, Iran and the struggle for Supremacy, by Dilip Hiro. Oxford: Oxford University Press

³⁷ Warrick, Joby. 2015. *Black Flags: the Rise of ISIS*. Doubleday Books.

³⁸ Szczepanski, Kallie. 2019. *The Mujahideen of Afghanistan*. Accessed June 16, 2021. <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-mujahideen-of-afghanistan-195373>.

³⁹ Taylor, Alan. 2014. *The Soviet War in Afghanistan, 1979 - 1989*. Accessed June 16, 2021. <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/08/the-soviet-war-in-afghanistan-1979-1989/100786/>.

⁴⁰ Dick, C J. 2002. *Mujahedeen Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War*. Accessed June 16, 2021. http://edocs.nps.edu/AR/org/CSRC/csrc_jan_02.pdf.

⁴¹ History.com Editors. 2020. *Soviet Union invades Afghanistan*. Accessed June 18, 2021. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviet-tanks-roll-into-afghanistan>.

⁴² Mazhur, Mohammed Saleem, and Mussarat Jabeen. 2010. *US Afghan Relations: A Historical Perspective of Events of 9/11*. Accessed June 20, 2021. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338096779_US_Afghan_Relations_A_Historical_Perspective_of_Events_of_911.

⁴³ History.com Editors . 2020. *Soviet Union invades Afghanistan*. Accessed June 18, 2021. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviet-tanks-roll-into-afghanistan>.

allowed al-Qaida to spread extremism in the Middle-East by permitting them to recruit, train and deploy terrorists from Afghanistan.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most fundamental turning point in Middle-Eastern and Western relations, al-Qaida organised and carried out the 9/11 World Trade Centre attacks,⁴⁵ which can be attributed to the Taliban's emergence. Since their deposition in 2003, the Taliban has converted to guerrilla attacks against the current government, not dissimilar to other types of terrorist movements.⁴⁶ The significance of the rise of the Taliban is emphasised by al-Qaida's leaders being currently, in 2021, under the Taliban's protection.⁴⁷ The emergence of the Taliban from the Mujahedeen, their subsequent alliance with al-Qaida and the transformation of Afghanistan into a "breeding ground" for radicals can all be attributed to the Soviet-invasion in December 1979, fundamentally changing Middle-Eastern and Western relations.

However, existing political instability also substantially impacted relations with the West. Instability within the Middle-East throughout recent history has been detrimental to international affairs as countries avoid affiliating with regions that are politically volatile, unwilling to potentially spread or exacerbate tensions.⁴⁸ The creation of Israel vastly contributed to instability in the Middle-East. This was particularly influential regarding Eastern and Western affairs as Israel was immediately recognised by the US,⁴⁹ while the Arab nations that constitute majority of the Middle-East immediately condemned the action.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the decolonisation of the Middle-East in the decades following the conclusion of WW2 led to independence of many countries, such as Egypt, Sudan and Jordan.⁵¹ The process of decolonisation leads to political and social instability, as the administration and governance of entire swathes of the Middle-East went through a process of upheaval,⁵² but traces of imperialism were inevitable, resulting in resentment towards the West.⁵³ Economic underdevelopment caused by a lack of economic growth is a major contributing factor to unrest within the Middle-East, and could be due to the Islamic law of inheritance preventing capital accumulation,⁵⁴ or international influences attempting to control oil throughout this area.⁵⁵ Economic issues are inherently political, as seen by the effects of Islam on the nature of Middle-Eastern economies, and due to this close affiliation, if economic issues are present, political tensions ensue.⁵⁶ Therefore,

⁴⁴ National Counterterrorism Centre. n.d. *Afghan Taliban*. Accessed June 20, 2021.

https://www.dni.gov/nctc/groups/afghan_taliban.html.

⁴⁵ Al-Lima, Mina. 2020. *9/11 attacks: What's happened to al-Qaeda?* Accessed June 20, 2021.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-54102404>.

⁴⁶ National Counterterrorism Centre. n.d. *Afghan Taliban*. Accessed June 20, 2021.

https://www.dni.gov/nctc/groups/afghan_taliban.html

⁴⁷ De Luce, Dan, Ken Dilanian, and Mushtaq Yusufzai. 2021. *Taliban keep close ties with Al Qaeda despite promise to U.S.*

Accessed June 20, 2021. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/taliban-keep-close-ties-al-qaeda-despite-promise-u-s-n1258033>.

