HERE WE GO AGAIN

A REPORT ON THE STANFORD-IRAN CONTRACT

TO YOU BY THE ALLIANCE FOR RADICAL CHANGE



FEBRUARY, 1975

IRAN and the CONTRACT

Stanford University has a \$600,000 contract with National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT) to help design Iran's planned domestic communications satellite.

Stanford's two "principal investigators" on the contract are Professors
Bruce Lusignan of the Electrical Engineering Department and Edwin Parker of
Comunication. Dr. Lusignan will supervise system design, while Parker will
collaborate in the planning and coordinate the Communication Dept.'s role.

Theoretically the main function of the satellite system will be to educate the large portion of the Iranian people who live in isolated rural villages. The satellite system is the center piece of the fifth national plan, the first four having failed miserably. Iran still has an illiteracy rate of 75% even though the per capita income (computed as oil revenues divided by starving Iranians) is approaching that of many western countries. The shah tried a literacy corps in the early sixties and seventies but instead of reading, some of the corps started teaching the peasants revolution. A large movement was started in the north of the country; it was only crushed with much bloodshed.

Because of world opinion and his desire for a more valuable labor force, the shah wants to teach his people basic skills such as reading. But he does not want them educated in any real way. "Conditioned" might be a better word. Just as in Brazil, where a literacy program (crushed because it also fomented revolution led to proposals for a satellite system (which Professor Lusignan helped work on), the shah has opted for a system that will not only teach exactly what he wants it to, but

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THE SHAH AND NIXON PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO HIGHER PROFITS

Short History of Research at Stanford

Stanford was originally created as an institution dedicated to those too poor to pay for a higher education. Its metamorphosis into an elite research multiversity has been a long, drawn-out process. One of the principal engines of this change has been the phenomenal growth of sponsored research.

In 1935 president Wilbur appropriated \$5,000 to support all the sponsored research at Stanford. The operating budget guidelines for 1974-75 put research costs at \$75.8 million or 31.8% of the consolidated budget.

It was after WWII, when a Prof. Terman returned to Stanford after managing an electronics research lab for the Pentagon at Harvard, that Stanford entered sponsored research in earnest. Prof. Terman thought it would be better for all parties concerned if government research was done right on the campus so that when war came it wouldn't be necessary to move everyone to government controlled labs. Terman also pressured the trustees into creating the Industrial Park which soon filled up with ex-Terman students such as Hewlett& Packard and the Varian brothers who had fat contracts with the Defense Dept.

As Terman climbed up to the vicepresident office the level of research continued to escalate. When the Korean War started he managed to bring classified research to Stanford so as not to necessitate breaking up what he called "the community of technical scholars."

Research continued to grow unquestioned until the mid-sixties. During all these years of growth the effects of research funding began to fundamentally change the University Departments.

Electrical Engineering and Applied Physics grew at incredible rates. In these departments as well as many others (Communications, Political Science, Psychology, Education, the Life Sciences), research began to concentrate in the areas that would "sell" to governmental and other "buyers."

Stanford research has been extremely varied. Among other projects and technologies Stanford has been very important in radar and radar counter measures, "smart bombs," lasers, diffusion of ideas, satellite systems, the strategic hamlet program in Viet Nam, and night vision.

In the early part of the 68-69 academic year the SDS made classified research a major issue. This lead to an open community meeting in March with five of the Trustees. The Trustees were so totally discredited at this meeting

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Subimperialism: the U.S. and Iran

The US has supplied aid to the Shah that has been essential in maintaining his regime. American capitalists have made the Shah a junior partner in imperialism, a "sub-imperialist". The US depends on the Shah to police the Persian Gulf and suppress national liberation struggles that threaten American access to raw materials, particularly oil. The Shah's "development" programs have helped to provide US investors with a new supply of cheap labor to exploit. At the same time "development" has opened up more markets for US capitalists, especially for producers of military hardware.

The US has supplied aid to the Shah that has been essential in maintaining his regime. There are several reasons for this support. A chief issue is the oil of the Persian Gulf. Iran itself has an estimated 60 billion barrels of crude oil, or roughly one-tenth of the world's proven reserves. Iran is now producing 6.1 million barrels daily and is the world's second largest oil-exporting nation. The Persian Gulf countries as a whole contain about 53-58% of world reserves and supply 86% of the non-communist world's crude shipments.

