

with him and also by a further deterioration in the political and industrial situation.

Dr Sanjabi, in a letter to Dr Sadiqi after the announcement of the latter's intention to form a government, warned that the National Front would not give its support and moreover regretted that his acceptance had negated his "past record of political opposition to the Shah's regime". A spokesman of Ayatollah Khomeini said that the latter "maintains his policy of opposing any politician who accepts any position under the rule of the Shah".

Further Widespread Unrest, December 1978 - Reports of Dissent within Armed Forces

The Government on Dec. 14 ordered the security forces and all provincial governors to prevent demonstrations liable to disrupt law and order; disturbances nevertheless continued unabated in the second half of December, in which period there was also a marked deterioration in the discipline of the armed forces.

It was reported on Dec. 14 that three conscript members of the Imperial Guard (the section of the Army noted for its loyalty to the monarchy) had recently opened fire on fellow soldiers at the Lavizan base in Tehran, killing 12 officers and wounding several others. On Dec. 18, a day marked by a general strike and mourning called by Ayatollah Khomeini, an army unit was recalled to barracks in Tabriz after some troops had refused to obey orders. An independent opposition deputy, Mr Ahmed Beni-Ahmed, said that some of the soldiers in the unit had joined demonstrators after a number of the crowd had been wounded by other troops.

On the other hand, zealous supporters of the Shah in the security forces were at about the same time reported to have violently assaulted and harassed patients and staff in a hospital in Meshed (where violence caused by anti-government demonstrations had been particularly serious) and to have killed four people, including two babies. As a result of these incidents doctors on Dec. 18 declared a strike and demanded that soldiers surrender their privileged right to free medical treatment.

Over the period Dec. 23-26 small groups of youths chanted anti-Shah slogans, threw stones at soldiers and started fires in the streets of Tehran, Tabriz and Meshed; in the last-named city 13 people were believed to have died on Dec. 23 when soldiers fired on protesters. The Government had intended to reopen secondary and technical schools (closed since November when university staff and students stopped work) on Dec. 23, but the following day it was announced that they would remain closed indefinitely; on Dec. 26 the Ministry of Education decided to shut all primary schools in the capital.

Dr Sanjabi, addressing a rally attended by between 4,000 and 5,000 supporters in Tehran on Dec. 25, said that there could be no solution to Iran's problems until the Shah had abdicated; calling for "unity against the Shah", he stated that he totally rejected "little measures, little solutions and small changes".

On Dec. 26 a polytechnic professor in Tehran, Dr Kamran Nejatollahi, was shot dead as he watched anti-Shah demonstrations from the seventh floor of the Ministry of Higher Education and Science (where, together with other lecturers, he had been staging a sit-in protest); the Government disputed allegations that he had been shot by soldiers. At the funeral of Dr Nejatollahi the following day further violence erupted, it being generally believed that soldiers had opened fire on a crowd of some 4,000 mourners—possibly in the mistaken belief that the troops marching with the procession to keep control of the events had in fact deserted. There were no reliable estimates of casualties.

On Dec. 28 several hundred students demonstrating at the university campus in the capital were fired on by troops, while 30 people were reported to have been killed in clashes between protesters and soldiers in Ahwaz, where offices of Iran Air were set on fire; in Qazvin tank-borne soldiers on the same day attacked a crowd of about 600 demonstrators.

Some of the most serious trouble occurred shortly after the appointment of Dr Bakhtiar as Prime Minister-designate on Dec. 29 [see below], notably in Meshed, where for several months soldiers had been harassed by anti-Shah elements and where on Dec. 30-31 many people lost their lives in clashes between militant demonstrators and security forces; the Government estimated the death toll at a little over 100 but the opposition claimed that between 700 and 2,000 had lost their lives. The demonstrators said that the violence had broken out after troops had fired on a peaceful rally, whereas the soldiers said they had been attacked first and that several Savak officers had been killed. Brig.-Gen. Ali Yazdjerdi, the "hard-line" military commander of Meshed, alleged that extremist Afghans and Uzbeks had fomented the unrest in the city. (Dr Bakhtiar subsequently withdrew troops from Meshed.)

