

## CZECHOSLOVAK-IRANIAN RELATIONS IN 1968 – 1978: COOPERATION ACROSS THE COLD WAR BARRIERS<sup>1</sup>

<https://doi.org/10.31577/aassav.2024.33.1.05>

CC – BY

Alexandra STRUHÁROVÁ

Faculty of Regional Development and International Studies, Mendel University  
in Brno, Zemědělská 1, Brno 613 00, Czech Republic  
[alex.struharova@gmail.com](mailto:alex.struharova@gmail.com)

Eva TATEROVÁ

Institute of Contemporary History of Czech Academy of Sciences  
Vlašská 9, Prague 110 00, Czech Republic  
ORCID: 0000-0001-9984-4841  
[evataterova@gmail.com](mailto:evataterova@gmail.com)

This article presents a comprehensive analysis of the diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Iran during the period of 1968 – 1978. Despite being aligned with opposing superpower alliances during the Cold War, the two countries established a pragmatic partnership in the 1960s that persisted even after the Prague Spring of 1968 had been terminated by the invasion by the Warsaw Pact armies. The subsequent political developments in Czechoslovakia, characterized by a process known as normalization, aimed to curtail reforms and reinforce the dominant role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. However, this ideological framework was not fully applied to the relations with Iran under the royal regime of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. On the contrary, Czechoslovakia and Iran experienced flourishing economic and cultural exchanges. In particular, important official visits took place, involving also the heads of state, to publicly demonstrate the strength of the mutual partnership. Nonetheless, this cooperation was ultimately disrupted by the fall of the Shah's regime in the wake of the Iranian Revolution in 1979. This research draws primarily on hitherto underexploited archival documents from the relevant Czech archives, offering a Czechoslovak perspective on the development of mutual relations between the two countries.

**Keywords:** Czechoslovakia, Iran, Cold War history, diplomacy, foreign policy, Middle East

---

<sup>1</sup> This publication was made possible thanks to the support for long-term conceptual development by the research organization The Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, RVO: 68378114.

## Introduction

Iran, a prominent great power in the Middle East, held a significant role in the regional and sometimes also global dynamics of the Cold War. The largest Shia state possessing substantial oil resources for global markets and located in a strategically vital geopolitical position along its potentially problematic border with the Soviet Union (USSR) Iran was already an important chessboard in the Second World War. In the postwar years, these circumstances were to further intensify in the atmosphere of the growing tension between the East and the West. As early as 1946, the Soviet Union made attempts to expand its sphere of influence into the northwestern provinces of Iran by establishing the puppet republics of Azerbaijan People's Government and the Republic of Mahabad. However, the United Nations intervened and insisted that the Soviet Union withdraw from Iranian territories. This resulted in a diplomatic failure for the Soviet leadership and subsequently led to a freezing of relations between Iran and the Eastern Bloc.

Based on this experience and the persistent perception of communism as an existential threat to Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's political regime, Iran's relations with Eastern Bloc nations remained rather cool and occasionally even hostile in the first years of the Cold War. Conversely, this period saw a deepening friendship between Iran and the United States of America (USA) due to the CIA orchestrated coup to support Shah's hegemony over the political situation in the country in 1953. However, the situation began to shift in the 1960s when Mohammed Reza Pahlavi recognized the need to expand economic cooperation with Eastern Bloc countries, in order to modernize a still socio-economically underdeveloped Iran. Recognizing this, the Shah prioritized a programme known as the White Revolution (1963), aimed at reducing poverty in the Iranian population through technological progress. This shift in perspective resulted in an unforeseen partnership between Iran and some Eastern Bloc countries, despite their alignment with different sides of the Cold War conflict.

This was in compliance with the structural changes in the foreign policy of the East declared by Nikita Khrushchev in his famous speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. According to Khrushchev, the competition between the East and the West in key regions of the world, which, given the threat of a devastating nuclear war, was expected to proceed by peaceful means. The countries of the so-called Third World were considered to be a crucial field for this competition. At the same time, the Soviet leadership emphasized in its official propaganda that the Eastern Bloc had never

participated in the process of colonization, unlike Western countries.<sup>2</sup> Czechoslovakia, from the outset, was one such country that closely followed the changes in Soviet foreign policy towards Iran and actively pursued a committed foreign policy in that country from the early 1960s.

This article aims to examine the diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Iran from 1968 to 1978. More specifically, it focuses on the period following the termination of the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia up until the onset of the Iranian Revolution. This span of ten years highlights an exceptional decade during which Czechoslovakia embarked on a domestic political agenda aimed at restoring the authentic principles of communism by means of a repressive political regime. However, on the international stage, as exemplified by their friendly approach to Iran, a member of the opposing bloc in the Cold War, pragmatic economic considerations continued to take precedence over ideology. Despite pre-revolutionary Iran being widely recognized as a staunchly pro-American regime in the Middle East, the level of cooperation between Iran and Czechoslovakia remained consistent and, in certain years, even witnessed growth.

Consequently, this study sheds light on Czechoslovakia's position as a satellite state of the Soviet Union that nonetheless retained some degree of autonomy in its relations with Third World countries. In this context, the case of Iran assumes significant importance, as Czechoslovakia emerged as one of the most actively involved Eastern Bloc countries in the region. Czechoslovak-Iranian relations in 1968 – 1978 serve as a compelling example of global relationships that transcended prevailing Cold War rivalries to a certain extent, forming part of the broader North-South global dynamics. Firstly this article will present an overview of the current state of research in the field. It will then proceed to offer vital insights into the context of Czechoslovak Middle Eastern policy during the first two decades of the Cold War, with particular attention given to Czechoslovak-Iranian relations. Lastly, it will delve into the diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Iran from 1968 to 1978 with a special focus on the important state visits made by the top leaders of both countries.

In recent years, there has been an increase in academic and public interest in the history of the Cold War from the perspectives of the actors involved rather than solely focusing on the superpowers. Traditionally, the role of the Soviet satellites in the political interactions between the Eastern Bloc and Iran has been understated in the existing literature. However, a shift has begun to take place with the emergence of a new historiographic approach known as *New Cold War*

---

<sup>2</sup> WILSON CENTER. Khrushchev's Secret Speech, 'On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences'. Delivered at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1956 [online] [cit. 30 July 2022]. Available from <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/115995.pdf?v=3c22b71b65bcbbe9fdfadead9419c995>.

*History*.<sup>3</sup> This approach highlights the significance of non-superpower states, non-state actors, and intelligence service activities in shaping the dynamics of the Cold War.<sup>4</sup> One contributing factor to this increased academic interest is the recent opening up of archives in some countries of the former Eastern Bloc. While researchers have had access to Western archives for decades, the newly opened collections in former Eastern European countries have not been extensively examined thus far. Hence, these archives hold immense potential for providing new insights and illuminating the Cold War history from the perspective of the Soviet satellites.

Due to the limited availability of Iranian<sup>5</sup> and Russian<sup>6</sup> archival sources, this research provides a purely Czechoslovak perspective on the events examined. The research is based primarily on the Czech archival sources, particularly those housed in the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic (AMZV), the National Archives of the Czech Republic (NACR), and The Archives of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic (KPR). These sources have thus far remained little exploited, making it one of the main aims of this research to provide new insights and verify existing assumptions regarding Czechoslovak-Iranian diplomatic relations in 1968 – 1978. The aforementioned archival collections encompass a vast amount of mostly unpublished documents, including reports from the Czechoslovak embassy in Tehran, records of diplomatic meetings, diplomatic correspondence, minutes of meetings at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, as well as records of Politburo meetings, and much more. Considering the circumstances, this study represents a significant contribution to enhancing our understanding of the dynamics of the ongoing Cold War, particularly with regard to political interaction between the East and the West, from the perspective of internal Czechoslovak documents as a Soviet satellite.