The current pattern of Middle Eastern oil consumption is largely confined to Western Europe and Japan. However, US dependence on Gulf oil is going to

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Resistance & Repression

The Shah has not imposed his rule on Iran without a struggle. Iranian workers have struck numerous times to demand better wages and the right to organize their own labor unions. The government has not hesitated to use the military against these strikers. In a recent demonstration at Irana & Khavar Enterprises, 13 strikers were gunned down by the Shah's troops.

The universities in Iran are a center of opposition to the Shah's policies. In Feb., 1973, a nationwide student strike attacked the Shah's \$2 billion arms purchase from the U.S. and the anniversary celebration of the "White Revolution." In response paratroopers killed 16 students at Tabriz University. The regime was eventually forced to close the universities for a number of months.



There are over twenty thousand political prisoners in Iran. In 1971 alone, the Iranian regime arrested about 4,000 persons for political activities relating to the 2,500 years celebration Newsweek's Loren Jenkins gave a first hand report "As a result of SAVAK's witch hunt, hundreds of suspects have been arrested without charge, and tortured to provide leads for further arrests. At least a dozen suspects have committed suicide rather than submit to interrogation by SAVAK." (NEWSWEEK, April 24, 1972)

Starting this January the intensity of the terror has been increasing. Recent arrest include Dr. A.S.Salehi, SH.Moazed, L. Maysami, the famous theologian Dr. Shariati, as well as the writers Mirzedeh, Tonkaboni, Golshiri, and others. Dr. Salehi, who is seven months pregnant, is being tortured with the others. There are reports that some prisoners who have already been tried and sentenced to prison are being tortured again.

Since 1970 literally hundreds of Iranians have been executed after kangaroo trials. To quote from the Amnesty International report on trials for political prisoners: "This report on trial procedures for persons accused of political crimes in Iran draws attention to deficiencies in the procedures adopted during political trials. In particular:

a) The practice of trying civilians before Military tribunals, with attendant Military counsel for the

prosecution and defence.

b) The acceptance of evidence of confessions of guilt which the defendant may have already repudiated in court on the grounds that they were made under torture.

c) The practice of holding proceedings in camera (secret).

d) In some cases where defendants have lodged appeals with the Military Court of Appeal, this body has increased the sentence imposed by the tribunal in the first instance, even to the extent of imposing the death penalty where the trial court thought it unwarranted."

The actual trial consists of a report from SAVAK to the court on what they have found out and the resulting attempt by the defense lawyer to prove SAVAK is lying. Since SAVAK is under no obligation to produce any physical evidence and all prosecution witnesses are immune from cross-examination this is not easy. And since the defense counsel is always either a military officer or an ex-officer, and since in 1969 four of these counsels were executed for trying too hard, things are even more difficult. Most trials are closed to the public and all foreigners. The conviction rate is very close to 100%.

...SAVAK, WHICH WAS TRAINED BY THE CIA AND ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, IS REPUTED TO BE ONE OF THE MOST EFFICIENT SECRET POLICE FORCES IN THE WORLD...

Although official Iranian reports list the number of buildings belonging to SAVAK at nearly 1,000 the shah insists there are only 3,000 SAVAK operatives in Iran. A more realistic and accepted figure is 70,000. Add onto this a military establishment nearing 220,000 and a police force of several hundred thousand as well and you have half a million men and women under arms out of a population of 30 million.

The SAVAK, which was trained by the CIA and Israeli intelligence agencies, is reputed to be one of the most efficient secret police forces in the world. It operates not only in Iran, but where ever there are Iranians abroad, especially students since they form the heart of resistance to the Shah.

SAVAK uses torture, extensively employing techniques common in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, South Vietnam, and South Korea(and Greece and Portugal before their coups). The new Evin prison built on the outskirts of Tehran is reputed to have the latest torture equipment imported from the United States.

