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Near East/North Africa Report

(FOUO 15/82)



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IRAN

DESTRUCTION OF BAHA'I COMMUNITY SEEN AS 'FINAL SOLUTION'

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French No 1098, 20 Jan 82 pp 58-59

[Article by Marcel Peju: "The Final Solution"]

[Text] The young woman went to Evin Prison in Tehran on 25 December, on a night that for others was Christmas. "I want my husband," she said. "He was arrested." "What for?" "Because he is Baha'i." "What was he doing?" "Nothing except on 13 December, he went to the Spiritual Assembly of our community. There were eight of them and they took them all away." "Then it is useless to come back. He will be hanged tonight."

At first, the woman refused to believe what she had heard. She made more appeals, did everything possible. On 29 December, a rumor spread that five members of the assembly (the community's highest body) had been executed without a trial. On the 31st, it was reported that they were all dead and had been secretly buried in the "cemetery of the infidels." On 3 January, the Ayatollah Moussavi Ardebili, chief magistrate of the Islamic Supreme Court, made the strange reply that "while this information was recent, it was groundless." Three days later, the same ayatollah nevertheless confirmed the execution of eight leaders for "spying on behalf of foreign powers." The next day, the announcement was made of the murder of six more Baha'i arrested at a meeting on 2 November by an "unidentified armed group" and of the woman at whose home they had been meeting. Of nine more Baha'i who "disappeared" on 22 August 1980, there is still no word.

But this tragic episode is only the last in a series of murders, kidnappings, destruction and persecution whose systematic nature leads one to fear that the Islamic government today wants nothing more than the extermination (or forced conversion) of the entire Baha'i community, a community of over 300,000 members, represented in all ethnic groups and all classes of Iran, but particularly in the intelligentsia: The eight leaders assassinated included a doctor, lawyer, economist, writer, and so on. And yet, it is an accursed community because in less than a century and a half of existence, it has been persecuted by every regime in Tehran, which seems all the paradoxical because it preaches religious tolerance and forbids its members from practicing any kind of political militancy.

Who are the Baha'i, after all? In short, they are the followers of a religion first preached in Persia by a 25-year-old Shiite merchant, Seyyed Ali Mohammad.

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On 22 May 1844 in Shiraz, proclaiming the end of the prophetic times of Islam, Seyyed Ali Mohammad announced that he was the Bab, the "doorway" to truth and entrusted with the task of setting forth new laws to replace those of the Koran, now outdated. His message found such a response in all strata of society, including the Islamic clergy and the royal family, that fierce repression was unleashed by the shah. Over 20,000 Baha'i would be exterminated. The Bab himself was arrested, tortured and finally shot in Tabriz in 1850, at the age of 31.

Thirteen years later, one of the survivors of the massacre, Hossein Ali Nouri, called Baha'U'llah, was recognized as the continuator, while clarifying and developing his doctrine, whence the name of Baha'i taken from then on by his disciples, who would swarm all over the world. There are now over 3 million in some 130 countries, with more in India than in Iran.

The central theme of the Baha'i doctrine is that of the unity of an inaccessible god, who is manifested by successive revelations. Abraham, Moses, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, Muhammad and finally, the Bab, are the messengers through whom he addressed himself to men, adapting his "language" to their intellectual development and to their historic, geographic and social conditions. Today, the Bab proclaims, the time has come for human unity. It is therefore necessary to go beyond religious oppositions, ban any kind of clergy, drastically reduce rituals and reject political parties, a factor of division. At the same time, Baha'ism affirms the equality of the sexes and the primacy of science over faith, condemns extreme poverty and extreme wealth and finally, preaches a new world order with free access of peoples to all natural resources.

The fact that this ecumenical and nonviolent doctrine should have given rise to such hatred might seem surprising. Actually, it suffered first of all from spring from Islam and then splitting off from it. In all religions, heretics are more disgraced than institutional adversaries. It has also suffered from its modernism, which has opened the doors of the intellectual elite and sometimes, of material success, to its members. Finally, it has been reproached for its solidarity in the face of persecution itself. In many ways, the fate of the Baha'i in Iran resembles that of the Jews in Europe: the eternal scapegoats of the most primitive "emotions" of the people and of governments in difficulty.

Actually, with times of paroxysm interspersed with calmer periods, the persecution of the Baha'i has never ceased. From the time of the monarchic constitution of 1906-1907, worsened under the Pahlavi (1925-1979), they have been outlawed. Only four religions are in fact recognized: Muslim, Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian.

The result is that the Baha'i are excluded from the administration, driven of the army and of education, financially strangled by special taxes, and pogroms are regularly launched against them by the masses with the complicity of the police. The year 1955 was particularly harsh, marked by murders, rapes, arson, looting, the destruction of spiritual centers and the profanation of cemeteries.

Far from improving since the fall of the Shah and the Islamic revolution, the situation has worsened. And if a tragic parallel exists here, it is once more with the Nazi policy on the Jews. Initially, the government tried to gradually wipe out the Baha'i community by depriving its members of resources, seizing their businesses and their religious holdings and paralyzing their institutions. This was followed by the physical elimination of the leaders of the community (the elected members of its spiritual assemblies) and its intellectual elite. The third phase meant that the Baha'i, divided and demoralized, would no longer have any choice except between forced conversion and disappearance.

