

Iran Contract, cont.

is also amenable to tight central control. For an example of present Iranian educational material, see the adjoining box.

The whole concept of satellite education is under heavy academic attack. But, even without delving into theory, a number of things are clear. One of the chief uses National Iranian Radio/Television (NIRT, a government monopoly) envisions for the new system is educational television. The actual possibilities for educational TV are limited by the diversity of Iranian ethnic groups and the resulting differences in language. As the 1956 census revealed, only two thirds of the Iranian people speak Persian, and among Persian speakers, dialect differences are so great that many groups can't understand each other. Three other major languages (Kurdish, Azen, and Arabic) are unintelligible to many a Persian. These languages are spoken by more than 25% of the population. Since most of these people live in rural areas, educational television, only possible if beamed in by satellite, would not be presented in their languages because of the limited number of channels in the satellite system. Therefore, televised education will be meaningless for more than 25% of the Iranian population.

Perhaps the worst thing about the system is that it will provide SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, telephone access to every village in Iran. Means for data transfer within the country will also be possible. Obviously such developments will greatly increase the effectiveness of repression in Iran. No part of the country will be out of SAVAK's instant reach. Since NIRT and SAVAK are both directly under the Prime Minister, efficient cooperation and close coordination will be natural. Indeed, the satellite system may mainly be for SAVAK.

It is very interesting to note that one of the tasks in the contract is for an "analysis of information services that could be used to facilitate the storage and retrieval of reprints, books, films, and tapes." Considering that there are less than a million books in all of Iran (with the largest library only having 62,000), and that this data retrieval system is being modelled on SPIRES which is used by the Stanford library system that holds over 3 million books, it would seem that Iran has other information retrieval needs. The most likely use for the new system will be to facilitate a national identity card system and/or to store political data on dissidents. In Vietnam, Project Agile hired the Computer Sciences Corporation to use similar software to store "data on the political complexion of every hamlet in South Vietnam" and (with the CIA) to set up the I. D. system now being used there. Project Agile, a top-secret attempt of the Defense Department to utilize academic research in counter-insurgency operations, is active in Iran. Many contracts were awarded by this same agency to the Stanford Research Institute.

Professor Rodgers, who is teaching the course in diffusion techniques which is being filmed to be sent to Iran, has admitted that the persuasion skills and technology he teaches can be used by anyone. They are value free. Professor Parker, the principle investigator in the Communications department, has admitted that the chances the satellite system will prove "liberating" for the Iranian people are less than thin. This system allows the shah to indoctrinate the rural population of Iran without having to face the resistance of any

"Education" in Iran

FROM THE 2ND GRADE TEXT OF ALL IRANIAN SCHOOLS

Lesson #5

Oct. 25th is shahanshah Aria-Mehr's birthday. Iranians decorate the cities with lights on this day. Shahanshah Aria-Mehr's name is Mohamad Reza Pahlavi...shahanshah loves all of us and tries to make a better life for us. All the people of the world admire the great thoughts of shahanshah Aria-Mehr.

Queen Farah is the wife of shahanshah Aria-Mehr, she is the mother of the prince heir to the throne. Queen Farah loves all the children...

HOMEWORK

Write each of the following words three times: shahanshah, soldier.

Lesson #6

Iran's heir to the throne, his majesty Reza Pahlavi, was born on Oct. 30, 1960. Iran's heir to the throne has grown up now and is studying in educational fields. In addition to Persian he speaks French.

Iran's heir to the throne has a beautiful handwriting. He likes drawing, music, and handicrafts. He draws very well.

Since his birth on Oct. 30, this day has been designated as children's day.

HOMEWORK

A) Write each of the following words five times: His majesty, Heir to the throne

B) Answer each of the following questions:

1) Who is heir to the throne?

2) What day is dedicated to children?

C) Fill in the blanks with the following words: heir to the throne, handwriting, happy, birthday.

1) His Majesty Reza Pahlavi is _____ of Iran.

2) We all celebrate the heir to the throne's _____.

3) The heir to the throne has very good _____.

4) Iranian people are _____ that the heir to the throne was born.

Educate Yourself

IRAN

Amnesty International Report on Iran, August 14, 1972.