It is one thing to talk of death and torture in general terms, forgetting that human beings are the clay from which such talk is made. One should think of people, of faces when one reads of x number tortured or y number executed in some far-off land. As an academic exercise, give faces to the follow

ing names. Many of them were literacy
Corps rural teachers who organized a
large revolutionary movement in the
northern provinces. They were executed
during a seven month period in 1972.
ASSADOLLAH MEFTAHI
MASSOUD AHMADZADEH

MASSOUD AHMADZADEH
MAJID AHMADZADEH
ABBAS MEFTAHI
HAMID TAVAKKOLI
GHOLAM REZA GOLAVI
SAID ARYAN
MEHDI SAVALONI
BAHMAN AJANG
ABDOLKARIM HADHIAN SAPOLEH



"THE MOST WONDERFUL THING THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN."

The Shah Throws a Party

The definitive demonstration of the shah's priorities came in Oct. of 71 when he threw himself a party to commemorate 2500 years of monarchy in Iran. The party was originally scheduled for 1961 but the shah's position then was not stable enough, so it was put off for ten years.

Total costs for the celebration topped \$300 million. The guest list included 1 emperor, 9 kings, 5 queens, 16 presidents, 3 premiers and 40 lesser royalty. They stayed and dined in air conditioned tents made in Paris (everything came from France) and decorated with Baccarat crystal, Ceralene Limoges china, and Porthault linens.

The feast was catered by Maxims.

Altogether 25,000 bottles of wine were consumed along with 7,7000 pounds of meat, and 8,000 pounds of butter and cheese. On a 235 lb solid mahogany table the guest ate a main banquet, that included quail eggs stuffed with caviar, mousse of crayfish tails, stuffed lamb with truffles, and peacock stuffed with

foie gras. For dessert there was

champaign sherbet and a 751b cake. The shah said it was "The most wonderful thing the world has ever seen" The illiteracy rate in Iran is 75%. There are 12 beds for every 10,000 people (compared to 100-140 for developed countries), 26% of the population has diarrhea, 22% has the flu, 4.25% has measles, 4.2% has trachoma, 2.5% has malaria, and 2.22% has whooping cough. There is one doctor for every 3,223 people. 40% of Iranian families live in only one room. Malnutrition is common. Iran is listed as being on the verge of famine by the United Nations. But the shah felt what was needed was

Shah Says

a celebration.

"In Parliament, true, there are only two parties. But they are the ones that accept the twelve points of my White Revolution, and how many parties ought to represent the ideology of my White Revolution?"

The CIA and the Shah

America is a relative late-comer to Iranian politics. In 1901, the stage was set when, in exchange for sixteen percent of the profits, the Shah of Iran granted Englishman William Knox D'Arcy exclusive rights to prospect, develop, and export Iran's oil resources for the next sixty years.

In 1941 England and the U.S.S.R. occupied Iran in order to open the "Persian Corridor" for the flow of arms from the West to the Soviet Union. At this time the United States opened its Military Iranian Mission.

Among the Americans who travelled to Iran to aid the Iranian armed forces was one Col. H.N. Schwartzkopf, who was responsible for reorganizing the Gendarmerie, the "palace guards" of the Shah.

American aid to Iran continued after the end of World War II, including an agreement that the U.S. assume the exclusive responsibility for advising the Iranian Army.

In response to requests for U.S.

loans from Shah Reza Pahlavi in 1941,

the U.S. pressed demands for reform.

In 1950, the first relatively free
elections in years elected Dr. Mohammed

Mossadegh and seven other Nationalist

Party members to the Iranian parliament.

Mossadegh was a vocal critic of the exploitation of Iranian oil deposits at the hands of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the exclusive exporter controlled by the British government, which held fifty-six percent of the company's shares. Despite ever-increasing profits for the AIOC, the Iranian government continued to receive less than was guaranteed in its contract (less, in fact, than the taxes claimed each year by the British government.) Iranian dissatisfaction with the contract and with English violations grew steadily, and despite a last-minute offer by the AIOC of a revised contract, the Majlis (Commons) of the Iranian parliament unanimously endorsed Dr. Mossadegh's nationalization legislation, which passed the Senate five days later. On April 30, 1951, Mossadegh was elected Prime Minister by the parliament; the next day the nationalization of the oil industry went into effect.

> ...ALL IN ALL, THE COUP COST THE CIA \$19 MILLION...