In this persecution, one must undoubtedly make room for all the fantasies of the sexual obsession. Because they proclaim the equality of the sexes and refuse to veil their women, the Baha'i are deliberately accused of libertinage. How can this be established? Very simply. According to the law, only marriages celebrated according to the rites of one of the four legal religions can be officially recorded. Consequently, the Baha'i are not legally married. The certificates issued by their community are likened to an invitation to debauchery. Their relations are labeled as concubinage or prostitution. Their children are illegitimate. All crimes are punishable by death based on "earthly corruption."

A very bitter humor is not out of place here. Among the property seized from the rich Baha'i, one serious opponent tells, is a small palace, an imitation of the Trianon at Versailles. The Islamic Republic turned it into a bordello. But morals are safe: At the entrance, while collecting his tax, a mullah proceeds to effect a "temporary marriage" (*sigheh*) -- provided for by Islamic law -- which he will dissolve at the exit.

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IRAN

KURDISH LEADER EXPLAINS ANTI-KHOMEYNI STRUGGLE

PM291707 London THE TIMES in English 27 Mar 82 p 9

[Report by Edward Mortimer: "Relaxed Guerrilla's Tight Grip"]

[Text] "We were fighting Khomeyni before the Iraqis, and I have the impression we'll be fighting him after them too."

Dr Abdulrahman Qasemlou, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, does not conform to the Western image of a Kurdish guerrilla leader. He is a relaxed, humorous middleaged man who used to teach economic planning at the University of Prague. But Kurdish Pesh Merga under his command have been holding Ayatollah Khomeyni's forces at bay in the Kurdish mountains for nearly two years.

"We still control more than [figure indistinct] square kilometres and all the main roads from the Soviet frontier to Kermanshah" (the main city of southern Kurdistan), he declares.

"We have 12,000 regular fresh merga (guerrilla forces) and between 50,000 and 60,000 armed peasants who are ready to help when called out.

"Against us the Iranian Government has mobilized 40,000 regular troops and 45,000 revolutionary guards and bassij--teenagers who are called up and sent straight to the front after only three days' training."

Dr Qasemlou has been in Europe for the last six weeks or so, mainly holding discussions with other leaders of the National Resistance Council, led by former President Bani-Sadr and Mr Masud Rajavi, leader of the people's Mojahedin guerrilla organization.

Dr Qasemlou hopes to return to Kurdistan (by an undisclosed route) within the next two weeks.

In an interview with THE TIMES, Dr Qasemlou described his relations with the Iraqi Government as those of "good neighbours." They shared a common enemy, but the Iranian Kurds were not dependent on Iraqi support, he said. Their supplies reached them partly through Iraq, but they were smuggled in, not sent officially. "Contraband has always been an important branch of the economy in Kurdistan."

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His relations with Iraqi Kurdish groups fighting the Baath regime were also good, he said, with the exception of the group led by the sons of General Barzani, which had been obliged to participate in an Iranian Government offensive against the Iranian Kurds last summer as a condition of being allowed to retain its bases and refugee camps in Iran.

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IRAN

MOJAHEDIN-E KHALQ LEADER RAJAVI INTERVIEWED

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 262, 19-25 Feb 82 pp 42-44

[Interview with Mas'ud Rajavi by AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Paris: "Washington-Tehran-Tel Aviv: A Standing Alliance, and Relations Are a Mere Formality"; date not specified]

/Text/ Three full years after Khomeyni's return to Iran, all illusions have been dispelled and the smoke has drawn away, showing the scene in its dreadful reality: the people who exulted at the fall of the Shah are now colliding with their most cherished hopes. Indeed, they are starting to ask God's mercy over the dictatorship of the recent past!

The Iranian Liberation Movement is today in political abeyance and the alliance between the Mojahedin-e Khalq and former President Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr seems to be the only possible alternative to the post-Khomeyni stage, now that the new regime has lost every social, economic and political justification for its existence.

AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI is going back to the Iranian file through a meeting with Mas'ud Rajavi, the leader of the Mojahedin-e Khalq, who exiled himself to France, and a review of the latest developments in the domestic situation following the incident which ended the life of Ashraf Rajavi and 10 people in the Mojahedin's central committee last week.

A few days before the death of Mas'ud Rajavi's wife and 10 other members of the Mojahedin-e Khalq central committee, we met for a conversation that lasted about 3 hours in his headquarters in Paris. Meetings with Rajavi are not always easy. On top of the exceptional security measures that the French police and the young leader's aides have imposed on his headquarters, there is another "obstacle," which is the personality of Rajavi himself. He has become well versed in the "profession" of meeting with journalists, following his departure from Iran, and it is not easy to entice him to say what he does not want to say. Moreover, he has become well versed in dealing with the Iranian political arena, since he is aware of the weight and the influence of every word he says. Then he is shrewd, and there is nothing harder than to conduct a press interview with a shrewd man.

I asked Rajavi: "Do you intend to open your heart and speak freely? He replied smiling, "I always speak freely."

I asked him, "They say that there is a dispute between you and Bani-Sadr. What is the truth on that?"