International Commission of Jurists Report on Iran, 1224 Chene-Bougeries/ Geneva, Switzerland.

"Giving the Shah Everything He Wants" Harpers, by F. FitzGerald.

The Civil Code of Iran (KDM GA 1973, Law Library).

Iran Census 1966 (HA 1861 S2).

Iran; The New Imperialism in Action by Bahman Nirumand (DS 318 N5713).

RESEARCH AT STANFORD

Department of Defense Sponsored Research at Stanford (2 Vols.) Stanton A. Glantz, et al. July 1971.

Operating Budget Guidelines 1974-75, Stanford University.

IMPERIALISM

"Multinational Corporations I and II" The New Yorker, Dec. 2 & 9, 1974 by Richard Barnet and Ronald Miller.

Monopoly Capital, Baran and Sweezy.

The Age of Imperialism, Magdoff, Harry, Monthly Review Press, 1969.

Imperialism and Underdevelopment. Robert Rhodes, ed. Monthly Review Press, 1970.

well-informed or questioning minds.

The internal communication capabilities of the system will mainly benefit the internal security organs, most notably SAVAK. A number of foreign investors, especially the oil companies, may benefit as well (just as they have benefitted from the expensive road system, the international airport, and the elaborate harbors). But for the people of Iran, the fifth national plan promises only what the first four gave: more repression; more suffering.

Shah Says

Shah: Freedom of thought, freedom of thought! Democracy, democracy! With five-year olds going on strike and parading the street. Is that what you call democracy? Freedom?

Interviewer: Yes.

Shah: Well I don't... Democracy, freedom democracy! But what do these words mean???

The Shah Consolidates His Power

The CIA coup that restored the Shah to power did not guarantee the stability of his regime. During the Fifties he had many problems similar to those Diem faced in Vietnam, including the need to buy off his own supporters. Even with American aid, Iran was constantly on the edge of bankruptcy. The response of the Iranian people was a resurgence of the nationalist politics of the Mossadegh era and its organization, the National Front. Disaffection and opposition to the Shah spread among the population despite his virtually total control over the government and military-security forces.

The Shah responded to these threats with the "White Revolution" whose central feature was land reform measures. The professed goals of land reform were to end feudal relationships in the countryside, give peasants land ownership, and distribute wealth more equitably. The first stage of the reform (1962-64) called for the following: no one was allowed to own more than one village with the exception of orchards, tea plantations, groves, homesteads, and mechanized areas. The remainder was to be sold to the government. Since this applied to individuals and not families, many large landlords easily avoided this stage by registering their land in the name of close dependants. Finally, only those villages who belonged to the new government-sponsored cooperatives were eligible for land, and those villagers providing more than labor (i.e. oxen owners) got first priority.

In this stage of the White Revolution only 7-8% of the peasants received any land. Of this small number, the vast majority were the wealthier peasants and oxen owners--a process that built on the already existing pattern of stratification in the villages.

The second stage of land reform (1964-67) was designed to turn sharecroppers into renters. In this stage another 6-7% of the peasant population received land. In the redistribution from both stages of the White Revolution only about 14-15% of Iran's peasants received any land. Two-thirds of these peasants did not acquire titles to the

land, but only became lease-holders or share-holders. 5% of the peasantry gained outright ownership of land during the entire White Revolution.

But land reform has not been a failure for the Shah. It enabled him to destroy the independent power base of the feudal landlords while compensating them sufficiently to maintain their loyalty. At the same time, he managed to divide the peasantry.

Increased oil revenues made the "White Revolution" possible. In the 1958-62 period, oil revenues were 45% of total government revenues; by 1967, they accounted for 55%. This increase in oil revenues was mainly due to increased production. Output from Iranian oil fields rose 600.5 million tons from 1961 to 1968--the largest increase in all the oil-producing states. Over 40% of Iranian oil is controlled by American firms; their co-operation in increasing production played a crucial role. In contrast, these companies undermined the radical nationalist government of Iraq that was fighting for nationalization of oil, by allowing oil production to increase only 185.3 million tons during the 1961-68 period. They helped to destroy Mossadegh's nationalist government in the 1950's by boycotting Iranian oil.

