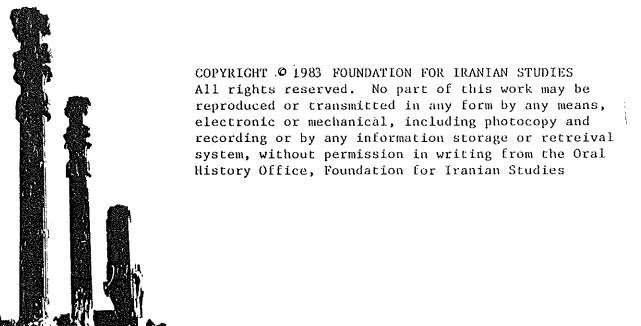
Foundation for Iranian Studies Program of Oral History

MR. AHMAD AHRAR

INTERVIEWED BY SHIRIN SAMII

Paris, September 17 & 19, 1983



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PREFACE

This manuscript is the product of a series of tape-recorded interviews conducted for the Oral History of Iran Program of Foundation for Iranian Studies by Shirin Samii with Ahamd Ahrar in Paris, France in September, 1983.

Readers of this Oral History memoir should bear in mind that it is a transcript of the spoken word, and that the interviewer, narrator and editor sought to preserve the informal, conversational style that is inherent in such historical sources. Foundation for Iranian Studies is not responsible for the factual accuracy of the memoir, nor for the views expressed therein.

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آینجانب متن و نوار معاصبه های انجام شده در ارتباط با برنامه "تاریخ شفا هی ایران" را به بنیاد مطالعات ایران هدیه میکنم تا در اجرای برنامه های آموزشی و تحقیقاتی بنیاد به هر نحو ی که مطحت میدانند از آن استفاده نمایند.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Admad Ahrar was born in Tehran in 1935. He began writing newspaper articles when he was a high school student and continued working in this field all his life. He began his career with Etalaat newspaper and continued working with the same journal in various positions, including that of the editor.

Mr. Ahrar had a variety of friends and acquaintances in the fields of journalism and politics. He advised a number of high government officials, including prime minister Amouzegar. He was politically conscious and active most of his adult life and his position at the widely circulated Etelaat brought him into contact with a wide variety of events and personalities. His recollections shed light on the problems of censorship, interaction with the government, and the processes involved in publication of a newspaper in pre-revolutionary Iran and the further deterioration of the press after the revolution. There are revealing incidents concerning contact with premiers Hoveyda and Amouzegar, as well as contacts with various journalists and journalists turned government officials. His memoir is interesting in its description of the political atmosphere prior to the revolution and immediately after Khomeini's coming to power.

SUBJECT

Educational background, beginnings of work as journalist, appointment to the post of editor of Etelaat and editor of Etelaat Javanan magazine, teaching at the School of Journalism, contacts with a variety of key political and social figures in the country 1-2

Censorship in Iran and its backgrounds, auto-censorship as a feature of Iranian journalism, other types of censorship, history of censorship during Reza Shah's reign and its implementation techniques during this period, freedom of expression and political freedoms on the eve of Reza Shah's abdication, irresponsibility of the press, increase in pressure and censorship after attempted assassination of the Shah in 1948, transfer of the bureau of censorship from the police to the radio publications office, 2-5

28th Mordad events and censorship, relative freedom of the press from 1948 to 1953, gradual increase in censorship after 1953 and establishment of martial law and creation of the Security Organization, passage of the press law and increase in censorship, existence of many channels for censorship in SAVAK, in the prime ministry and the military government, lack of clear directives for censorship, relationship between the political atmosphere and implementation of censorship, positive and negative aspects of contact between government and the press 5-8