Answer Listen, President Bani-Sadr does not belong to the Mojahedin organization; why should he be expected to agree with us over everything? Of course there are some disputes, since he has his premises and we have ours. However, the program of the council to which we jointly belong and which we proposed to the temporary government delimits the agreement between us. I can reassure you that there are no disputes over the program. President Bani-Sadr has signed it, as have I. The matter required some concessions on one side and the other, but that is the law of all alliances. The talk about disputes is just rumor whose intent is to cast doubts on the fact that we are the only democratic alternative to Khomeyni's regime.

Question At a meeting, President Bani-Sadr addressed himself to the status of the three Arab islands that Iran occupied in the era of the Shah. He said "These islands would be converted into American bases if we returned them to the Arabs. Therefore he in turn refuses to return them, although he does admit that the inhabitants of these islands are Arabs. When I told him that his way of thinking makes it lawful for Iran to violate international law and even occupy Arab Gulf countries for reasons related to these countries' policies toward the United States, he replied, in brief, "Why not?" You are an ally of Bani-Sadr's; how would you comment on this position?

Answer I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the issue of exporting the revolution or going beyond Iran's borders is not one that has been raised among us here in Paris. I believe that revolution is not a commodity that can be exported. God, in his glorious book, said "God does not change a people's lot unless they change what is in their own spirits." Change therefore comes from within people and one therefore cannot say that the Iranians should change from outside what is going on in a Gulf country, for example. As regards the Arab islands, I ask you to try to understand our political problems. I do not want to talk about this issue now, for anything I say will be misinterpreted and Khomeyni may use it in his propaganda against me. He is sitting there, waiting for me to talk, and I do not want to provide him with anything that will benefit him.

Question However, the issue of Iran's relations with its neighbors still needs a frank statement on the part of the opposition, and clarity here is the only proper position to take, especially since this issue has not been dealt with by itself, in spite of its importance, in your most recent program which was issued about 3 months ago.

Answer The program, like all programs, stipulates the general bases that are to be applied in each case. We have said that we are a nonaligned country striving for international peace and cooperation and I will describe what I mean to you in more detailed statements. In the war with Iraq, for example, the issue is not one of water, islands or land; it is a matter of the survival or disappearance of the Iranian regime. If Khomeyni stops the war, the Iranian regime will collapse right afterward. If he agrees to stop interfering in the affairs of other countries, he will fall early the next morning. Emam Khomeyni has had more than one favorable opportunity to stop the war but he does not want to do so. Without war, he cannot

justify the inflation or justify the deprivations that the people are suffering from, or the incessant executions and the constant repression. So what does Khomeyni want to export? What does he want to give the Arabs or others? Executions? Hanging innocent 10-year olds? Killing wounded people? Chaos? Further schisms and disputes? What can Khomeyni export?

/Answer/ We have information that Khomeyni has established camps on the eastern shore of the Gulf to train some Arabs and Iranians to stir up commotion in the Gulf, above and beyond the broadcast bulletin we have received from Iranian Radio's Arabic broadcast asserting the blatant provocative approach the Iranian government is pursuing toward the Arab governments in the Gulf. Do you have any special information on this subject?

/Answer/ The fact is that I do not have any more information than you do. However, what I do know in general is that there is a reactionary policy that makes a show of progressivism, but they are liars (he said that in Arabic). They try to justify repression in Iran by talking about exporting revolution. Khomeyni's foreign policy is part of his domestic policy. Not only that--his foreign policy, as I stated, is necessary for the regime's survival. Otherwise, Khomeyni would not have used napalm in Kordestan. He would not have dealt with Israel. By the way, a few days ago Rafsanjani made a statement which the official news agency PARS transmitted, in which he frankly said "We bought arms with Israel through contracts signed in the days of the Shah." The odd thing here is that PARS translated Rafsanjani's statement, including his mention of Israel, verbatim into English, and when the news agency broadcast this statement in Iran in Persian it neglected to mention Israel but instead used the phrase "foreign countries." They are afraid of the wrath of the Iranian people and perhaps for this reason are setting up gallows for them.

On the Walls in Tehran

/Question/ What about the blocs inside Iran?

/Answer/ Listen, as long as Khomeyni remains these blocs will be of no importance. It is he who is managing the country's actual policy. Seventy percent of the regime's staffs have been liquidated while Khomeyni has been saying that Iran is the most stable country in the world. The main bloc is that of the Iranian people themselves. The phrase "death to Khomeyni" is written on walls in Tehran. Go to the south of the capital and you will see that for yourself.

/Question/ I do not believe I can.

/Answer/ Nor can I. At least not now. (He laughed.)

/Question/ But you cannot get at Khomeyni himself?

/Answer/ We can, I assure you of that. But we have a better solution: we do not want to kill Khomeyni physically, we want to kill him politically.

Question But you have not applied the same rule in the other cases.

Answer Because those people, in people's minds, were not Khomeyni. Khomeyni gives people the illusion that he is the "source," the mufti, the religious jurist.

Question However, you say that the phrase "death to Khomeyni" is written on walls. That means that people know the truth about what Khomeyni is doing, and therefore his "political" death has already taken place.