In view of the deteriorating situation in Iran, Western embassies on Dec. 31 advised their nationals to leave the

country unless they had good reason to stay; the departure of many was, however, hampered at this time by an air controllers' strike and by disruptions in other forms of public transport. In a further upsurge of anti-Western feeling, many foreigners were at this time issued with death threats and warnings to leave the country by Feb. 1.

On Dec. 23 gunmen in Ahwaz ambushed and killed an American oil company executive, Mr Paul Grimm, who had been acting general manager of OSCO since the departure on leave of Mr George Link following a bomb attack on the latter's car some weeks earlier [see page 29737 above]. In a separate incident in Ahwaz on the same day Mr Malek Bourouzardi, an Iranian oil official, was also shot dead. Responsibility for both attacks was later attributed to the *Mujaheddin Khalq* (People's Strugglers), an extremist right-wing Shia Moslem group believed to have been responsible for the murder of six other US citizens in Iran over the past five years.

On Dec. 24 protesters assembled outside the US embassy in Tehran shouting anti-American slogans before being dispersed by the embassy guards who used tear gas, while on Dec. 30 the British Council offices in Ahwaz, Shiraz and Meshed, as well as the US embassy building in Tabriz, were all attacked. On Dec. 30 OSCO began airlifting several hundred Western oil executives from the oil-producing areas to temporary accommodation in Athens.

New Chairman of NIOC - Sharp Drop in Oil Production - Halting of Oil Exports

Parallel to the deteriorating security situation industrial action was intensified from Dec. 18, resulting in a complete halt to the export of crude oil on Dec. 26 and the rationing of fuel in the country. In a further significant development Mr Abdullah Entezam, who had previously held the position in the late 1950s, was in mid-December appointed chairman of NIOC in place of Mr Ansari, the latter having resigned during a visit to the United States for health reasons. [For appointment of Mr Ansari in late 1977, see 28804 B.]

Although oil production had picked up to 3,600,000 barrels on Dec. 22, the increasing violence and other difficulties, including the sabotage of the pipeline from the main Gach Saran field to Kharg Island (the terminal for 90 per cent of all Iran's oil exports) and the resignation on Dec. 26 of some 4,400 NIOC employees, resulted in a slump in production of crude oil to an all-time low in recent years of 225,000 barrels on Dec. 31—less than half the amount normally required for daily domestic use. On Dec. 26 exports of crude oil were halted from Kharg Island, where about 60 tankers were waiting to take on oil shipments, and on Dec. 27 oil rationing was introduced in Iran, resulting in long queues for petrol and kerosene.

The Government stated after the rationing of oil that the country had only five to seven days' of oil supplies left but this was generally considered to have been an exaggeration designed to underline the seriousness of the situation, particularly as regards the loss of export revenues, and to encourage strikers to return to work.

US Plan to deploy Navy Task Force near Iran - Mutual Warnings by United States and Soviet Union against Interference in Iran's Internal Affairs

The US Government was on Dec. 29 reported to have issued contingency orders for an aircraft carrier task force to move into waters off Iran if the situation in the country deteriorated into a state of virtual anarchy; the next day (Dec. 30) the aircraft carrier *Constellation* and several escort ships left their base in the Philippines and headed for the Indian Ocean.

US officials were quoted as saying that the decision had been taken by President Carter for two reasons: (i) "to affirm to the Soviet Union the American concern about any possible Soviet military move to take advantage of the turmoil in Iran", and (ii) "to signal countries in the area that are friendly to the United States, such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, that Washington was concerned about the situation in Iran".

However, after the Soviet Communist Party organ *Pravda* had on Jan. 1, 1979, accused the United States of spreading "provocative fabrications" about a Soviet threat to Iran "in order to justify its gunboat diplomacy there", President Carter on Jan. 2 decided against sending a task force to Iranian waters.

A statement by President Brezhnev published in *Pravda* on Nov. 19 had warned that "any interference, especially military interference, in the affairs of Iran—a state which borders directly on the Soviet Union—would be regarded by the Soviet Union as affecting the interests of its security". The US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, said on Nov. 19 in response to President Brezhnev's statement that the US President, while reaffirming his support for the Shah and desire for continued good relations with Iran, did not intend to

interfere in any country and that "reports to the contrary are totally without foundation".