Though the Mossadegh government offered to negotiate the terms of compensation for AIOC facilities and offered oil to the company at the international market price, negotiations soon broke down as the British refused to negotiate. Both England and the U.S. responded to the nationalization with strong economic sanctions. A world-wide boycott of Iranian oil was called by the British, and the U.S. State Department pressured American companies against dealing with the Iranian government. Iranian funds in British banks were frozen. The Eisenhower government ultimately threatened to shut off aid to Iran, and the U.S. gave Britain \$300 million in credits for purchasing oil elsewhere.

The U.S. played a confusing role, however, because, unlike the British, Americans were initially unwilling to overthrow a government that was both relatively stable (ninety-five percent of the Iranian people supported Mossadegh, according to the U.S. Ambassador at the time), and non-communist. America was also trying to enlarge its influence in the Middle East at the expense of the British; this took the form of playing

the role of "arbitrator" in the first year of the oil dispute.

However, as Iran's economic problems during the embargo on oil became more intense, and conflict broke out between Mossadegh and the Shah, U.S. policy turned against Mossadegh. At this time the CIA went into action.

Schwartzkopf, the American officer who had reorganized the Shah's gendarmerie from 1942-48, flew to Tehran "just to see old friends". He was then (1953) in the employ of the CIA; while in Iran he renewed acquaintances with the Shah and with his old colleague, Maj. General Zahedi, who replaced Mossadegh as prime minister after the coup.

Simultaneously, on August 10, 1953, Allan Dulles, head of the CIA, flew to "vacation" in the Swiss Alps. He was joined there by Loy Henderson, the new U.S. Ambassador to Iran, and by Princess Ashraf, the twin sister of the Shah. Three days later Shah Pahlevi decreed the replacement of Mossadegh by Zahedi, but the force that was sent to serve the decree to Mossadegh (at 1:00AM) found the Prime Minister's home surrounded by troops. The Shah and the Empress fled the country. Schwartzkopf remained.

Six days later, on August 19, the Armed Forces under the Shah's control began a 9-hour attack on Tehran, ending



AMBASSADOR TO THE US ARDESHIR ZAHEDI (WHOSE FATHER LED THE 1953 CIA COUP) RESPONDS WITH AN A-OK WHEN ASKED ABOUT US-IRANIAN RELATIONS.

with the arrest of Mossadegh.

Dulles of the CIA later wrote: "In Iran a Mossadegh and in Guatemala an Arbenz came to power through the usual processes of government and not by any Communist coup as in Czechoslovakia. Neither man at the time disclosed the intention of creating a Communist state. When this purpose became clear, support from the outside was given to loyal anti Communist elements in the respective countries, in the one case, to the Shah's supporters; in the other, to a group of Guatemalan patriots. In each case the danger was successfully met. There again no invitation was extended by the government in power for outside help."

It is of interest to note that
Allan Dulles had been a director of the
J.Henry Schroeder banking firm, which
together with Baron Reuter, had formed
the Bank of Iran, the major financier of
the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Dulles'
co-director at Schroeder's, Frank Tiarks
was also on the board of directors of
the AIOC. Both Allan Dulles and his
brother, U.S. Secretary of State John
Foster Dulles, had been prominent partners in the New York law firm Sullivan
& Cromwell, which was the legal counsel
to the AIOC.

The coup was immediately followed by fierce repression in Iran and a massive flow of U.S. aid to the Shah.

Mossadegh was tried and sentenced to 3
years solitary imprisonment and house
arrest for life. His Foreign Minister
was executed; the former Minister of
Justice died in prison. Newspapers were
suppressed and journalists imprisoned.
A massive crackdown on the Tudeh
(Communist) Party and suspected sympathizers and a purge of the Armed Forces
resulted in mass executions. 71 officers were sentenced to death.

Meanwhile, U.S. aid poured into the shah's regime. Over and above the nineteen million dollars spent by the U.S. on the coup, U.S. aid totalled \$127

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THAT ARMY ISN'T GOING TO FIGHT THE
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IRANIAN PEOPLE."

million for fiscal 1954. The aid was sent, in the words of Secretary of State Dulles: "in response to favorable political developments there."