Answer Listen, when Khomeyni went back to Tehran 6 million people met him. That was a historic event. Now, however, people ask me "Why don't you kill Khomeyni?" My answer is "Thanks, I wanted to get to this point precisely, the point where you would ask me this question."

10 Percent

Question In last October's campaign, the campaign of armed demonstrations that the Mojahedin started, hundreds of people died. Do you believe that this tactic was a mistake?

Answer We previously told Khomeyni that we were ready to hand over our arms if he would stop retreating from stifling sic the relative freedoms that prevailed at that time. However, he refused and accused us of being agents of Zionism, of Saddam Husayn, of the United States, of Communism, of everything. Then don't forget that we stood in the ranks of the opposition the second week after Khomeyni's return. My name was kept off the list of candidates for the presidency, then off the list of candidates for the Majles. Our policy was to exercise our opposition role by criticizing the substance of Khomeyni's policies, whose reactionary side we discovered at the beginning. It was his policy to direct criticisms against us in an indirect manner.

After that, the dispute flared up and passed through the stages you are aware of. One of these was the tactic of armed demonstrations. To state that one tactic or another will lead directly to the overthrow of the regime is to fail to realize the facts of the situation. All these tactics are successive steps toward the ultimate goal.

Question However, some of the Mojahedin's adversaries in the detachments of the opposition say that the tactics were based on the erroneous assumption that the people would gather around the armed demonstrations that the Mojahedin started and that everyone would move to bring down the regime.

Answer The matter cannot be simplified in such a naive manner. Nonetheless, the assumptions that Khomeyni's regime is lacking in any popularity are correct. The latest reports which have reached me from Iran state that school administrations have appointed special supervisors for students when they go to the bathroom, now that the phrase "death to Khomeyni" that they write in these bathrooms has become widespread. In fact, it is certain that people are going to mosques not just to pray but to obtain the special cards that allow their bearer to obtain specific

foodstuffs it is not easy to find in the market. I can tell you that the number of Khomeyni's supporters does not exceed 10 percent of the whole Iranian population.

Question So what is the social base on which the regime of the ayatollahs is concentrated now?

Answer The regime is not concentrated on anything except the policy of wholesale executions. The talk about a social base is talk that would have been valid 3 years ago. Now there are collective resignations from the reactionary guards (he means the Revolutionary Guards, in Iranian official language), and the social classes that supported Khomeyni's regime are now looking for an alternative. They know that if Khomeyni dies now the regime will come to a tragic end and therefore they cannot gamble on the regime. You know the nature of "business." Business seeks out a secure climate, but what is secure in Iran? Only idiots are gambling on the current Iranian regime, because that will be a losing gamble.

The Gallows Are the Solution

Question Does this remind you of Ayatollah Kashani and his supporters in the early fifties?

Answer It does, with one difference, which is that Khomeyni is 1,000 times more reactionary than Kashani. Kashani opposed Mosaddeq, but Ayatollah Khomeyni recently made a speech in which he said "With God's grace Mosaddeq was a liar and fell."

Question However, broad segments of the Iranian people still consider Mosaddeq a national hero. Doesn't that provoke them?

Answer What if it does? If anybody speaks, the reactionary guard's minions will hand him over to be sent to the gallows.

Question But what is the alternative?

Answer Name me one detachment in the opposition that is offering a coherent alternative to the regime except the council that includes President Bani-Sadr and the Mojahedin. Will the Tudeh offer such an alternative, or the opposition figures in Europe, in the form of the royalists and the like, who are planning to bring Iran back to the era of the Shah? We are quietly broadening our base in Iran. We have 500,000 copies of our paper being distributed inside Iran, we have a radio station that is broadcasting four times a day, and our voice is heard over it, in spite of the government jamming of the broadcasts.

Question What if other groups ask to join the council you have drawn up with Bani-Sadr--the Tudeh, for example, or Peykar?

Answer I'm sorry, I'm sorry, I'm sorry. The Tudeh is a group of traitors. We do not make alliances with traitors. Can you mention to me one way in which I can be made sure of their sincerity?

/Question/ Are you suggesting that they go to you and swear that they are sincere? The issue seems purely political. If they declare their positions on the council program, agree to execute the agreements the council reaches, once they become represented in it, the council demands that broad demonstrations start, and they carry them out, will you continue to oppose their inclusion?

/Answer/ First they must regain people's trust. The Iranians know that the members of the Tudeh are traitors; if the Tudeh is able to eliminate this image we will think about dealing with them. However, I am confident that it will not be able to. Treason is one of the basic components of the party leadership. That was a constant during the past 40 years. Can you imagine that it is possible to renounce a legacy as heavy as the one the Tudeh left during this period in a few days, even if the party leadership wanted to forego treason, which naturally believe me, it cannot?

Relations with Israel

/Question/ Do you believe that Iranian-American relations will be openly restored to the level they were at in the days of the Shah? Do you believe that Tehran will establish diplomatic relations with Israel?