A *Pravda* report of Dec. 28, however, asserted that the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had sent 60 officers to Iran in an effort to find pro-American politicians for inclusion in a new government under which the Shah would be maintained in power.

Appointment of Government under Dr Bakhtiar - Developments under New Administration - Proposed Dissolution of Savak

The Shah on Dec. 29 asked Dr Shapour Bakhtiar, a long-standing and high-ranking member of the National Front, to form a new government, at the same time requesting Gen. Azhari, who was reported to have suffered a heart attack on Dec. 20, to remain in office until the Prime Minister-designate had drawn up a cabinet list. Dr Bakhtiar's acceptance of the premiership was denounced by Ayatollah Khomeini and by the National Front, which expelled him from the movement. Gen. Azhari resigned on Jan. 1 coincidentally with an announcement by Dr Bakhtiar that he had succeeded in forming a cabinet. After receiving approval by Parliament on Jan. 3, Dr Bakhtiar was formally appointed Prime Minister on Jan. 4.

Also on Jan. 4 the Shah appointed Gen. Abbas Qharabaghi, Minister of the Interior, Economic Affairs and Finance in the outgoing Cabinet, as Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces to replace Gen. Azhari; at the same time Gen. Oveissi, the ground forces commander, Tehran's military commander and outgoing Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, resigned from all his posts and left the country, some reports indicating that he had taken this action to avoid trial on a charge of transferring the equivalent of about £8,500,000 into a foreign bank account. Gen. Oveissi was on Jan. 6 replaced as Tehran's military commander by Gen. Mehdi Rahimi, who had previously been his deputy, and a few days later Lt.-Gen. Abdel Ali Badrei was appointed commander of the ground forces.

The new Cabinet was presented to the Shah on Jan. 6 and was composed as follows:

Dr Shapour Bakhtiar	..	..	Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior
Mr Yahya Sadeq Vaziri	..	..	Justice
*Gen. Fereydu Djam	..	..	War
Mr Ahmad Mirfendereski	..	..	Foreign Affairs
Mr Mohammad Amin Riahi	..	..	Education and Training
Mr Manuchehr Ariana	..	..	Labour and Social Affairs
Dr Manuchehr Razmara	..	..	Health and Welfare
Mr Javad Khadem Ahmad	..	..	Housing and Urban Development
Abadi	..	..	Minister of State and Supervisor of Information and Tourism
Dr Cyrus Amouzegar	..	..	Economic Affairs and Finance
Dr Rostam Pirasteh	..	..	Posts and Telecommunications
Mr Lotfali Samimi	..	..	Agriculture and Natural Resources
Mr Manuchehr Kazemi	..	..	Industries and Mines
Dr Abbas Qoli Bakhtiar	..	..	Financial and Administrative Deputy to the Prime Minister
Mr Mohammad Moshiri-Yazdi	..	..	

* Replaced on Jan. 11 by Gen. Ja'afar Shafaqat [see below].

Dr Bakhtiar (63), a French-educated lawyer, had become involved in politics while a student at the Sorbonne in Paris through a group supporting the republicans in the Spanish Civil War; in 1939 he became a non-commissioned officer in the French artillery, subsequently joining the French resistance movement. On returning to Iran he became involved in politics as a supporter of Dr Mohammed Mossadeq, the Prime Minister in the early 1950s who founded the National Front and who was ousted by the Shah in 1953. As a member of the National Front he had been a consistent and outspoken critic of the Shah, despite being described as one of the most moderate and royalist members of the movement, and had served prison sentences totalling over five years; at the time of his appointment as Prime Minister he was described by many Western observers as second only to Dr Sanjabi in the leadership of the National Front. Dr Bakhtiar was also a senior member of the influential pro-Shah Bakhtiar tribe in south-west Iran.