---

<sup>3</sup> WESTAD, O. A. *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory*, pp. 5–6; HOPKINS, M. F. Continuing Debate and New Approaches in Cold War History. In *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 913–914.

<sup>4</sup> KAŇÁK, P., KOURA, J. In the Shadow of the KGB: Legacy of Czechoslovak Intelligence (1948 – 1989). In *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 2023, pp. 1–32.

<sup>5</sup> BYRNE, K. *A Survey of Middle East Archives: Iran. Sources and methods* [online] [cit. 20 June 2023]. Available from <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/survey-middle-east-archives-iran>.

<sup>6</sup> Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů [Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes] [*Chceme zpřístupnit ruské archivy, ne legitimizovat ruskou politiku*] [We Want to Make Russian Archives Accessible, not to Legitimize Russian Politics] [online] [cit. 20 June 2023]. Available from <https://www.ustrcr.cz/chceme-zpristupnit-ruske-archivy-ne-legitimizovat-ruskou-politiku/>.

## **Czechoslovak Middle Eastern Policy in the Cold War and the Position of Iran**

Given the fact that the Middle East served as a significant battlefield for Cold War rivalries, Czechoslovakia considered its Middle Eastern policy a key priority in terms of its political attitude towards the recently decolonized countries of the so-called Third World. This stance was in compliance with the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union, which sought to broaden its network of allies in the Third World and potentially to export socialism to local nations.<sup>7</sup> In the context of the Middle East, Czechoslovakia, drawing upon its prior experience and established contacts from the interwar period, swiftly emerged as one of the most proactive among the Soviet satellites operating in the region.<sup>8</sup>

As Czechoslovakia gradually integrated further into the Eastern Bloc, its foreign policy became somewhat overshadowed by the influence of the Soviet Union.<sup>9</sup> This was particularly significant in the political relationship with Iran, as the unsuccessful Soviet attempt to annex the northwestern provinces of the country in 1946 by creating two puppet republics had heightened the concerns of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran, regarding the potential threat of communism to his regime.<sup>10</sup> Czechoslovakia dispatched Richard Slánský, the brother of Rudolf Slánský, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and one of the most powerful postwar politicians, to Tehran in the capacity of chargé d'affaires in 1948. However, after only a few months in Iran, Slánský was declared a *persona non grata* and expelled from the country.<sup>11</sup>

The atmosphere of distrust and occasional hostility prevailed throughout much of the 1950s, as both countries overtly aligned themselves with opposing sides of the Cold War conflict. This tension periodically intensified, particularly when Czechoslovakia granted political asylum and other types of aid to Iranian communists especially from the Tudeh Party of Iran who faced the threat of

---

<sup>7</sup> BLAKE, K. *The U.S.-Soviet Confrontation in Iran, 1945 – 1962. A Case in the Annals of the Cold War*, pp. 46–48.

<sup>8</sup> See JŮNOVÁ MACKOVÁ, A. *Nerovné partnerství: Československo-iránské vztahy 1918 – 1938* [Unequal Partnership: Czechoslovak-Iranian Relations in 1918 – 1938]; TATEROVÁ, E. Czechoslovak-Egyptian Relations at the Onset of the Cold War. The Way to a Pragmatic Partnership. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2022, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 318–339.

<sup>9</sup> SMETANA, V. Czechoslovakia and Spheres of Influence towards the End of the Second World War. In *Central Europe*, 2007, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 125–134.

<sup>10</sup> FAWCETT, L. Revisiting the Iranian Crisis of 1946: How Much More Do We Know? In *Iranian Studies*, 2014, Vol. 47, No. 3, pp. 379–439.

<sup>11</sup> ZÍDEK, P., SIEBER, K. *Československo a Blízký východ v letech 1948 – 1989* [Czechoslovakia and the Middle East in 1948 – 1989], pp. 112–113.

repression and imprisonment in their home country, including Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, the leading Iranian Kurdish nationalist.<sup>12</sup> Conversely, the Czechoslovak diplomatic corps exhibited a sense of paranoia during this period, fearing the potential recruitment of embassy members in Tehran by Western intelligence services or the use of other espionage methods to acquire sensitive internal information.<sup>13</sup>

This tense situation began to change in the early 1960s. While Czechoslovakia experienced a period of partial political relaxation, culminating in the Prague Spring (1968), Iran also underwent a process of reform, albeit primarily focused on economic and cultural transformations known as the White Revolution.<sup>14</sup> In the early 1960s, the Shah's vision was to invite countries from the Eastern Bloc to participate in planned economic development through various projects. First and foremost, it became essential to improve the relationship between Iran and the Soviet Union. This goal was eventually achieved in September 1962, when the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made the decision to cease negative propaganda in the Soviet media directed against Iran. In return, the Shah of Iran made a commitment to prevent the establishment of missile bases by foreign countries on Iranian territory.<sup>15</sup>

Czechoslovak diplomacy followed the trends set by the Soviet Union, leading to the rapid rapprochement of the mutual relations with Iran. As early as August 1962, the diplomatic status of the Czechoslovak diplomatic mission in Tehran was elevated to that of an embassy.<sup>16</sup> The more friendly attitude of Czechoslovak diplomacy towards Iran was confirmed by the foreign policy concept of 1966 in which the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs defined the official position of Czechoslovakia towards Iran, which was regarded as a country striving for a more independent policy from the United States of America. It was also anticipated that, given Iran's mineral wealth (especially oil and natural gas), significant opportunities existed for future economic development and potentially economic and political relations with

---

<sup>12</sup> See PRUNHUBER, C. *The Passion and Death of Rahman the Kurd: Dreaming Kurdistan*.

<sup>13</sup> ZÍDEK, P., SIEBER, K. *Československo a Blízký východ v letech 1948–1989* [Czechoslovakia and the Middle East in 1948 – 1989], p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> AXWORTHY, M. *Dějiny Íránu: Říše ducha – od Zarathuštry po současnost* [Iran: Empire of the Mind: A History from Zoroaster to the Present Day], pp. 178–181.

<sup>15</sup> MEHRUNNISA, A. Iran's Relations with the US and USSR. In *Pakistan Horizon*, 1973, Vol. 26, No. 3, p. 50.

<sup>16</sup> AMZV, TO-O, Iran 1960 – 19654. *Povýšení diplomatického zastoupení s Íránem na úroveň velvyslanectví – návrh čs. noty a společného komuniké* [Elevation of Diplomatic Representation with Iran to the Level of an Embassy – Proposal of a Czechoslovak Diplomatic Note and Joint Communiqué], Call No. 119.432, 4 August 1962.