/Answer/ It is a question of time. It will start with the release of the remaining Iranian funds frozen in Washington, to finance the purchase of arms to continue the war. Then, after that, the issue of diplomatic relations will be a formality. Even as regards Israel, diplomatic relations from the official standpoint, in their turn, will be a formality. The man declares Jerusalem Day, demands the execution of 'Arafat, buys arms from Israel and pays it money that it puts into bullets for the Arabs and the Palestinians. This is the picture; in the light of that, don't diplomatic relations become a formality?

Rajavi was still brimming with vitality. I said, "Let us talk about you a little, your remembrances of the Shah's prisons, secret work, flight from Iran." He pointed to the tape recorder and said "Shut that off first. I do not like to have anything circulated about me personally. You are just one person, one brother in the Mojahedin." He shut off the tape recorder. Rajavi talked to me about Khiabani, "my brother," as he called him. Rajavi did not know that Khiabani would be killed in a few days, bloodied by the bullets of the "reactionary guard." The sacrifices the Mojahedin are offering are continuous. Will they see the day when they realize their rose-colored dream of a society of "unification?"

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IRAN

TUDEH SAID TO BE ASSISTING GOVERNMENT AGAINST OPPOSITION

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 262, 19-25 Feb 82 pp 44, 45

/Article: "Tudeh Members: Unsalaried Informers in the Service of the Ayatollahs"/

/Text/ In the case of the Tudeh Party, one can talk at length about the complex of "self-loathing" which some Jews accuse the chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky (of Jewish origin), of having. The common factor, perhaps the only one, that links all the Iranian leftist organizations is hostility, toward the Tudeh, to the point sometimes of combat. It is odd that the Tudeh does not just bring the left together with its various detachments; it also brings these detachments together with ones on the right as well. Everyone, left and right, accuses the party of being a school in its own right for an education in political opportunism.

The fact is that the history of the Tudeh is the history of its fiascoes. It gambled on Stalin, and Stalin abandoned it when he ordered the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from northern Iran in 1947, once the British had guaranteed the Soviet leader an acceptable share of Iranian oil. The Socialist Republic of Azarbaijan the Communists had established collapsed, as their first republic, which Kuchek Khan had proclaimed, also in the north, under the title of the Socialist Republic of Gilan, had collapsed 26 years before.

The party then took part in the cabinet of Qavamossoltaneh, in the regime of the late Shah, in 1946. Then the Shah's cabinets departed in 1951 and Mohammad Mosaddeq's cabinet came in. The party refused to support Mosaddeq, and the new premier swept the political stage clean, drawing millions of Iranians about the policy of oil nationalization he declared. When the party started to think of supporting Mosaddeq, his cabinet was on the road to collapse in the August 1953 coup. When the party tried to court the American companies, allegedly deepening the contradictions between them and the British, raising the slogan of nationalizing the oil in the south only, the Americans furnished it with the coup by Kermit Roosevelt, which the Shah carried out, opening the doors of the dungeons wide and full to the party's leaders and its base.

When the party members gambled on their leaders in the hard circumstances Iran went through, which raged about the party after the coup, they were surprised to see Dr Bahrami, the party secretary, sending a long letter from his cell to the royal presence, asking forgiveness because he had "slipped beyond the bounds of waywardness."

Before and after the Storm

When the storm passed and the party resumed the attempt to get its fragmented parties together, it gambled on a group of revolutionary slogans to regain the trust of the masses and was surprised to find the Shah presenting slogans that were more "revolutionary" than those of the party in 1963--apportioning land to peasants, eliminating the system of landlords and subjects, and starting the "white" revolution.

After the upheaval against the dictatorship of the Shah started in the late seventies, the Tudeh took a middle-of-the-road position, keeping in line with Moscow; then the two, the Tudeh and Moscow, were surprised to find that the Pahlavi citadel, packed with arms, had collapsed and the Ayatollahs had leaped onto the boat of the revolution, expelling everyone from it, one group after the other.

The Tudeh experimented with trimming its sails to the wind, but the wind did not show it mercy. At the end of last year, Huseyn Musavi, the prime minister, started to swoop down on party members working in ministries and government departments, starting by distributing forms showing the political affiliations of all employees and ending by expelling the communists from their jobs, in an attempt to bind up the severed relations with the "Great Satan," the United States.

In spite of intervention by Vladimir Vinogradov, Moscow's ambassador to Tehran, to put a stop to the Ayatollahs' anger at their Tudeh Party aides, and in spite of Brezhnev's offer to give massive economic and food aid to Iran in exchange for "pardoning" the Tudeh members for their communism, the lines of employees departing from the Ministries of Finance, Oil, and Foreign Affairs were incessant, each one of them holding in his right hand his party membership card and in his left hand his letter of dismissal.

Nonetheless, the bitter feelings of "ardor" that the Tudeh members harbored toward the Ayatollahs did not abate; it even reached the point where they turned their party into a branch of SAVAMA (the Iranian government's secret political police). In a report the party's central committee sent to the Iranian Ministry of the Interior, the following appeared, verbatim: "There is a lady called Yadollah, recently resigned from the Ministry of the Interior, who has been pursuing special activities in the recent events the country has experienced. This lady has special relationships with Bakhtiar, the bazaar, the Mojahedin (Mojahedin-e Khalq) and Bani-Sadr's sympathizers. This lady is not at all religious, has a sweet tongue, is most energetic, and says that she is implicated in every demonstration!