While oil revenues helped to finance "land reform", they were also used to increase internal repression and to purchase the loyalty of the army. Time [11/4/74] reports: "The Emperor freely admits that opposition to the monarchy is not tolerated in Iran. . . His principal instrument for maintaining internal security, as he sees it, is SAVAK, Iran's feared secret police organization which routinely scrutinizes job applications and requests for exit visas." The Shah was assisted in this effort by US military aid. From 1961-68, the US spent \$1.7 million on a Police Assistance Program to Iran and trained 216 Iranian police officers at training centers in the US. The police and the military have proved their usefulness by ruthlessly suppressing workers' strikes, student demonstrations, and rebellions by the nomadic tribes.

Shah Says

Interviewer: How many political prisoners are there today in Iran?

Shah: I don't know the exact figure. It depends on what you mean by political prisoners. If it's Communists you mean, for instance, I don't consider them political prisoners because Communism is against the law.

Gibbs for Shah

Help make Stanford the elite institution it was meant to be. The Right Honorable Dean Gibbs has pledged to clear out those who are "likely to nourish their peers' feelings of discontent and malice" and to execute all those who claim Stanford is "an alien, non-relevant educational institution."

He also promises to wage the campaign against the dissident provinces of SWOPSI and SCIRE with as much vigor as he has in the past. For a long time Dean Gibbs has been trying to bring these provinces under his complete control. He feels he can do this better as the SHAH instead of as a lowly Dean.

If you wish to help make Dean Gibbs the shah, send your contributions, endorsements, and spare ammunition to P.O. Box 2708, the Gibbs for Shah campaign headquarters.

Save Stanford as it was meant to be. Let's make Gibbs our next Shah.

Trustee William Hewlett, president of Hewlett-Packard and a director of FMC and Chrysler corporations, said at the famous open Trustee meeting in 1969, in response to a question asking if the University should accept research from the National Liberation Front, that knowledge was not the University's product.

"Stanford University is an organization in the United States... supported by the laws of the United States and financed primarily through United States funds. It's an organization of the United States, and these services are performed for the United States of America. I hardly call that a political decision. (Roar from the audience)... One must not forget that this University is an institution of the United States. Floor: So, the policy that you would take for the University, if it's an institution of the United States, is the policy which is chosen by the United States government? Am I correct?"

Hewlett: As far as I'm concerned it is."

Prof. Baxter, the head of the Committee on Research disagreed with this saying that sponsored projects could be done for anyone as long as they met the guidelines and, here's the rub, had the money. Either you conceive of the University as an integrated part of the United States government and committed to serving its interests or you conceive of it as for sale to the highest bidder.

The only practical research done for free is done in SWOPSI, SCIRE, and through ARLO all of whom do transportation, land use, child care and many other studies for the students and the community. Stanford's plan to end SCIRE and SWOPSI has made clear to us what the University thinks of research that does not turn a profit.



Research, cont.

that general opposition to war research at Stanford is considered to have started there.

On April 3, fourteen liberal/radical groups sponsored a meeting in Dink auditorium and the 800 students present passed demands calling for an end to chemical-biological warfare, classified, Viet Nam-related, and counter-insurgency research at Stanford. This was the founding of the April third movement.

The Trustees rejected a new chemical-biological warfare contract but refused to reply to any of the demands. On April 9th, 900 students voted to immediately occupy the Applied Electronics Laboratory.

The sit-in lasted for nine days, effectively stopping research. 1400 students signed Solidarity Statements

of participation. In unclassified files proof was found that project titles were doctored to make them appear more acceptable. President Pitzer closed AEL for a week. The faculty Senate promised to end all classified research, and the Dean of Engineering cancelled all classified contracts due to a lack of public support. The sit-in ended.

In 1971 a massive SWOPSI report on Department of Defense research and its effect on the University was published and led to national publicity. The report claimed that the massive infusions of war research money were distorting the University and subverting its academic objectivity, and in fact its freedom. However everyone doesn't agree as to the University's purpose.

Subimperialism, cont.

increase. According to ex-energy czar William Simon, oil imports accounted for 38% of US consumption in 1973; at least one-third of the imports originated in the Middle East or North Africa. By 1980 estimates put crude imports at about 50% of domestic consumption.