Czechoslovakia.<sup>17</sup> Alongside the new projects of cooperation in the economy (especially in agriculture due to the activities of the Czechoslovak companies such as ZKL Líšeň, Agrostroj Roudnice, and Zetor) and culture (exhibitions, film screenings, mobility of students and academics between the Charles University and the University of Tehran, etc.), there was also an increasing number of mutual official visits including parliamentary delegations, ministers, and the other top political representatives, and last but not least state visits by the heads of both countries.<sup>18</sup>

The first such visit occurred in September 1963 when Alinaghi Alikhani, the Iranian Minister of the Economy, travelled to Czechoslovakia.<sup>19</sup> This visit was followed by many others, including one by František Hamouz leading the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade delegation to Iran in 1966, which was the first official delegation from Czechoslovakia to Iran since the Second World War.<sup>20</sup> Another significant visit was made by Iranian Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, the twin sister of the Shah, accompanied by her husband Mehdi Bushehri, in August 1966.<sup>21</sup> The pinnacle of these interactions was the first state visit by Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and his wife Farah to Czechoslovakia in May 1967.<sup>22</sup> The Shah and President Antonín Novotný engaged in discussions regarding the current state of the Iranian economy and possibilities for mutual scientific and technological cooperation. In terms of economic matters, a significant part of the conversation revolved around the potential purchase of Iranian oil. President Novotný responded positively to this possibility. However, despite the support of

---

<sup>17</sup> See STRUHÁROVÁ, A., TATEROVÁ, E. Československo a Írán v 60. letech 20. století: překvapivé partnerství [Czechoslovakia and Iran in the 1960s: An Unlikely Partnership]. In *Historický časopis*, 2024, Vol. 72, No. 1, pp. 129–149.

<sup>18</sup> AMZV, Porady kolegia [Collegium Meetings], 1953 – 1989. *Porada kolegia ze dne 17. července 1966* [Meeting of the Collegium on July 17, 1966], Call No. 025.687/66–9, 17 July 1966.

<sup>19</sup> NA A ÚV KSČ 1945 – 1989, KTAN-II, Iran, Box. 3. *Vztahy ČSSR-Írán* [Relations Czechoslovakia-Iran], Call No. 3/10, undated, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran 1965 – 1969. *ZÚ Teherán – hodnocení činnosti za I. pololetí 1966* [Evaluation of the Activities of the Embassy in Tehran for the First Half of 1966], Call No. 0121/66, 24 August 1966.

<sup>21</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Návštěva iránské princezny Ašraf v ČSSR – zaslání materiálů* [Visit of Iranian Princess Ashraf to Czechoslovakia – Sending of Materials], Call No. 026.250/66–9, undated.

<sup>22</sup> MZV. *Dokumenty k československé zahraniční politice* [Documents on Czechoslovak Foreign Policy], 1967, Vol. XIV pp. 116–117.

both statesmen for this proposal, deliveries of oil from Iran to Czechoslovakia did not take place in the following years.<sup>23</sup>

### **The Peak of Czechoslovak-Iranian Relations in 1968 – 1978**

The abrupt termination of the Prague Spring through the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact forces in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 drew significant attention worldwide. These events resonated not only in international politics but also sparked a wave of solidarity among the public, including some countries in the Middle East. While the topic attracted considerable attention in local media and politics for instance in Israel, it did not receive the same level of coverage in Iran. In fact, the termination of the Prague Spring had only a limited impact on Czechoslovak-Iranian relations of the time. The Middle East Department of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs even reported in one of the internal regular reports that relations of the two countries remained at the same level in 1968 as in the previous year.<sup>24</sup>

However, as the mutual relations faced challenges in later years, from time to time critical assessments of the termination of the Prague Spring reforms and particularly the military intervention by the Warsaw Pact armies were disseminated in the Iranian state media. In 1970, for example, in response to Czechoslovakia's public support for the illegal Iranian communist party Tudeh, the Iranian television aired a film highlighting the negative aspects of domestic politics in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and afterwards. The film screening was accompanied by several newspaper articles focusing on a similar theme and offering negative interpretations of Czechoslovak normalization, perceived as a political regime of repression, lack of democracy, and frequent violations of human rights.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Informace o návštěvě iránského šáha v ČSSR, Příloha (Záznam o jednání presidenta ČSSR s. A. Novotného s iránským šáhem dne 23. května 1967)* [Information about the Visit of the Iranian Shah to Czechoslovakia, Attachment (Record of the Meeting between the President of Czechoslovakia, A. Novotný and the Iranian Shah on May 23, 1967)], Call No. 023.041/67–9, 8 November 1968.

<sup>24</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Informace o plnění plánu práce ZÚ ve 2. pololetí 1968* [Report on the Implementation of the Work Plan of the Embassy for the 2nd Semester of 1968], Call No. 020/69, 18 March 1969.

<sup>25</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Záznam o návštěvě iránského velvyslance H. Safinii u vedoucího 7.t.o. MZV* [Record of the Visit of Iranian Ambassador H. Safinii at the Head of the 7th Territorial Department of Ministry of Foreign], Call No. 026.429/70–11, 28 November 1970.



In November 1969, however, both Czechoslovak and Iranian media publicly celebrated the mutual friendship between the two countries.<sup>26</sup> Czechoslovak President Ludvík Svoboda, accompanied by a delegation, carried out the previously promised reciprocal presidential state visit to Iran. During the five-day stay, the presidential delegation not only visited Tehran but also other significant Iranian cities such as Shiraz and Isfahan.<sup>27</sup> President Svoboda held discussions with several prominent government officials, including Prime Minister Amir-Abbas Hoveyda and Foreign Minister Ardeshir Zahedi.<sup>28</sup> During the president's meeting with the Shah, the discussions primarily focused on the future prospects for Czechoslovak-Iranian relations. Both leaders perceived the annually increasing trade exchange as highly beneficial. The Shah expressed his interest in expanding the supply of machinery and increasing the number of Czechoslovak experts sent to Iran to assist in the country's industrialization, which was a long-term priority of his regime.<sup>29</sup>

It was also during this visit that the first offer for the export of Iranian natural gas to Czechoslovakia was made.<sup>30</sup> During their visit to Iran, President Svoboda and his wife Irena Svobodová were awarded the Order of Pahlavi, while in return, Shah's wife Farah received the Order of the White Lion, First Class, with collar. This visit received significant publicity not only in the Iranian media but also in several Middle Eastern countries.<sup>31</sup> A direct consequence of the visit was the

---

<sup>26</sup> KPR III. *Spisový záznam o poradě, konané dne 20. 11. 1969 u prezidenta republiky a přípravě jeho jednání v Íránu* [Official Record of the Meeting Held on November 20, 1969, with the President of the Republic and the Preparation of his Negotiations in Iran.], Call No. AI/f-216/69, 20 November 1969.

<sup>27</sup> MZV. *Dokumenty k československé zahraniční politice* [Documents on Czechoslovak Foreign Policy], 1969, Vol. XVI, p. 383.

<sup>28</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran 1970 – 1974. *Politická zpráva č. 19/71 – Nová vláda ministerského předsedy Hovejdy* [Political Report No. 19/71 – New Government of Prime Minister Hoveyda], Call No. 0150/71, 29 September 1971.

<sup>29</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Zpráva o průběhu a výsledcích oficiální návštěvy prezidenta ČSSR s. Ludvíka Svobody v Íránu ve dnech 24. – 29. listopadu 1969* [Report on the Official Visit of President Ludvík Svoboda of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Iran from November 24 to November 29, 1969, and its Outcomes], Call No. 020.003/70–7, January 1970.

<sup>30</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Státní návštěva prezidenta ČSSR v Íránu – poskytnutí informací* [State Visit of the President of Czechoslovakia in Iran – Providing Information], Call No. 020.018/70–7, 10 February 1970.