Much of the aid to the shah has gone to support Iran's 200,000 person army, the shah's main base of support. Hubert Humphrey, after a visit to Iran reported indignantly: "Do you know what the head of the Iranian Army told one of our people? He said that the Army was in good shape, thanks to U.S. aid - it was now capable of coping with the civilian population. That Army isn't going to fight the Russians. It's planning to fight the Iranian people."

Stanford's Priorities

While Stanford hires out to the Shah, the administration not only has failed to serve the Stanford community, but also has moved to increase political repression on campus. Recommendations now under consideration would 1) eliminate SCIRE, SWOPSI and Urban Studies and 2) reduce financial aid for minority students. And Stanford has still not provided safe transportation for women on campus at night.

According to a memo from Dean Gibbs, minority students are a problem for Stanford because many of them "spend too much time trying to 'turn the institution around.'" Reducing benefits for first-year minority students would attract people "more attuned ... to the elitist nature of Stanford." In other words, the administration hopes to find people who are less likely to organize opposition to Stanford's racist policies.

SWOPSI, SCIRE and Urban Studies are another threat that the administration would like to eliminate. These extradepartmental programs have produced unfavorable reports on University-favored patterns of land use and Stanford involvement in military research. The Committee to Save SWOPSI, SCIRE and Urban Studies has revealed the truth behind Stanford's talk about "financial stress": "We must first understand that the issue of budget cutting is a front...Difficult decisions about budget cuts must be made, but they are being made through political tradeoffs rather than by evaluation of educational merit."

The University will not even provide for the physical safety of women in the community. Although attacks on women are clearly a problem, Stanford has never established a night-time transportation service or acknowledged a need for better lighting on bike paths. By its failure to act, the University helps to perpetuate the conditions that keep women "in their place" through the threat of rape.

Women in Iran

While being interviewed by Oriana Fallaci the Shah declared: "In a man's life women count only if they're beautiful and graceful and know how to stay feminine and...This Women's Lib business for instance. What do these feminists want? What do you want? Equality, you say? Indeed! I don't want to seem rude but...You may be equal in the eyes of the law, but not, I beg your pardon for saying so, in ability.

Q: Aren't we?

A: No. You've never produced a Michelangelo or a Bach. You've never even
produced a great cook. And don't talk
of opportunities. Are you joking?
Have you lacked the opportunity to give
history a great cook? You have produced
nothing great, nothing!

In the same interview the Shah claimed that they (women) have derived more advantages than anyone else from my White Revolution. I have fought strenuously to obtain equal rights and responsibilities for them." While women were granted the vote finally in 1963 it is a meaningless privilege since Iran is a total dictatorship. Women were also granted the right to have a divorce. Few Iranian women outside the small upper class know about this right and fewer still could survive alone in the Iranian economic system since women have hardly any legal rights and are exploited to an incredible degree.

Polygamy is still legal. In all cases of inheritance and bearing witness a woman is counted as half a man. In divorce cases women are not counted as witnesses at all. A daughter inherits only half as much as her brother. And if her husband should die a woman cannot be regarded as a guardian for her children. The automatic guardian is her husband's father.

One of the harshest laws against women is code 179 which states, "If a man finds his wife in bed with another man and injures or murders one or both of them, he is acquitted according to the law. If he sees his daughter, sister or mother with another man (who has

no interest in marriage) in bed and commits murder, he is sentenced from one to six months in prison. If he injures them, his sentence is from eight days to two months."

Economically the position of an Iranian woman is if anything worse than her legal status. Most Iranian women are peasants engaged in agriculture. A number of crops such as tobacco, tea, and rice are totally dependent on woman workers. Many of these women work for



their parents or husbands and are not paid. Others make 30¢ a day for 12 hours of work.

More than half of Iranian women and children industrial workers are employed in rug weaving factories where the world renowned Persian carpets are made. Conditions in these factories are the clearest examples of the regime's unwillingness to provide legal protection for women workers. A newspaper story pointed out that "These factories do not have enough light and are damp with stale air. Child workers not only lack

Outline of the Contract

The latest proposal from the National Iranian Radio Television company calls for a two year contract worth some \$600,000 plus. More than two thirds of this will be handled by Prof. Lusignan of Electrical Engineering. Roughly one third goes to Prof. Parker of Communications.