The US is thus interested in guaranteeing a supply of oil from Iran. In 1973 an agreement was reached between the Shah and the oil companies under which all responsibilities for oil production would be in Iran's hands with Iran promising to supply the companies with oil at discount prices for 25 years.

Iran has an even larger role in US strategy as the "policeman" of the Persian Gulf. According to US News and World Report (10/15/73), "The US counts on Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Iran's undisputed ruler, to police the unstable Persian Gulf area... The Shah's military forces, in turn, are virtually guaranteed access to up-to-date military equipment produced by the US, especially combat aircraft."

The Persian Gulf is an especially vulnerable spot because its channel is only 12 miles wide at its opening, the Strait of Hormuz. A US Senate report explains that "sinking just a handful of supertankers in critical passages could effectively block shipments from the (Persian) gulf for a long time. This could occur as the accidental or intend-



ed consequence of conflict within the gulf region or from deliberate efforts of an external state to interrupt the flow of oil. In either case, there is little the United States could do now to militarily forestall this possibility." Rather than stationing troops in the Gulf, the US prefers to use the Shah as a junior partner to block any threat to the flow of oil. This policy is not unique to Iran--- it is the same Nixon-Kissinger doctrine that is being applied in South Korea, Thailand and Brazil. The general strategy is to train local troops with American weapons and advisors as well as giving them military guidance in battle. These troops can be used for counter-insurgency within their region, just as Thai troops have been used in Laos and Cambodia.

REBELLION IN DHOFAR

The main threat to stability in the Gulf at this time is the revolutionary movement in Oman, located south of the Strait of Hormuz. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman has been fighting Sultan Qabus since 1968. The PFLO gained control over most of Dhofar (southern Oman) and in 1971 the struggle spread to the North of Oman. Guerilla actions against Shell Oil Co., which owned almost all of the oil contracts, were so successful that the company was forced to close its operations and leave the country. The Shah demonstrated his

willingness to assume the role of policeman by landing Iranian troops in Dhofar in an attempt to cut the PFLO's supply lines to Yemen. Since this failed, Iran has resorted to indiscriminate, saturation bombing of the liberated provinces to "soften them up" for a second Iranian offensive. The Shah is not at all embarrassed by Iran's role in Dhofar. In an interview in US News and World Report (5/6/74), the Shah explained why he was supporting the Sultan: "The people who are organizing the rebellion in Dhofar are people we cannot permit to take control of the

THE US DEPENDS ON THE SHAH TO POLICE THE PERSIAN GULF AND SUPPRESS NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES...

other side of the Gulf... these terrorists- these barbarians. They want to create disorder."

On the surface Iran seems to have made impressive steps in economic development. The Gross National Product has increased at an average rate of 10% each year for the last decade, and per capita income has increased from \$100 in 1960 to \$430 in 1972. However, Iran's development schemes have really only benefitted a handful of the population. Time (11/4/74) states: "Iran's new prosperity is unevenly shared. A scant 10% of the people control 40% of the wealth, while the bottom 30% enjoy only 8% of it. Inflation, now running at 20%, diminishes even these gains."

Economic growth that enriches the few and impoverishes the many is no accident, nor is it unique to Iran. As Karl Marx first understood, the transition to capitalism is essentially a transformation of peasants or nomads (who own their own means of subsistence) into a working class which must sell its labor power and then use wages to buy consumer goods. In the early stages of capitalism (through the 19th century) this process occurred chiefly in the US and Europe while the Third World was the source of raw materials. But now, advanced capitalism (imperialism) appropriates not only physical resources from the Third World but the most important resource of all, human labor power.

The Shah and US imperialism have cooperated in the destruction of both peasant and nomadic ways of life. Iranian officials estimate that the rural population will drop from 58% to 25% of the whole within a generation. There are presently about 50,000 villages in Iran; the government is trying to consolidate them into a smaller number of "poles", using compulsory resettlement when necessary. Some of the nomadic tribes have been forcibly settled in new labor centers consisting of rows of houses without walls or gardens.

CHEAP LABOR & US INVESTMENTS

Removed from their fields and herds the people of Iran are forced to work for extremely low wages. The skilled labor that is done by Iranians is paid from \$1 to \$2 a day; women working in tea fields are paid 30¢ a day. All genuine labor unions are outlawed; only government unions are allowed. The Shah equates attempts by workers to improve their conditions with treason. The police have broken up demonstrations for higher wages by shooting down un-

armed strikers and imprisoning labor organizers.