The new Cabinet comprised men virtually unknown in political circles but mostly well known in their professions; it was described by an *International Herald Tribune* report of Jan. 7 as "thoroughly middle-class". Although having two representatives from ethnic minorities (the Kurds and the Azerbaijanis), it contained no other members of the religious and secular opposition groups, although Gen. Djam, the War Minister, was reported to have the respect of both the military and the political opposition. The latter returned to Iran

from London on Jan. 6 to take up his new post but resigned on Jan. 9, apparently because he wanted the armed forces to be responsible to him, whereas Dr Bakhtiar insisted that the Shah should remain supreme commander. On Jan. 11 Gen. Ja'afar Shafaqat, one of the Shah's closest aides in the armed forces, was appointed as the new Minister of War.

Dr Bakhtiar presented his Cabinet to the *Majlis* on Jan. 11 and put forward a 17-point programme for the new Government. This included the dissolution of Savak; the gradual abolition of martial law; the punishment of violators of human rights; the release of and payment of compensation to political prisoners; a greater role for Moslem religious leaders in the drafting of government legislation; and the continuation of ties with "Arab brothers", support being promised in particular to the Palestinians. The Prime Minister also confirmed earlier indications that Iran would no longer export oil to Israel [see above] and South Africa (which received some 90 per cent of its oil from Iran—see page 29259).

The new Government was approved by the Senate on Jan. 15 by 38 votes to one, with two abstentions and 16 members absent, and received a vote of confidence from the *Majlis* on Jan. 16 by 149 votes to 49, with 13 abstentions. (For the adoption of a bill on Feb. 5 dissolving Savak, see page 29743 below.)

Dr Bakhtiar had earlier outlined his Government's policies on Jan. 1 when he pledged inter alia that he would (i) "mete out the maximum punishment to those who violated the people's lives, property and honour and to those who have abused public funds"; (ii) "propagate the Islamic religion in my country and respect other recognized religions"; (iii) release all political prisoners; (iv) implement "as speedily as possible all the individual and social freedoms specified in the Constitution and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"; (v) gradually abolish martial law and ensure that "the Army will always be ready to defend the country's borders"; (vi) enable the press to function freely again "in accordance with the country's existing laws, without censorship"; (vii) aid the victims of the recent street violence; and (viii) ensure that all political parties "which are not illegal" would be able to resume their activity.

In the course of a press conference held at his Tehran home on Jan. 3 Dr Bakhtiar said that the Shah would leave the country temporarily after the installation of the new Government and that a regency council would rule in his absence; he added that the Shah would leave for a "period of rest and a holiday, whenever he deemed it appropriate and expressed his will to that effect". Earlier, on Jan. 1, the Shah himself had informed journalists of his desire for a period of absence from the country (reiterating this wish in his address to the new Government on Jan. 6), although his aides stressed that the Shah's absence would be for a vacation and medical treatment only.

Dr Bakhtiar had earlier been quoted by Western newspapers as having said that the Shah had agreed to leave the country for some considerable time and that fulfilment of this condition was a prerequisite for his acceptance of the premiership.

The United States on Jan. 4 said that it was ready to cooperate with the Government of Dr Bakhtiar, but the two main opposition groupings in Iran denounced it.

Ayatollah Khomeini on Jan. 6 said that obedience to the new administration was tantamount to "obedience to Satan" and called on employees at government ministries to refuse to obey the new ministers and to lock them out of ministry offices. National Front members on Jan. 4 issued a statement condemning Dr Bakhtiar's agreement to form a government which, they said, was a "betrayal of our cause", while at a news conference on Jan. 9 Dr Sanjabi said that the new Government was a "plot by opportunist characters".

On Jan. 2 a spokesman of Ayatollah Khomeini had denied allegations by US and West European intelligence officials that the Iranian Moslem opposition had received financial and military aid from Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—in which connexion it was noted that both the Libyan leader, Col. Moamer al Kadhafi, and the chairman of the PLO, Mr Yassir Arafat, had publicly expressed their support for Ayatollah Khomeini's movement. The spokesman denying the accusations said that the Ayatollah had received Libyan and PLO officials in Neuphle-Le-Château on Nov. 21 at their own request, but added that "there has never been any question of arms or military and financial aid". Another spokesman pointed out that the religious opposition was a "genuinely national Iranian movement".

Opposition to the Bakhtiar Government was demonstrated by continued unrest throughout the country. At the beginning of the year violent incidents occurred for the most part outside