Recollections of the interviewee concerning some instances of censorship, Moharam-Ali Khan as the government official in charge of censorship, the strictness of intellectuals and journalists who were appointed to posts related to press affairs, complaints of Hoveyda concerning mischiefs against the government seen in Keyhan and Etelaat, anecdote concerning the letter from a resident of Kan, a village in the Greater Tehran area and the misunderstanding concerning the Persian script's similar rendering of the man's name to that of President Kennedy's, appointment of a government representative to guide journalists with regards to policy matters and discontinuation of this system

Censorship in minor matters, government orders to printers not to print certain materials, strictness of censorship implemented at the time when the Minister of Information was himself a journalist, indirect censorship through government officials employing journalists assigned to their bureaus, attempts to stop publication of unwanted material before the papers were printed rather than controlling distribution, personal relationships used as vehicles of pressure by government and military officials, various methods used by the government to effect the media 15-19

Speech by premier Hoveyda announcing a new openness in the political atmosphere and guarantees of freedom of expression, censorship of this speech indiSUBJECT

cating both an attempt to change the political direction of the country and uselessness of such an attempt due to lack of necessary change in the apparatus and personnel who would be expected to implement it, beinnings of distribution of leaflets and night letters and statements by various groups and the contradictory signals received from the establishment, the harsh declaration of Haj Seid-Javadi attacking the system and his being called before SAVAK and treated with utmost respect, confusion of security elements concerning these contradictions

Close association with the United States and dependency of policy makers on the policy stance of the American administration, changes in these policies during Kennedy, Nixon, Ford and Carter presidencies and their effect on Iranian politics, opposition notices these effects, problems of the regime in making changes in customary policies and methods, Shah's interest in holding on to power, the need to change Hoveyda against the Shah's own inclination, the Shah's intention in changing Hoveyda and appointing Amouzegar, interviewee's proposal rendered to Amouzegar and his statement that the Shah wishes him to administer the bureaucracy and stay away from political issues, leaving these issues to Hoveyda, acceleration of the internal conflicts and Shah's paralysis of will

The article against Khomeini and the facts behind its origin and publication procedure, attempts of the newspaper personnel to spike the article, Homayoun's insistence that it must be printed, contact with the prime minister, extreme reaction in Qom to the printing of the article in Etelaat and burning of the newspaper headquarters 27-31

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Causes of the Islamic Revolution and its effect on the press, similarities between the Russian and the Iranian revolutions in their gradual transformation and transfer of power from the liberal to the radical elements and weakened reactions of the regime in power, effects of transfer of power from the Republicans to the Democrats in the United States on Iranian politics, democrat's attempts to limit the Shah's power, Shah's plans to bring about a more open political atmosphere while keeping control, his intentions to use Hoveyda as manipulator of the political scene from his post in the ministry of court

Shah's weakness creating the necessary foundation for the opposition,

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Establishment of ties between various opposition groups, transformation of various institutions to opposition vehicles for political action, newspaper strikes, Azmun's plans while Minister of Information in Sharif-Emami's cabinet, preparation of a contract between the government and the Journalist's Syndicate on the freedom of the press, connection between the syndicate and the revolutionaries, complete change in the attitude of the press when the Shah left the country

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Leftist liberals as the most instrumental in implementing censorship in the revolutionary establishment, expropriation of Ayandegan, establishment of revolutionary committees in each newspaper to control the output, recollection of the Etelaat revolutionary committee and the member's revelations about each other to include disclosures concerning membership of one of them in SAVAK, Dr. Mofatah's mission on behalf of Khomeini to review the situation at Etelaat and the gradual control of the press by the mullahs and complete suppression of freedom of expression

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Causes of coming to power of the clergy, mobilization capabilities of the clergy and their readiness to use violence, lack of unity and presence of conflicts between the intellectuals, the role of Bazargan and Sanjabi in delegating leadership to Khomeini, Mosque as the nucleus of revolutionary action for the clergy as well as the intellectuals, possession of a network of contacts by the clergy and their influence on the people, characteristics of Bazargan and his lack of leadership qualities, Khomeini's reasons for choosing Bazargan, gradual usurpation of public office and all institutions by the mullahs

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