"The latest mission she performed was to get in touch with Mrs Turan Shari'ati, the wife of Dr Shari'ati, to get her to cancel her trip to Syria to celebrate the anniversary of her husband's trip out of the country and to convince her to hold the celebration in her home, in order to get people to gather together and link the celebration to the country's current problems. The party will be held on 19 June." Then the signature and seal of the central committee of the Tudeh Party.

Informers without Salaries

This, one example of dozens of reports, shows that the party leadership has turned its members into unsalaried Iranian government informers. Not just that, the party continues to play a political role in confronting other opposition groups. For example, in the face of the Mojahedin-e Khalq, the newspaper ETTEHAD-E MARDOM, the party organ, demanded the execution of the leader of the Mojahedin organization, Mas'ud Rajavi, publishing an article which began with the statement "This murderer, who has killed other, innocent people, must be handed over to the revolutionary execution teams."

Therefore it was not strange that the opposition groups should, in their own ways, take part in the party's celebrations of the 40th anniversary of its birth the middle of last November in the British capital, London. The party chose to celebrate the anniversary in the hall of the American youth organization, the YMCA, whose connection with American Central Intelligence has become generally known.

Tudeh members came to the hall in droves in their fine clothing to celebrate the anniversary of "40 years with the toilers." A number of members of other opposition groups had infiltrated the people who attended, and, when the celebration began, the Tudeh members were surprised by slogans of condemnation of the Tudeh's stands, and Khomeyni's policies, and the British police intervened to break up the meeting.

What happened in London was a picture in miniature of what is happening in Iran.

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IRAN

REVOLUTION GUARD TERROR SEEN CREATING MANY ENEMIES

Hamburg STERN in German 11 Mar 82 pp 27-28, 202, 205

[Report by Dr Bahman Nirumand]

[Text] The 46-year-old Dr Nirumand studied philosophy and German philology in Munich and Tuebingen. In 1964 this active opponent of the shah was forced to flee to the FRG from the feared secret service Savak. Now he has returned to his homeland secretly and has lived for half a year in Teheran's underground. Here is his report.

Among the most shocking pieces of news which I have obtained in recent days in the Teheran underground was that of the shooting of Shokrollah Paknejad. He was a symbol of the resistance to the tyranny of the shah regime. Condemned to life in prison he had passed 12 years in the dungeons of the shah while enduring the worst tortures until it was possible to free him in an assault on the prisons shortly before the fall of the monarchy.

Three months ago Paknejad was arrested on the street by Pasdaran, the Khomeini-loyal "guardians of the revolution." When his brother a couple of days ago sought information about his whereabouts he was told in reply that Paknejad had already been shot 2 weeks before and lay buried in a cemetery outside Teheran. He, like all relatives of the executed man, was even called upon to pay for the bullets with which his brother had been shot. No trial in court, not even a few words of farewell to his family and friends: all that remained of him--a forged "will" and a grave among a thousand other graves bearing not even Shokrollah Paknejad's name but only a number. Even a cemetery visit is extremely risky for his family. For in that area there are troops of bullies paid by the mullahs who spit upon surviving next of kin, insult them and strike them.

When 3 years ago Ayatollah Khomeini came to Teheran out of French exile he had practically the entire populace behind him. At that time the Iranians were happy and ready for any sacrifice because they had finally overthrown the dictatorial regime of the shah and now believed that they were free. But at the end of these 3 years Khomeini, his mullahs and his 10,000 heavily armed "revolutionary guards" are conducting a relentless war against the people.

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In a short period of time the successors to the shah have been able to destroy almost all the industry of the country and to ruin agriculture. In addition, they are entangled in a grinding war with their neighbor Iraq, which up to now has claimed almost 100,000 dead and produced over 2 million refugees.

In the name of Islam the self-styled "disciples of God" have thus far bestowed upon the country 6 million unemployed. Most of those wealthy who failed to flee promptly abroad have in the interim lost their wealth; the poor have become poorer and prices, especially for foodstuffs, climb higher daily. The black market enlarges steadily, the treasuries of the state are empty, foreign exchange is completely used up and total collapse and catastrophe have become unavoidable.

Khomeini's apparatus of power has hounded trained personnel, the most important possession of the country, out of their jobs. Tens of thousands have fled out of the country, tens of thousands are jobless and hundreds of them have already been executed as unbelievers and enemies of the state.

Any enjoyment of life is looked upon as blasphemy. Anyone who reads material other than the sacred Koran and the religious and propaganda writings peddled by the state is considered to be a potential criminal. If the reading matter is opposition literature or even just modern entertainment literature he is threatened with the death penalty.

Leaflets of an opposition organization were found in the car belonging to three friends of mine. All three were immediately apprehended and after 2 months' imprisonment they were condemned to death last September without a trial and were executed. The regime is even proud of the fact that within the last 6 months it has executed around 4,500 people, mostly young people from 14 to 18 years old. Of course, this figure is just for the executions which have been officially announced.