<sup>31</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Zpráva o průběhu a výsledcích oficiální návštěvy prezidenta ČSSR s. Ludvíka Svobody v Íránu ve dnech 24. – 29. listopadu 1969* [Report on the Official Visit of President Ludvík Svoboda of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

establishment of the Czechoslovak Art Centrum in Iran, which eventually achieved considerable recognition and popularity thanks to various art projects.<sup>32</sup> Overall, Svoboda's trip to Iran was perceived as highly successful and confirmed the exceptional level of contemporary Czechoslovak-Iranian relations.

During the early 1970s, Czechoslovakia pursued a foreign policy strategy focused on maintaining and deepening its bilateral relations with Iran. In January 1970, Vice-Prime Minister František Hamouz extended an official invitation to the newly appointed Minister of Economy of Iran, Hushang Ansary, for a visit to Czechoslovakia. Minister Ansary accepted the invitation and arrived in Czechoslovakia in June to discuss future cooperation in industry and technology.<sup>33</sup> The revenues from Iranian oil were not only used by the Shah to finance and modernize the military, but they also contributed to the industrialization process.<sup>34</sup> This led to agreements on future contracts for the supply of investment complexes and machinery by Czechoslovakia in the first half of the 1970s. Some of these contracts included the engineering and metallurgical complex in Tabriz by OZO Ferromet, the Mashhad thermal power plant (2x60 MW) by PZO Konstruktiva, diesel generators for the Ministry of Construction and Development, equipment for the Haft Tappeh sugar factory, diesel generators for the Ministry of Water Resources and Energy, machine components for SMK Tabriz, the reconstruction and modernization of the rolling mill for the Ministry of Defence, and a porcelain plant in Kazvin.<sup>35</sup> In return, Iran was able to export to Czechoslovakia mostly subtropical fruits, cotton, and some local leather products.<sup>36</sup>

---

Iran from November 24 to November 29, 1969, and its Outcomes], Call No. 020.003/70–7, January 1970.

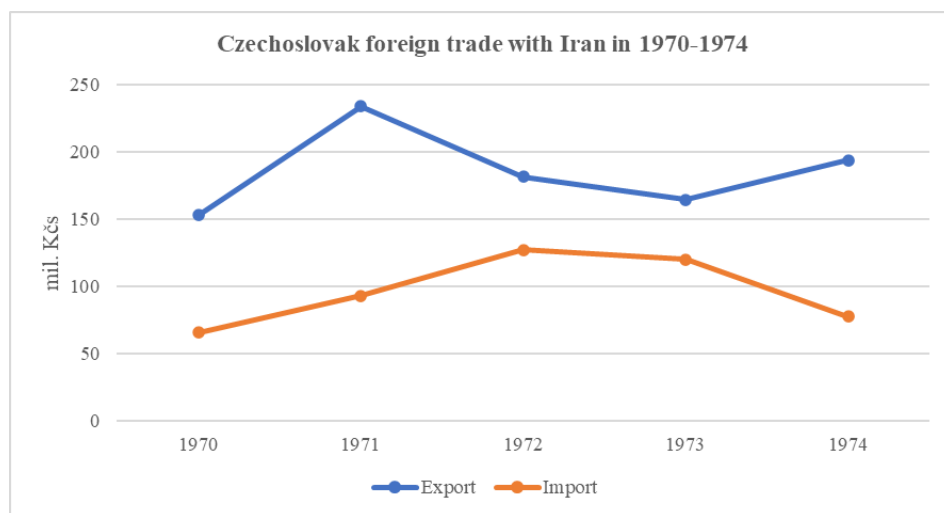
<sup>32</sup> KRAMEROVÁ, D. 'We sell dreams'. Work Commissioned by the Shah of Iran from Czech Artists in the 1970s. In *Umění-Art*, 2013, Vol. 61, No. 4, pp. 341–355.

<sup>33</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Pozvání iránského ministra ekonomie k návštěvě Československa* [Invitation to the Iranian Minister of Economy to Visit Czechoslovakia], Call No. 6358/70, January 1970.

<sup>34</sup> HASSANI, M. Performance of Iran's Oil Sector: Oil Revenues and Developmental Challenges, 1970 – 2003. In *India Quarterly*, 2006, Vol. 62, No. 1, pp. 146–147.

<sup>35</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Politická zpráva č. 23 – Informace o stavu plnění smluvně dohodnutých investičních celků v Íránu a perspektiva* [Political Report no. 23 – Information on the Status of the Implementation of Contractually Agreed Investment Projects in Iran and the Outlook], Call No. 0190/71, 30 December 1971.

<sup>36</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Souhrnná zpráva o Íránu (podklady pro návštěvu iránského premiéra v ČSSR)* [Summary Report on Iran (Materials for the Visit of the Iranian Prime Minister to Czechoslovakia)], Call No. 01048/74, 25 March 1974.



Source: Based on data by AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Souhrnná zpráva o Íránu (podklady pro návštěvu íránského premiéra v ČSSR)* [Summary Report on Iran (Materials for the Visit of the Iranian Prime Minister to Czechoslovakia), Call No. 01048/74, 25 March 1974.

While the official visits and economic cooperation were generally deemed successful,<sup>37</sup> there were moments of tension in the bilateral relations during the early 1970s, primarily stemming from the differing ideologies of the two regimes. These differences occasionally resulted in open criticism from both sides. One of the most contentious issues was Czechoslovakia's ongoing support for the Iranian Communist Party, Tudeh, which was considered illegal by the Shah's regime. In June 1970, *Rudé právo*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, published two articles expressing support for the Iranian communist party, Tudeh.<sup>38</sup> The first article consisted of a copy of a congratulatory telegram from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the leadership of Tudeh on the occasion of the party's 50th anniversary. The second article, titled *Half a Century of Difficult Struggles*, provided an overview of the milestones in the activities of the Iranian Communist Party. These articles

<sup>37</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – vyhodnocení výsledků státní návštěvy v r. 1969 podle stavu k 31. 10. 1970* [Iran – Evaluation of the Results of the State Visit in 1969 as of October 31, 1970], Call No. 0105/70, 11 March 1971.

<sup>38</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – protest íránského ZÚ – publicita v čs. tisku* [Iran – Protest from Iranian Embassy – Publicity in Czechoslovak Press], Call No. 023.753/70–7, 18 November 1970.

immediately drew condemnation from the Iranian embassy in Prague, leading to a protest note being sent to the Czech diplomatic authorities.<sup>39</sup>

During his visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Iranian Ambassador Safini personally expressed his protest regarding the publication of the two articles:<sup>40</sup> “This means that the governing party of Czechoslovakia openly supports illegal activities in a country that is a friend of Czechoslovakia. The embassy can only express its deepest regret over the publication of articles that tarnish the very favourable atmosphere in which relations between the two countries are developing.”<sup>41</sup> The representatives of Czechoslovak diplomacy, however, responded with a customary alibi argument by highlighting the supposed freedom of media in Czechoslovakia, implying that the state authorities had no control over the published articles and their narrative.<sup>42</sup> This claim was evidently false, as there was censorship in the Communist media, particularly during the period of normalization in 1970s, when it was more stringent than ever.

However, it was in the year 1971 when the mutual friendship between the two countries was publicly reaffirmed, as Czechoslovak President Svoboda embarked on his second state visit to Iran. The purpose of this visit was to participate in the celebration of the 2,500 years of the Persian Empire, which took place in the historic city of Persepolis near Shiraz from October 14th to 17th 1971.<sup>43</sup> The extravagant festival not only commemorated the long and illustrious history of the

---

<sup>39</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – protest íránského ZÚ – publicita v čs. tisku* [Iran – Protest from Iranian Embassy – Publicity in Czechoslovak Press], Call No. 023.753/70–7, 18 November 1970.