⁴⁸ Bremmer, Ian. 2005. *Managing Risk in an Unstable World*. Accessed June 20, 2021. <https://hbr.org/2005/06/managing-risk-in-an-unstable-world>.

⁴⁹ Anti-Defamation League. n.d. *Creation of the State of Israel*. Accessed June 22, 2021.

<https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/creation-of-the-state-of-israel>.

⁵⁰ History.com Editors. 2021. *State of Israel Proclaimed*. Accessed June 22, 2021. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/state-of-israel-proclaimed>.

⁵¹ Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450. n.d. *Independence And Decolonization, Middle East*. Accessed June 22, 2021.

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/independence-and-decolonization-middle-east>.

⁵² Mabro, Robert. n.d. *The Political Instability of the Middle East and its Impact on Oil Production and Trade*. Accessed June 22, 2021. <file:///C:/Users/Jacinta%20Saynor/Downloads/259-Article%20Text-737-2-10-20140820.pdf>.

⁵³ Encyclopedia.com. n.d. *Empire And Imperialism: Middle East*. Accessed August 15, 2021.

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/empire-and-imperialism-middle-east>

⁵⁴ Kuran, Timur. n.d. *Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation*.

Accessed June 20, 2021. <https://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/0895330042162421>.

⁵⁵ Hiro, Dilip. 2018. "Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi-Arabia, Iran and the struggle for Supremacy." In *Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi-Arabia, Iran and the struggle for Supremacy*, by Dilip Hiro. Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁵⁶ Pettinger, Tejvan. 2020. *The relationship between economics and politics*. Accessed June 22, 2021.

<https://www.economicshelp.org/blog/11298/concepts/the-relationship-between-economics-and-politics/>.

political tensions, caused by a range of factors excluding the incidents of 1979, also contributed detrimentally to affairs between the West and the Middle-East.

The events of 1979 highlighted the divides between religious, cultural and political aspects of the Middle-East and the West, and can be considered the beginning of the deterioration of relations between these parties. This year represented a shift from secular terrorism to religiously motivated extremism, making this turning point extremely significant due to long-term and international impacts. Other factors excluding the events of 1979, such as economic situations and instability caused by the creation of Israel, also contributed to the shift in affairs. However, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan directly led to the establishment of international terrorist groups who were armed by the intervention of the Occident, representing a substantial turning point in the relationship. The seizure of the Grand Mosque resulted in a withdrawal of Western influences from the Middle-Eastern region and also contributed to the rise of terrorism. The breakdown of Middle-Eastern and Western relations was initialised by the development of the Islamic Republic, which represented a shift in religious ideology from conservatism to extremism, with these ideals spreading throughout the Islamic world. Therefore, the events of 1979 momentarily altered the relations between the West and Middle-East, of which the influence is still seen in contemporary affairs.

Word Count: 1998

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As a primary source, this article was extremely useful to understand Western beliefs of the year 1979 and gave a deeper understanding of the international consequences of the Islamic Republic's establishment. Taubman is a reputable author, who has worked for the New York Times Newspaper for over 30 years and received an award for Foreign Affairs Reporting in 1983, adding reliability to this source.

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This book provided me with a broad understanding of the rivalries, political situation and general history of the Middle-East, in addition to detailed knowledge of the perspectives of Saudi-Arabia and Iran throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. Hiro also highlights the geopolitical conflicts with the Western world, the oil competitions throughout the Middle-East and the religious and social tension which plagued the world at this time.

Trofimov, Yaroslav. 2007. *The Siege of Mecca: The Forgotten Uprising in Islam's Holiest Shrine and The Birth of Al Qaeda*. Doubleday Books.

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Trofimov, Yaroslav, interview by Renee Montagne and Steve Inskeep. 2009. *1979: Remembering 'The Siege Of Mecca.'* Retrieved from: <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=112051155>

*This interview provided me with understanding of personal experiences, thoughts and feelings regarding the Grand Mosque Seizure. Though it was recorded in 2009 and is therefore a secondary source, Trofimov also wrote the book *The Siege of Mecca: The Forgotten Uprising in Islam's Holiest Shrine and The Birth of Al Qaeda*, an insightful and well-researched account of this event, which adds credibility and reliability to the content of the interview. This source also gave me a wider view on political instability and religious ideologies*

throughout the Islamic world, allowing me to make connections and recognise contrasts with Western opinions.

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