In addition, there are the arbitrary murders. Thus, for example, I witnessed an episode in which a group of from 20 to 25 young girls, students whose ages were from 12 to 16, were chased through a Teheran street by 10 Pasdaran armed with machine guns. When the girls tried to run away the revolutionary guards opened fire. The schoolgirls fell to the ground and rolled in their blood. Before the Pasdaran trod under their boots the heads of these girls they shouted "Long Live Freedom." Their bodies were shortly thereafter thrown onto a truck and carted off.

The highest judge of the capital, a religious named Gilani, was once asked during a television interview how it happened that his courts in numerous cases had condemned accused persons to death without at least knowing their names? The judge replied that names were of no importance to Islamic courts. Whether these people were called Hassan or Hossein, were born in Teheran or Kerman or were workers or officials was, he said, of no interest whatever. "What is important is that they are figures, bodies, who have opposed the Islamic state, in other words the will of God."

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The arbitrary arrests carried out not only at demonstrations and during house searches but also during nightly police raids through entire streets and residential quarters have had the consequence that all the prisons of the country are filled to overflowing. In the cells of the Teheran Evin prison, already infamous under the shah, so many people are kept that there is not enough space for lying down. Two-thirds of the prisoners therefore have to stand up so that one-third of them can sleep. They alternate this way during the night at 3-hour intervals. At the same time it is considered a privilege for a prisoner to be in a cell at all. Many of the confined must stay in the courtyard of the jail and, especially in winter, must additionally suffer from cold, snow and rain. The torture instruments of the shah regime are again in full operation. Prisoners who are not ready to shout "Khomeini is our leader" have those words branded upon their breasts and backs.

The enormous hatred animating this dictatorship is directed not only against its political foes but also against those who have adapted themselves to certain mannerisms and customs of a partially bourgeois society and who are not ready to return to medieval modes of living. Thus the mass purges at state offices and operations have also apprehended women and men who had absolutely no political involvements. If a man dresses as a "normal" citizen, shaves daily or even wears a tie and if a woman dresses nicely, uses makeup and does not hide her hair, hands and legs beneath a veil when they are living dangerously. Such citizens have no prospects in Khomeini's state.

There is boundless hostility to every form of civilization. The development of Iranian society is to be made retrograde. Above all, in order to absolutely silence the young people opposing such a regression Khomeini 2 years ago closed all the universities and advanced schools of the country. Hundreds of thousands were no longer able to continue their studies.

The closing of the universities is, of course, mainly for political reasons. The political involvement of the advanced schools has a long tradition among us Iranians and the reopening of the schools would undoubtedly present the regime with additional difficulties.

They would also like to close the elementary schools. But since this is scarcely possible the mullahs temporarily content themselves with the discharge of thousands of teachers. For political reasons 20 percent of all students are denied access to these schools. In the schools there prevails an atmosphere of terror and anxiety. The government tries to keep students under control by exemplary and brutal punishments and even shootings.

In order to get an idea of the pedagogic notions of the mullahs it is not even necessary to obtain an inside look at the operation of these schools. Enough evidence is provided by television broadcasts which relay instructions to parents and students. For example, in one such transmission parents of boys at the age of puberty were advised to keep their sons out of bed in the evening until they were fully tired. Then when they were lying in bed it was recommended that the parents keep an eye on them. If the parents found the boy masturbating it was recommended that they should punish him with lashings.

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Anyone Who Plays Chess Risks Being Lashed

The repression of women is among the most obvious features of the Khomeini regime. Recently an order was sent to all state offices requiring all unmarried women to supply medical proof of their virginity! The number of female employees has moreover been substantially reduced in recent years.

Since the mullahs consider women to be intellectually weak they are no longer allowed to become legal attorneys or judges. They would like to put all professionally active women back in the home. Not infrequently one hears in sermons delivered by the religious leaders that the brave women of our country have the sacred duty to bear children and nurture them, in addition to being active domestically, so that their husbands may be contented at home and free from domestic obligations and anxieties may go about their social tasks.

Nevertheless, even Khomeini has not been able to avoid accepting a couple of women in the Islamic parliament. The absurd aspect of this was the fact that before their election it was not possible to hear any statements by these woman candidates nor even see their faces. On the election placards one could only see a veiled object from which a single eye peered out. Just how these women were able nevertheless to obtain hundreds of thousands of votes is likewise shrouded in mystery.

Since, especially in Teheran, there continue to be women who refuse the veil the government has forbidden the entrance of unveiled women into government offices, restaurants, cafes, department stores and even into the mountain hiking paths. And frequently bands organized by mullahs move through the streets knocking about unveiled women and throwing acid in their face and other portions of their bodies.

Music--whether Persian or foreign--is prohibited. An exception are the so-called revolutionary songs with religious content or songs in honor of Khomeini. It is reckoned to be very courageous or imprudent to listen to music even inside one's own house. One must turn the music low in order not to be detected. If one is caught nevertheless one's apparatus is seized and the punishment for the sin committed lies at the discretion of the judge. If he is merciful he contents himself with 50 lashes.

Lashes are the punishment in many situations: if one is detected drinking alcohol (naturally, homemade, since it is impossible to purchase); if women bathe in the sea or sit on the beach in a bathing suit and not in the prescribed long dresses; if men and women swim together in the sea--even when they are married; when festivals are kept and dancing takes place, music is heard and people are altogether too happy. Friends of mine were even lashed when during a house search in their own dwelling they were surprised while playing chess.