<sup>40</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran 1970 – 1974. *Záznam z návštěvy velvyslance Íránu v ČSSR v 7. terit. o. MZV* [Record of the Visit of the Iranian Ambassador in Czechoslovakia to the 7th Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Call No. 023.633/70–7, 25 June 1970.

<sup>41</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – protest íránského ZÚ – publicita v čs. tisku; příloha – protestní nota*. [Iran – Protest from Iranian Embassy – Publicity in Czechoslovak Press, Attachment – A Note of Protest], Call No. 023.753/70–7, 18 November 1970.

<sup>42</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Záznam z návštěvy velvyslance Íránu v ČSSR v 7. terit. odboru MZV* [Record of the Visit of the Iranian Ambassador in Czechoslovakia to the 7th Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Call No. 023.633/70–7, 25 June 1970.

<sup>43</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Pro schůzi předsednictva ÚV KSČ – Účast presidenta ČSSR s. L. Svobody na oslavách 2500 výročí založení íránského státu* [Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – Participation of the President of Czechoslovakia, Comrade L. Svoboda, in the Celebrations of the 2500th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Iranian State], Call No. 025.168/71–7, October 1971.

Persian nation, but also emphasized the status of Iran as a Great Civilization, comparable in terms of civilizational standards and legacy to contemporary superpowers such as the USA and USSR.<sup>44</sup> President Svoboda's delegation participated in the official celebration, which was attended by 60 countries, including the USSR and the majority of Eastern Bloc countries, placing Iran in the global spotlight. During his visit, the President toured the ancient city of Persepolis, where various commemorative events recalling the legacy of Cyrus the Great took place, including a military parade. He also attended a grand gala dinner with over 600 other guests and had the opportunity to watch a *son et lumière* show called the *Polytope of Persepolis*. Additionally, Svoboda had a personal meeting with the Shah, during which they discussed the ongoing modernization of Iranian industry and the potential for expanded cooperation with Czechoslovak companies such as Ligna (wood), Chemapol (chemicals), Motokov (motorcycles, bicycles), Strojimport (machine tools) and Bohemian glass (Skloexport, Jablonex). As on Svoboda's previous visit to Iran, the two heads of states also explored the possibility of Iranian gas supplies to Czechoslovakia, which seemed to be a more and more urgent need for both countries.<sup>45</sup>

Remarkably, Czechoslovakia's presence at the celebration went beyond the official presidential delegation and extended into the realm of art. Following the Shah's visit to Czechoslovakia in 1967, the activities of the Art Centrum, a Czechoslovak organization focused on fine arts operating on a commercial basis and exporting the works of Czechoslovak artists abroad, steadily increased each year.<sup>46</sup> Eventually, the revenues generated by the Art Centrum became a significant component of Czechoslovak foreign trade in Iran. During his visit to Czechoslovakia, the Shah developed an interest in the Czechoslovak art scene and commissioned several artifacts for the commemoration of the 2,500th anniversary of Persepolis.<sup>47</sup> The work entitled *Heritage of the Ages* based on Jaroslav Frič's

---

<sup>44</sup> AXWORTHY, M. *Dějiny Íránu: Říše ducha – od Zarathuštry po současnost* [Iran: Empire of the Mind: A History from Zoroaster to the Present Day], p. 186.

<sup>45</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Pro schůzi předsednictva ÚV KSČ – Účast presidenta ČSSR s. L. Svobody na oslavách 2500 výročí založení íránského státu* [Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – Participation of the President of Czechoslovakia, Comrade L. Svoboda, in the Celebrations of the 2500th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Iranian State], Call No. 025.168/71–7, October 1971.

<sup>46</sup> KRAMEROVÁ, D. 'We Sell Dreams'. Work Commissioned by the Shah of Iran from Czech Artists in the 1970s. In *Umění-Art*, 2013, Vol. 61, No. 4, pp. 341–355.

<sup>47</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Politická zpráva ZÚ Teherán č. 20 – Informace o oslavách 2500 let od založení Perské říše* [Political Report Embassy Tehran No. 20 – Information about the Celebrations of 2,500 Years since the Establishment of the Persian Empire], Call No. 025.801/71–7, 10 December 1971.

concept, achieved unprecedented success during its presentation at Shahyad Square in Tehran,<sup>48</sup> subsequently leading to the signing of a series of lucrative contracts. Both Hubert Matějček, later the director of the Art Centrum, and Jaroslav Frič received numerous highest honours bestowed by the royal family for their activities and contributions to the development of contemporary Iranian culture.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the public proclamations of friendship and plans for future cooperation between the two countries, the reality of their mutual relations in the following years was marked by stagnation. The activities of the Czechoslovak embassy and its citizens in Iran were closely monitored by SAVAK, the Iranian secret intelligence service.<sup>50</sup> One significant deterioration in the mutual relations occurred in 1972 when two Czechoslovak experts, Lang and Pavlonka, were arrested by Iranian police at Tehran airport on June 5, 1972. The reason for their pre-trial detention was the discovery of two undeclared pistols in Pavlonka's hand baggage. Following this incident, the Iranian daily newspaper *Kaihan* published an article accusing Lang and Pavlonka of intending to hijack an Iran Air plane. Ambassador Straka promptly lodged a formal protest with Mirfedereski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran, expressing strong objections to the speculative newspaper article.<sup>51</sup> Although a civil court ruled in favour of Lang's release; Pavlonka's case was considered more serious and was referred to the Iranian military court. Under Iranian law of the time, unauthorized possession of a weapon carried a minimum sentence of 3 years. Nevertheless, the Shah intervened, arguing that politicizing the case was not in the best interest of either Iran or Czechoslovakia. Consequently, on July 6, Pavlonka was released and returned to Prague.<sup>52</sup>

In the autumn of 1975, a high-profile official visit to Czechoslovakia took place, with Iranian Prime Minister Amir A. Hoveyda being invited to the country by Lubomír Štrougal, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia.<sup>53</sup> Hoveyda held meetings with top Czechoslovak leaders, including President Gustáv Husák, who

---

<sup>48</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Audio-vizuální projekt „Dědictví věků“ – hodnocení* [Audio-Visual Project “Heritage of the Ages“ – Evaluation], Call No. 0177/71, 15 November 1971.

<sup>49</sup> ZÍDEK, P., SIEBER, K. *Československo a Blízký východ v letech 1948 – 1989*, pp. 122–123.

<sup>50</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *ZÚ Teherán – zpráva o činnosti ZÚ a plnění plánu práce za II. pololetí 1972* [Embassy in Tehran – Report on the Activities of the Embassy and the Implementation of the Work Plan for the Second Half of 1972], Call No. 0131/72, 22 January 1973.