The contract is a technical assistance package to facilitate the creation and operation of a satellite system for Iran. The major contract tasks included under Satellite System Analysis are:

- --A-l Preparation of a review of Iran's present and planned communications facilities.
- -- A-2 Definition of Iran's communication needs.
- --A-3 Preparation of an analysis of available and planned commercial communications satellite systems equipment.
- -- A-4 Preparation of an optimum satellite system program.
- --A-5 Preparation of a satellite system implementation plan. --A-6 Assistance in preparation and
- review of satellite proposals.
 Under Programming Management Support the tasks are:
- --B-l Review of Educational TV in light of Iranian education plans.
- --B-2 A survey of the Education TV resources in the U.S.

- --B-3 Review of Education TV distribution and utilization problems.
- --B-4 Evaluation of the cost of television teaching as a function of the size of the local institution.
- --B-5 Preparation of an analysis of information systems and services that could be used to facilitate the storage and retrieval of reports, books, films and tapes.

Either side can terminate the contract unilaterally. If Stanford was to terminate it, Iran would pay the closing costs.

Performance of the contract began September 1, 1974, but the contract itself hasn't been finalized. Already, Stanford has received more than \$100,000 in payments. Engineering 235 "Communication Planning for Developing Areas' is being used as a work group to fulfill a number of the tasks of the contract. The class will write a report dealing with many of these tasks and suggested solutions. Prof. Rodgers' class, Communications 190 "Diffusion Techniques", is being videotaped so it can be sent to Iran. Of course, as with most such contracts, the bulk of the work is being done by the principal investigators and their graduate students.

necessary food, rest and pay but also lack sun light and fresh air and, therefore, often suffer from general weakness, anemia, and other illnesses. In Mershed tuberculosis and rheumatism are common among rug weavers." (Kayhan, Nov., 1968)

The wages received by women workers aren't enough to provide basic necessities of life. According to government

"IN A MAN'S LIFE WOMEN COUNT ONLY IF
THEY'RE BEAUTIFUL AND GRACEFUL..."
--Shah Pahlevi

statistics, "50% of women workers get 60-100 rials (75¢ to \$1.25) as their daily wages, 38% get 100-150 (\$1.35 to \$2.00) and about 12% get 250 rials (\$3.50)daily." (Iran Almanac and Book of Facts, 1972)

Women have long been prominent in reform and revolutionary movements in Iran. The Shah has banned all women's organizations except for the official "Women's Organization of Iran" which is headed by his sister Ashraf. Still many women have been killed in demonstrations executions, or torture sessions. Shahin Tavokoli might just as well have been speaking for all her sisters when she told her torturers after they had pulled out her fingernails and driven nails through her fingers "The more you torture me, the more I will resist."

Shah's Priorities

"Iran already has the biggest hover craft navy in the world, the largest naval base in the Persian Gulf, the most sophisticated missile system in the Third World, and is building the biggest air base in the Middle East to accommodate an air force that by the end of the decade will have more fighter-bombers than any member of Nato." (San Jose Mercury-News, Jan. 19/75)

Iran's budget calls for \$10 billion to be spent on military hardware in 1975. Among the many new orders are 80 F14 Tomcats from the U.S., 760 British battle tanks, and 250 lighter scorpion tanks to go with the 860 M60 and M47 U.S. tanks the shah already has, and an unspecified number of the new AH-IJ attack helicopters to go with the other 640 helicopters the shah has (many of them at the biggest helicopter school in the world where 1,000 Viet Nam veterans are teaching the Iranians how to fly). As soon as possible the shah plans to pick up six new destroyers being built in the U.S. as well as some

TEHRAN IS PROBABLY THE LARGEST CITY IN THE WORLD WITHOUT A SEWAGE SYSTEM. (NY TIMES, 12-7-74)

submarines and a helicopter carrier for the Indian Ocean. By 1980 the shah plans to be the 5th largest military power in the world.

Meanwhile, back in Iran, 75% of all living quarters are made of straw or mud. 41% of all families of five or more live in one room. 75% of all houses have no electricity; 85% have no water (Iran Report, Autumn, 71). About one third of all children die before the age of five. Life expectancy is 38 years.(Christian Science Monitor, Aug.24/67). The illiteracy rate is over 70% and health care is minimal to nonexistent. But at least this paradise is safe from outside aggressors. And of course internal disturbances.