In the last few years literally hundreds of US and European corporations have moved into Iran to take advantage of cheap labor. Private investment from the US alone is expected to be about \$543 million in the next five years.

The Shah has made explicit efforts to attract foreign investment. To bring in agro-business companies (such as H-N Agro Industry of Iran & America), all new large-scale farms have been granted the right of duty-free import of machinery as well as a ten-year tax holiday on company earnings. American "high technology" firms are especially welcome in Iran. With their help the Shah is building an advanced commun-



ications infrastructure for both civilian and military applications.

Iran's transition to an industrialized, consumer society under the Shah has necessitated the import of capital and consumer goods, opening up a new market for US imperialism. Imports to Iran from the US are expected to reach \$5 billion during the 5th Development Plan (1973-78), making it the largest single market in that part of the world, the Indian subcontinent included.

A large portion of these imports have been military hardware-- part of the Shah's plan to build the fifth largest non-nuclear military in the world.

The Shah and his ruling elite in Iran have shown that they will sell

ADVANCED CAPITALISM (IMPERIALISM) APPROPRIATES NOT ONLY PHYSICAL RESOURCES FROM THE THIRD WORLD BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT RESOURCE OF ALL, HUMAN LABOR POWER.

out their country in return for their wealth and power. US imperialism has shown that it will use any means necessary in its systematic drive for cheap labor, markets, and raw materials. Although the Shah may squabble with imperialism over the size of his share of the plunder, without US imports, technology, and military assistance to maintain his security apparatus he would not be able to continue his economic and political rule.

How do we know this is true? The last decade has been a period of struggle of oppressed people both within the US and outside it. Some people look at this struggle and sum it up cynically, saying that nothing has been or can be achieved. We see it differently. From the prison yard at Attica to the rice fields of Vietnam we have seen the people's spirit of struggle cannot be broken. That is the meaning of the resistance of students and workers inside Iran. That is why we actively support their struggle.

Statements Against the Contract

IRANIAN STUDENTS STATEMENT

In regard to the contract between National Iranian Radio and Television and the Stanford Communication and Electrical Engineering departments, the General Assembly of Iranian students at Stanford has issued the following resolution: Due to the political repression in Iran and its extension abroad, we are unable to present this resolution ourselves and therefore thank all those willing to act on our behalf.

We strongly oppose the Stanford contract and request the University to withdraw its approval. We also support those Stanford groups in their opposition to the contract.

From 1953, when the CIA-led coup brought the shah back to power until the present day, the Iranian regime has had one main directive: to suppress those rising against the ever widening class disparity; the ever increasing corruption at all levels of political life; the lack of the most primitive forms of freedom, democracy and social expression and the continuous naked exploitation of Iranian human and natural resources rendering masses more and more impoverished and destitute.

This dynamic of suppression/oppression has been carried out through large-scale mass propaganda engraving the "imperial ideology" onto Iranian society. Where unsuccessful, the police-military-SAVAK machine is operative which has resulted in many, many deaths and more than 20,000 political prisoners.

In compliance with the shah's self-declared intention of policing the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, the army's role has been extended to neighboring countries in order to defeat the revolutionary forces opposing foreign dominance in their lands.

Thus, we believe that the 4 billion dollar satellite will be merely a coercive element of the state's apparatus in its twofold purpose of oppression and indoctrination serving only the U.S. world strategy of dominance.

COMMUNICATION STUDENTS STATEMENT

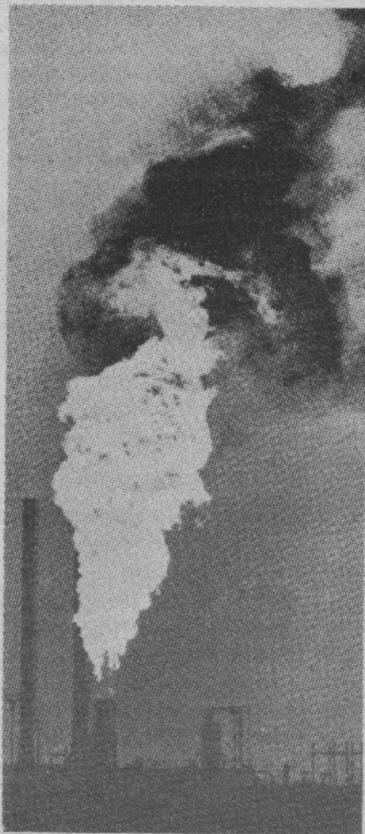
We join in opposition to the contract between Stanford and the Government of Iran. As members of the Institute for Communications Research, we have an interest in the implications of this contract for our colleagues as well as for the peoples of Iran.