<sup>51</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – zajištění čs. státních příslušníků* [Iran – Detention of Czechoslovak Citizens], Call No. 091/72, 24 July 1972.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> MZV. *Dokumenty k československé zahraniční politice* [Documents on Czechoslovak Foreign Policy], 1975, Vol. XXIII, pp. 454–455.

honoured him with the Order of the White Lion, First Class. The discussions focused on exploring avenues for future cooperation between the two countries, with particular emphasis on revitalizing economic collaboration, which had experienced a period of stagnation in 1973 – 1974. Additionally, the possibility of gas supplies from Iran to Czechoslovakia was revisited during these discussions. President Husák also entrusted Hoveyda with the official invitation for the Shah and his wife to visit Czechoslovakia.<sup>54</sup> In the late autumn of 1976, an official three-day reciprocal visit of the Czechoslovak Prime Minister Lubomír Štrougal in Iran took place. On behalf of the Shah, Štrougal was awarded the Order of the Crown (Taj I). The specific outcome of the visit was the signing of the *Agreement on International Road Transport*, which came into effect on March 6, 1979, the *Agreement on Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation*, the *Protocol of the 3rd Session of the Czechoslovak-Iranian Joint Commission*, and a joint communiqué.<sup>55</sup>

The visit of Štrougal in October 1976 was preceded by the visit of Minister of Foreign Trade Andrej Barčák. The primary purpose of the visit was to resolve the issue of prices for Iranian natural gas deliveries, including the quantity supplied (3.6 billion cubic metres).<sup>56</sup> The direct outcome of the visit was the signing of a gas supply agreement on November 12th, 1976. As a result, a contract was concluded for the construction of the IGAT-2 gas pipeline to transport natural gas from the USSR to Western Europe, with a total value of 2.5 billion USD. According to the contract, the delivery of 77 billion cubic metres of natural gas to Czechoslovakia was to be ensured in the period from 1981 to 2003. Czechoslovakia welcomed this development as it would cover over 30 % of its natural gas import needs.<sup>57</sup> In the event, the deal was never implemented owing to the change of political regime in Iran. However, some imports of Iranian crude oil to Czechoslovakia did take place, starting in 1975.

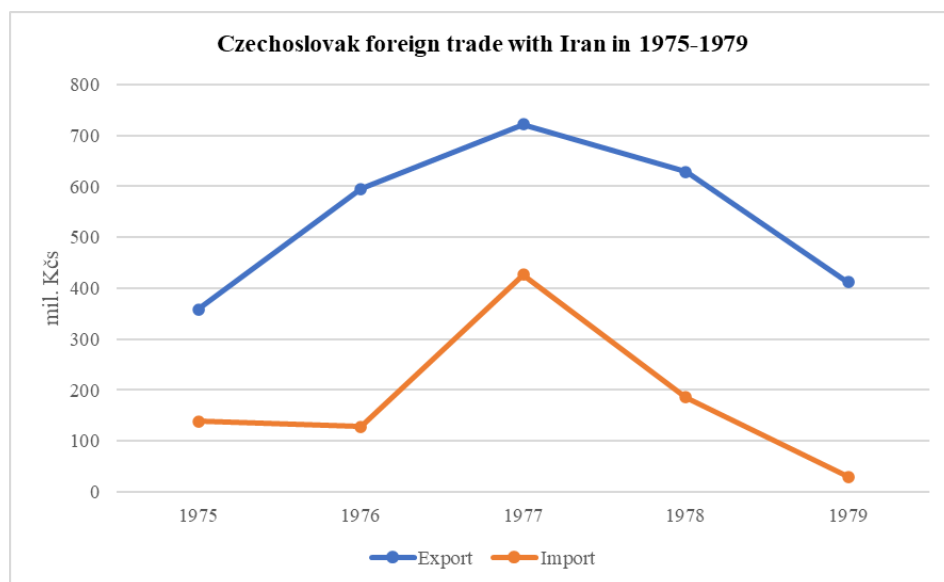
---

<sup>54</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Zpráva o oficiální návštěvě předsedy vlády Íránu Amira Abbáse Hoveydy v ČSSR* [Report on the Official Visit of Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda in Czechoslovakia], Call No. 017.159/75–7, 19 October 1975.

<sup>55</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Informace o průběhu a výsledku návštěvy předsedy vlády ČSSR s. Dr. L. Štrougala v Íránu – zpráva pro UV KSČ* [Information on the Visit by the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. L. Štrougal, to Iran, and its Outcomes – Report for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Call No. 018.594/76–7, 17 January 1977.

<sup>56</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Hodnocení činnosti ZÚ Teherán a vztahů mezi ČSSR a Íránem v roce 1976* [Evaluation of the Activities of the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Tehran and the Relations between Czechoslovakia and Iran in the Year 1976], Call No. 01010/77, 11 January 1977.

<sup>57</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Zpráva za II. pololetí 1977* [Report for the Second Half of 1977], Call No. 013.631/78, 30 March 1978.



Source: Based on data by AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Dosavadní vývoj československo-iránských ekonomických vztahů* [Current Development of Czechoslovak-Iranian Economic Relations], Call No. 013.636/78, 1978.

The peak of the bilateral relations in late 1970s came when Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and his wife Farah visited Czechoslovakia for their second time, in August 1977. The Czechoslovak diplomacy perceived the visit within the framework of their foreign policy concept towards Iran as a means to achieve their goals in the development of the Czechoslovak economy, utilizing Iran's resource base and the resulting profits. It can be inferred that the interest in mineral wealth, particularly the supply of Iranian oil and natural gas, represented one of the priorities in the country's commercial and political strategy.<sup>58</sup> During the visit, the Shah was awarded an honorary doctorate in law, and his wife was awarded an honorary doctorate in philosophy. Additionally, the Order of the White Lion, First Class, was bestowed upon them.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Návštěva iránského šáha M. R. Pahlavi v ČSSR – návrh podání do P ÚV KSČ* [Visit of Iranian Shah M. R. Pahlavi to Czechoslovakia – Proposal for Submission to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Call No. 015.401/77-7, 12 August 1977.

<sup>59</sup> NA A ÚV KSČ 1945 – 1989, KTAN-II, Iran. *Schůze P ÚV KSČ* [Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Call No. 52/16, 2 September 1977.



At the meeting between the Shah and President Gustáv Husák, it was agreed that regular meetings between the two countries at the level of their foreign ministers would serve as a means of developing mutual relations.<sup>60</sup> Despite the ongoing domestic political problems in Iran, the first such meeting took place in June 1978, when Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chňoupek visited Iran. The Iranian side expressed interest in deepening economic cooperation, particularly in the construction of nuclear and thermal power plants. Both Iran and Czechoslovakia agreed on the importance of disarmament and the support of SALT II.<sup>61</sup> However, this meeting marked one of the last significant diplomatic interactions before the fall of the monarchy in Iran in 1979 due to the revolutionary events and the subsequent establishment of the Iranian Islamic Republic.

## Conclusion

The period of 1968 – 1978 was the most important decade in the relationship between Czechoslovakia and Iran in the period of the Cold War in terms of the diplomatic, economic, and cultural interactions. Despite Iran's unequivocal position as a Western ally, Czechoslovakia initiated a rather extensive collaboration with Iran in the 1960s, surpassing both qualitatively and quantitatively the level of Czechoslovak interaction with other pro-Western countries in the region, such as Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, or Saudi Arabia.<sup>62</sup> This remarkable alliance between the two countries was somewhat unexpected given the prevailing Cold War climate, yet it made perfect economic sense considering the pragmatic priorities of both countries. These active mutual relations were only disrupted by the events of the Iranian Revolution in 1978 – 1979, which led to the overthrow of the Shah's regime and the subsequent establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which was ultimately also the beginning of a new era in relations with Czechoslovakia.