The only pleasures which Lord Bishop Khomeini allows to his 35 million Iranian sheep are participation in common prayers and in funeral obsequies and processions which take place almost daily for the most various reasons. Community public weeping for the dead, especially for those fallen in the war with Iraq,

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fully suffices according to Khomeini to satisfy human needs. In an address to the nation the old imam said: "Weep, weep, for weeping brings you closer to God!"

At the present time in Teheran alone more than 20,000 people are living in the underground. They have hardly any trouble at all submerging themselves among friends, relatives or acquaintances although the latter can also be condemned to death for harboring political refugees. I myself have lived in the underground for the past 6 months. During that time I changed my residence every other day and only once was I sent away. I could move about rather freely in the city and meet anyone I wanted to see.

Anyone Who Is a Mullah Is Hated by the People Like the Plague

The underground scene demonstrates at the same time how weak Khomeini's basis has become and how little the government organizations are in a position to keep the opposition under control or even to liquidate them. Barely an estimated 10 percent of the population supports Khomeini. The solidarity of the masses with the opposition is so great and obvious that one hardly needs to fear denunciations.

In comparison to us the representatives of the regime, especially the mullahs, are in a much worse position. They no longer ever dare to appear in public. When unavoidable, they are driven in armored vehicles, protected by weapon-carrying groups to the desired destination. The Islamic parliament building looks like a fortress. The allegedly elected representatives of the people must protect themselves from their own people with gun-carrying armored vehicles and with machine guns. Khomeini himself who upon his return from Paris could move about without fear among millions of people has now not left his residence for 2 years. All surrounding streets have been closed off; several hundred Pasdaran guard him day and night. There has rarely been a regime having such fear of its own people and which had to so thoroughly hide itself from them.

Undoubtedly Khomeini's era will not last much longer. No one can predict how many children and adults will still lose their lives in the last agony of this regime, or how much suffering people will still have to bear until the most brutal regime in Iranian history finally and irrevocably vanishes. One thing is sure: this regime is hated by the preponderant majority of the population. For too long Khomeini has given free reign to violence and crime. In disputes between the moderates and the radical fundamentalists he has always sided with the latter. In my view it is already too late for a change of course favoring the moderates. Too much blood has flowed and too much has been destroyed. Before a real change of course it would first be necessary to eliminate the radical Islamic fundamentalists who have armed force at their disposal and who in particular set the tone among the Pasdaran. At the same time it would be necessary to end the war with Iraq. The revolutionary courts would have to be dissolved, the political prisoners liberated and the daily executions brought to an end. In addition, there would have to be a guarantee of a minimum of political liberties.

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But this is precisely what Khomeini does not dare to do. Because the ayatollah knows from the most recent Persian history that such a step-by-step liberalization is not an unqualified panacea. His predecessor, Reza Pahlavi, attempted in the last months of his rule to placate the masses with more liberties--and thereby suffered shipwreck.

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BRIEFS

COMMUNIST LEADER'S GOVERNMENT TIES--God has created all kinds of things [i.e., Strange things can happen in this world]; Moscow has control over its subjects. Nureddin Kianuri is one of God's servants and one of the Soviets' subjects. Therefore anyone looking into his eyes, hidden behind his thick glasses, will find that one of them is looking to Qom and the other is looking to Moscow! Political power is an old ailment. It appeared when governments appeared, along with parties, theories and slogans. Its sole disease is a microbe which everyone knows but no one can cure. Modern science has not discovered a drug for political opportunism; therefore, perhaps its priests stand in amazement before the difficult case of Nureddin Kianuri. He has been a member of the party since it was founded 40 years ago. He has looked with one eye toward Moscow and Moscow has looked with two, one at him and the other at his brother Kambakhsh. The "two moons" shone in the mid-forties, because Moscow's sun had suddenly paused in the skies of northern Iran. When the sun went far away in 1947, the "two moons" became extinguished and in 1949 the Shah handed them over to reserve by a decree dissolving the party. Then came Khomeyni, and Halimah returned to her old habits, the only difference being that Kambakhsh went to meet his maker in 1971 and one moon remained. It shone briefly and went out rapidly. The emam smiled on him, then frowned, and Kianuri fled, bringing with him the chronic disease of change, and his special appearance, Ehsan Tabari, to Moscow. There the weather is always sunny, though humble party members continue to face their honorable destiny at the hands of the executioners of Hoseyn Musavi, muttering "eyes that have a squint in them: they killed us but those of us who died were not revived." /Text/ [Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 262, 19-25 Feb 82 p 45] [COPYRIGHT: 1982 AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI] 11887

AGRICULTURAL LOANS--From the beginning of 1981 to November of the same year, the cooperative agricultural bank in Iraq granted loans amounting to 175 million dinars for various agricultural activities to organizations, the private sector and cooperative societies. This amount represents a record in the bank's history and compares with 98 million dinars granted in loans in 1980. These loans have been granted for all agricultural activities in both farming and animal husbandry. [Text] [Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 266, 19-25 Mar 83 p 55] [COPYRIGHT: 1982 AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI]

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