As researchers, we oppose this contract because it bears little promise for the expansion of knowledge. Indeed, on its face, its only promise is the further distortion of the traditional role of independent scientific inquiry-- a distortion magnified by this university's history of involvement in military research.

After careful review of this contract, the project described emerges as little more than technical assistance and transfer inextricably tied to the expansionist marketing goals of US imperialism.

We must protest.

As members of the human community, we must oppose this contract because it represents a serious threat to the poor



and oppressed peoples of Iran and the Middle East. The policy of political repression which characterizes the present regime in Iran is likely to be reinforced and escalated as a result of increased, centralized control over the production/distribution of information.

We are not convinced that the mere provision of telephone services with a capacity for multiple-user conference links is sufficient to overcome the complementary increases in surveillance and persuasive capacity. Indeed, Prof. Parker, the principal defender of the contract within the Institute, describes the likelihood of a favorable liberating outcome as something less than thin.

That he continues to participate in the contract over the considered objections of the majority of the members of the Institute's Research Advisory Committee troubles us deeply. His decision points perhaps, to the complexity of economic and political pressures developing within the military-industrial-education complex.

At this stage in the process, we are asking that all members of the Institute and other concerned members of the Stanford community, join us in both reflection and opposition to this contract and others which promise to turn already self-destructive tendencies into debilitating habits that are increasingly more painful to break.

What Is Arc?

We are a group of Stanford people who have met since October. We are united in the fight against imperialism, racism, sexism and class exploitation here and abroad. Our primary focus is the struggle at Stanford University for education that serves people, not profits. We are committed both to political action and to community and internal education. Important to our education is learning to work well collectively.

ALLIANCE FOR RADICAL CHANGE STATEMENT

We oppose the contract between Iran and Stanford because it is not in the best interests of either the Iranian people nor those of the Stanford community.

It is not in the best interests of the Iranian people because a close study of the contract has convinced us that its real purpose is not to facilitate the education of the 75% of the Iranian people who are illiterate, nor is it to help with the growth of the underdeveloped internal economy. Instead it will be used to tighten the already terrible hold the secret police (SAVAK) have on the Iranian people, to serve as a public relations counter to the all too true charges that the people of Iran are suffering both incredible injustice and exploitation, to help the large foreign investors further exploit Iran, and to propagandize and manipulate the Iranian people. We can and will document all of these charges.

It is not in the best interest of the Stanford community because first and foremost it is immoral and unwise for us to continue to help the United States and other imperialistic powers maintain repressive regimes in third world countries so as to facilitate their exploitation. It is also not in the best interest of Stanford, conceived as an intellectual community, because it is not original or intellectually meritorious research, or even research at all. It is a straightforward production contract, and as such it marks an important step in the University's long march away from the quest for knowledge toward becoming a technological factory.

This contract was approved over the objections of a committee set up by the Communication Department to review its academic merit and the effect it will have both on Stanford and on the people of Iran. It is also strongly opposed by the vast majority of the Iranian community at Stanford.

We strongly urge that Professors Parker of Communication and Lusignan of Electrical Engineering withdraw from this contract. If they refuse we call upon Stanford University to withdraw approval.

It is time that research done at Stanford serve the interests of knowledge and help better the lives of people everywhere instead of serving the interests of the rich and corrupt and facilitating the continuation of exploitation, repression, and injustice.

Join Us

The Alliance for Radical Change meets every Monday night at 9:30PM in the Columbae lounge.

For more information, contact one of the following people:

Dave	321-8868	Tom	321-5482
Chris		Seth	324-0940
Diane	328-8345	Cindy	325-9129