During the period of 1968 – 1978, economic diplomacy took precedence over the ideological agenda of promoting socialism in newly decolonized Third World

---

<sup>60</sup> AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Informace o průběhu a výsledcích návštěvy ministra zahraničních věcí B. Chňoupka v Íránu* [Information on the Visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Chňoupek in Iran, and its Outcomes], Call No. 014.963/78–7, 30 June 1978.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> LAQUEUR, W. *The Struggle for the Middle East*, pp. 63–117; TATEROVÁ, E. Přístup československé diplomacie k Izraeli v letech 1960 – 1967 [The Attitude of Czechoslovak Diplomacy towards Israel in 1960 – 1967]. In *Historický časopis*, 2018, Vol. 66, No. 4, pp. 671–700.

countries in most of the Eastern Bloc. While Czechoslovak diplomacy publicly expressed support for Iranian communism, particularly the Tudeh Party, the actual presence and influence of communists in Iran did not pose a significant obstacle to a fruitful partnership between the two countries. It is important to note that the collaboration between Iran and Czechoslovakia extended beyond economic exchanges and encompassed industrial and agricultural projects implemented by Czechoslovak experts. Cultural relations also played a role in promoting socialism, with activities such as those conducted by the renowned Art Centrum. While these activities focused on business contracts, they also served to showcase the virtues of socialist life, which caused concern for the Shah, fearing that it might inspire the Iranian masses in undesired ways. These ideological differences occasionally strained bilateral relations, leading to interrogations or visa denials for Czechoslovak citizens in Iran.

Nevertheless, at the highest political level, the friendly relations between the two countries remained uninterrupted and even thrived. The peaks of these diplomatic relations were marked by the state visits of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi to Czechoslovakia in 1967 and 1977, as well as the visits of Czechoslovak President Ludvík Svoboda to Iran in 1969 and 1971, and subsequently the visit of Prime Minister Lubomír Štrougal in 1976. These visits attracted widespread attention in the local media of both Iran and Czechoslovakia, portraying them as a testament to the exceptional partnership between the two nations despite their ideological differences and alignment to opposing blocs in ongoing Cold War competition. This friendly stance towards the Shah's regime in Iran underscores the significant pragmatism in Czechoslovakia's Middle Eastern policy. If it had not been interrupted by the events of the Iranian revolution, it is highly probable that the partnership between Czechoslovakia and Iran would have continued to strengthen, and flourish in the years that followed. This could have potentially positioned Iran as one of Czechoslovakia's most significant economic allies in the Middle East.

## REFERENCES

- AMZV, Porady kolegia [Collegium Meetings], 1953 – 1989. *Porada kolegia ze dne 17. července 1966* [Meeting of the Collegium on July 17, 1966], Call No. 025.687/66–9, 17 July 1966.
- AMZV, TO-O, Iran, 1960 – 19654. *Povýšení diplomatického zastoupení s Íránem na úroveň velvyslanectví – návrh čs. noty a společného komuniké* [Elevation of Diplomatic Representation with Iran to the Level of an Embassy – Proposal of a Czechoslovak Diplomatic Note and Joint Communiqué], Call No. 119.432, 4 August 1962.

- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Dosavadní vývoj československo-iránských ekonomických vztahů* [Current Development of Czechoslovak-Iranian Economic Relations], Call No. 013.636/78, 1978.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Informace o návštěvě iránského šáha v ČSSR, Příloha (Záznam o jednání presidenta ČSSR s. A. Novotného s iránským šáhem dne 23. Května 1967)* [Information about the Visit of the Iranian Shah to Czechoslovakia, Attachment (Record of the Meeting between President of Czechoslovakia, A. Novotný and the Iranian Shah on May 23, 1967)], Call No. 023.041/67–9, 8 November 1968.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Informace o plnění plánu práce ZÚ ve 2. Pololetí 1968* [Report on the Implementation of the Work Plan of the Embassy for the 2nd Semester of 1968], Call No. 020/69, 18 March 1969.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Návštěva iránské princezny Ašraf v ČSSR – zaslání materiálů* [Visit of Iranian Princess Ashraf to Czechoslovakia – Sending of Materials], Call No. 026.250/66–9, undated.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Státní návštěva presidenta ČSSR v Íránu – poskytnutí informací* [State Visit of the President of Czechoslovakia in Iran – Providing Information], Call No. 020.018/70–7, 10 February 1970.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *Zpráva o průběhu a výsledcích oficiální návštěvy presidenta ČSSR s. Ludvíka Svobody v Íránu ve dnech 24. – 29. listopadu 1969* [Report on the the Official Visit of President Ludvík Svoboda of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Iran from November 24 to November 29, 1969, and its Outcomes], Call No. 020.003/70–7, January 1970.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1965 – 1969. *ZÚ Teherán – hodnocení činnosti za I. pololetí 1966* [Evaluation of the Activities of the Embassy in Tehran for the First Half of 1966], Call No. 0121/66, 24 August 1966.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Politická zpráva č. 19/71 – Nová vláda ministerského předsedy Hovejdy* [Political Report No. 19/71 – New Government of Prime Minister Hoveyda], Call No. 0150/71, 29 September 1971.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Audio-vizuální projekt „Dědictví věků“ – hodnocení* [Audio-Visual Project “Heritage of the Ages“ – Evaluation], Call No. 0177/71, 15 November 1971.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – protest iránského ZÚ – publicita v čs. tisku; příloha – protestní nota* [Iran – Protest from Iranian Embassy – Publicity in Czechoslovak Press; Attachment – A Note of Protest], No. 933, Call No. 023.753/70–7, 18 November 1970.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – vyhodnocení výsledků státní návštěvy v r. 1969 podle stavu k 31. 10. 1970* [Iran – Evaluation of the Results of the State Visit in 1969 as of October 31, 1970], Call No. 0105/70, 11 March 1971.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Írán – zajištění čs. státních příslušníků* [Iran – Detention of Czechoslovak Citizens], Call No. 091/72, 24 July 1972.

- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Politická zpráva č. 23 – Informace o stavu plnění smluvně dohodnutých investičních celků v Íránu a perspektiva* [Political Report No. 23 – Information on the Status of the Implementation of Contractually Agreed Investment Projects in Iran and the Outlook], Call No. 0190/71, 30 December 1971.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Politická zpráva ZÚ Teherán č. 20 – Informace o oslavách 2500 let od založení Perské říše* [Political Report Embassy Tehran No. 20 – Information about the Celebrations of 2,500 Years since the Establishment of the Persian Empire], Call No. 025.801/71–7, 10 December 1971.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Pozvání iránského ministra ekonomie k návštěvě Československa* [Invitation for Iranian Minister of Economy to Visit Czechoslovakia], Call No. 6358/70, January 1970.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Pro schůzi předsednictva ÚV KSČ – Účast presidenta ČSSR s. L. Svobody na oslavách 2500 výročí založení iránského státu* [Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – Participation of the President of Czechoslovakia, Comrade L. Svoboda, in the Celebrations of the 2500th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Iranian State], Call No. 025.168/71–7, October 1971.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Souhrnná zpráva o Íránu (podklady pro návštěvu iránského premiéra v ČSSR)* [Summary Report on Iran (Materials for the Visit of the Iranian Prime Minister to Czechoslovakia), Call No. 01048/74, 25 March 1974.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Záznam o návštěvě iránského velvyslance H. Safinii u vedoucího 7.t.o. MZV* [Record of the Visit of Iranian Ambassador H. Safini to the Head of the 7th Territorial Department of Ministry of Foreign], Call No. 026.429/70–11, 28 November 1970.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *Záznam z návštěvy velvyslance Íránu v ČSSR v 7. Terit. O. MZV* [Record of the Visit of Iranian Department in Czechoslovakia to the 7th Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Call No. 023.633/70–7, 25 June 1970.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1970 – 1974. *ZÚ Teherán – zpráva o činnosti ZÚ a plnění plánu práce za II. Pololetí 1972* [Embassy in Tehran – Report on the Activities of the Embassy and the Implementation of the Work Plan for the Second Half of 1972], Call No. 0131/72, 22 January 1973.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Hodnocení činnosti ZÚ Teherán a vztahů mezi ČSSR a Íránem v roce 1976* [Evaluation of the Activities of the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Tehran and the Relations between Czechoslovakia and Iran in the Year 1976], Call No. 01010/77, 11 January 1977.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Informace o průběhu a výsledcích návštěvy ministra zahraničních věcí B. Chňoupeka v Íránu* [Information on the Visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Chňoupek to Iran, and its Outcomes], Call No. 014.963/78–7, 30 June 1978.

- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Informace o průběhu a výsledku návštěvy předsedy vlády ČSSR s. Dr. L. Štroukala v Iránu – zpráva pro ÚV KSČ* [Information on the Visit by the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. L. Štrougal, to Iran, and its Outcomes – Report for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Call No. 018.594/76–7, 17 January 1977.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Návštěva iránského šáha M. R. Pahlavi v ČSSR – návrh podání do P ÚV KSČ* [Visit of Iranian Shah M. R. Pahlavi to Czechoslovakia – Proposal for Submission to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Call No. 015.401/77–7, 12 August 1977.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Zpráva o oficiální návštěvě předsedy vlády Iránu Amíra Abbáse Hoveydy v ČSSR* [Report on the Official Visit of Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda in Czechoslovakia], Call No. 017.159/75–7, 19 October 1975.
- AMZV, TO-T, Iran, 1975 – 1979. *Zpráva za II. pololetí 1977* [Report for the Second Half of 1977], Call No. 013.631/78, 30 March 1978.
- AXWORTHY, Michael. *Dějiny Iránu: Říše ducha – od Zarathuštry po současnost* [Iran. Empire of the Mind. A History from Zoroaster to the Present Day]. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2009.
- BLAKE, Kristen. *The U.S.-Soviet Confrontation in Iran, 1945 – 1962. A Case in the Annals of the Cold War*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2009.
- BUTLER, William J., LEVASSEUR, Georges. *Human Rights and The Legal System In Iran*. International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1976.
- BYRNE, Kian. *A Survey of Middle East Archives: Iran. Sources and methods*, 2020 [online] [cit. 20 June 2023]. Available from <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/survey-middle-east-archives-iran>.
- FAWCETT, Louise. Revisiting the Iranian Crisis of 1946: How Much More Do We Know? In *Iranian Studies*, 2014, Vol. 47, No. 3, pp. 379–439.
- HASSANI, Mohammad. Performance of Iran's Oil Sector: Oil Revenues and Developmental Challenges, 1970 – 2003. In *India Quarterly*, 2006, Vol. 62, No. 1, pp. 146–173.
- HOPKINS, Michael F. Continuing Debate and New Approaches in Cold War History. In *The Historical Journal*, 2007, Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 913–914.
- JŮNOVÁ MACKOVÁ, Adéla. *Nerovné partnerství: Československo-iránské vztahy 1918 – 1938* [Unequal Partnership: Czechoslovak-Iranian Relations in 1918 – 1938]. Praha: Národohospodářský ústav Josefa Hlávky, 2013.
- KAŇÁK, Petr, KOURA, Jan. In the Shadow of the KGB: Legacy of Czechoslovak Intelligence (1948 – 1989). In *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 2023, pp. 1–32.

- KPR III. *Recepce a banket na počest iránského šáha Muhammada Rezá Pahlaví 24. 5. 1967* [Reception and Banquet in Honour of the Iranian Shah, Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, on May 24, 1967], Call No. ZIb3/21–67, 24 May 1967.
- KPR III. *Spisový záznam o poradě, konané dne 20. 11. 1969 u prezidenta republiky a přípravě jeho jednání v Íránu* [Official Record of the Meeting Held on November 20, 1969, with the President of the Republic and the Preparation of his Negotiations in Iran], Call No. AI/f–216/69, 20 November 1969.
- KRAMEROVÁ, Daniela. ‘We sell dreams’ Work Commissioned by the Shah of Iran from Czech Artists in the 1970s. In *Umění-Art*, 2013, Vol. 61, No. 4, pp. 341–355.
- LAQUEUR, Walter. *The Struggle for the Middle East*. Routledge & K. Paul, 1969.
- MEHRUNNISA, Ali. Iran’s Relations with the US and USSR. In *Pakistan Horizon*, 1973, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 45–68.
- MZV. *Dokumenty k československé zahraniční politice* [Documents on Czechoslovak Foreign Policy], Vol. XIV, 1967.
- MZV. *Dokumenty k československé zahraniční politice* [Documents on Czechoslovak Foreign Policy], Vol. XXII, 1975.
- NA A ÚV KSČ 1945 – 1989, KTAN-II, Iran, Box. 3. *Vztahy ČSSR-Írán* [Relations Czechoslovakia-Iran], Call No. 3/10, undated.
- NA A ÚV KSČ 1945 – 1989, KTAN-II, Iran. *Schůze P ÚV KSČ* [Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Call No. 52/16, 2 September 1977.
- PRUNHUBER, Carol. *The Passion and Death of Rahman the Kurd: Dreaming Kurdistan*. New York: iUniverse, Inc. 2010.
- SMETANA, Vít. Czechoslovakia and Spheres of Influence towards the End of the Second World War. In *Central Europe*, 2007, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 125–134.
- STRUHÁROVÁ, Alexandra, TATEROVÁ, Eva. Československo a Írán v 60. letech 20. století: překvapivé partnerství [Czechoslovakia and Iran in the 1960s: An Unlikely Partnership]. In *Historický časopis*, 2024, Vol. 72, No. 1, pp. 129–149.
- TATEROVÁ, Eva. Czechoslovak-Egyptian Relations at the Onset of the Cold War. The Way to a Pragmatic Partnership. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2022, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 318–339.
- TATEROVÁ, Eva. Přístup československé diplomacie k Izraeli v letech 1960 – 1967 [The Attitude of Czechoslovak Diplomacy towards Israel in 1960 – 1967]. In *Historický časopis*, 2018, Vol. 66, No. 4, pp. 671–700.
- Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů [Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes]. *Chceme zpřístupnit ruské archivy, ne legitimizovat ruskou politiku* [We want to make Russian archives accessible, not to legitimize Russian politics], 2018 [online] [cit. 20 June 2023]. Available from <https://www.ustrcr.cz/chceme-zpristupnit-ruske-archivy-ne-legitimizovat-ruskou-politiku/>.

- WESTAD, Odd Arne. *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- WILSON CENTER. Khrushchev's Secret Speech, 'On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences', Delivered at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1956 [online] [cit. 30 July 2022]. Available from <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/115995.pdf?v=3c22b71b65bcbbe9fdfadead9419c995>.
- ZÍDEK, Petr, SIEBER, Karel. *Československo a Blízký východ v letech 1948 – 1989* [Czechoslovakia and the Middle East in 1948 – 1989]. Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 2009.