

# Foundation for Iranian Studies

## Program of Oral History

Ghoreishi, Ahmad

INTERVIEWEE: AHMAD QOREYSHI

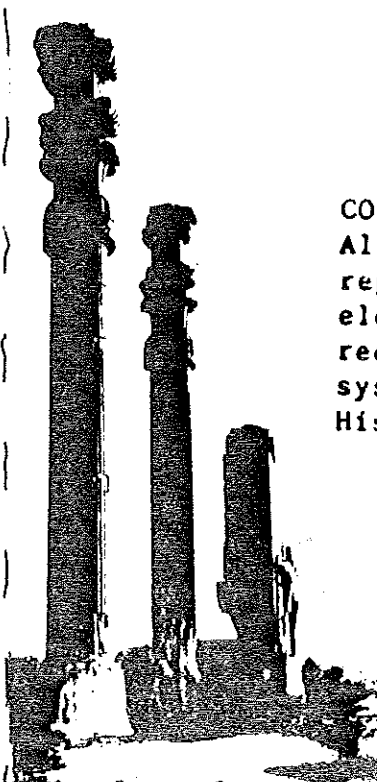
INTERVIEWER: SEPEHR ZABIH

MORAGA, CA.: APRIL 15, 1983

&

INTERVIEWER: SEYYED VALI REZA NASR

WASHINGTON, D.C.: JULY 8, 1988



COPYRIGHT © 1988 FOUNDATION FOR IRANIAN STUDIES  
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy and recording or by any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the Oral History Office, Foundation for Iranian Studies

اینجانب متن و نوار مصاحبه‌های انجام شده در ارتباط با برنامه  
" تاریخ شفاهی ایران " را به بنیاد مطالعات ایران هدیه  
میکنم تا صرفاً " در اجراء " برنامه‌های تحقیقاتی بنیاد از آن استفاده  
نمایند.  
موارد دیگر استفاده از این نوار و متن باید با اجازه اینجانب  
باشد.

دکتر احمد زرینگر

مصاحبه شونده

بهرزنگ

مصاحبه کننده

۱۳۸۲

تاریخ

حزب رستاخیز داریاگان ۱۳۸۷

موضوع نوار

## PREFACE

This manuscript is the product of a series of tape-recorded interviews conducted for the Oral History of Program of Foundation for Iranian Studies by Sepehr Zabih and Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr with Ahmad Qoreyshi in Moraga, Ca. in April 15, 1983, and in Washington, D.C. in July 8, 1988.

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.

The manuscript may be read, quoted from and cited only by serious research scholars accredited for purposes of research by Foundation for Iranian Studies; and further, this memoir must be read in such place as is made available for purposes of research by Foundation for Iranian Studies. No reproduction of the memoir either in whole or in part may be made by microphoto, typewriter, photostat, or any other device.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Ahmad Ghoreichi was born in Meshed in 1933. He completed his elementary education in that city, his high school education in England and his higher education at the University of Colorado and the University of California at Berkeley. After receiving his Ph.D. degree in political science he taught at the University of Colorado for a year prior to returning to Iran to teach at the National University of Iran. He later became Dean of the College of Economics and in 1977-1978 he was appointed Chancellor of the University. On the establishment of the Rastakhiz Party, Dr. Ghoreichi was involved in the formulation of the framework, by-laws, and operational methods of the party structure. He was selected as member of the Executive Committee, member of the Political Bureau and later was chosen as the President of the Executive Committee of the Rastakhiz Party.

Dr. Ghoreichi comes from a prominent family in Khorassan and has close ties with influential figures in the fields of politics and industry. His position as the Chancellor of National University as well as his party activities kept him at the center of the political transformation which was to change the country radically. His recollections reveal facts concerning the events of 1977-1978 seen from the vantage point of the leadership of the Rastakhiz Party

CONTENTS INTERVIEW # 1 DR. AHMAD QOREYSHI

SUBJECT

PAGE

Background of the establishment of the Rastakhiz Party, establishment of a committee under the direction of Manouchehr Ganji to study the causes of alienation and lack of political participation by the people, preparation of a proposal to be rendered to the Shah concerning the necessity of dialogue between the people and their government, the role of the two parties--Iran Novin and Mardom--and the shortcomings of the system, increased participation of the people in a provincial election, 1

The vast network of Iran Novin and its competition with Mardom during the interim elections, effects of higher spending on the election results, proposal of the committee to put in effect a one party system and the Shah's opposition to the idea, his reference to a statement in Mission for My Country in which he calls a one party system against the Iranian constitution, surprise announcement of dissolution of all parties and establishment of the Rastakhiz Party 2-3

Participation of the people in the political process a goal of the Shah in setting up the Rastakhiz, necessity for change in the government on the eve of the establishment of the new party, lack of dialogue among the various groups and sectors of society, public delegation of all responsibility for decision making to the Shah by the Iran Novin leaders, improvement in participation and political activity immediately after the establishment of Rastakhiz 3-4

Election procedures during Rastakhiz and non-interference of the government once the candidates were selected, costs of free elections, single-member district versus population relative allocation of representatives, need for revision of the election laws 5-6

Inner structure of the Rastakhiz, lack of clear definition of relations between government and the single party, application of ideas taken from single party countries such as Egypt, Algeria and USSR, HIM's views on necessity of close relationship between the party and the government, repeated changes in the party leadership and lack of continuity within the party, HIM's mistake in reappointing Hoveyda and his cabinet after Rastakhiz when the people expected a thorough change 6-8

Replacement of Hoveyda by Amouzegar as Secretary-General of the party, problems of a system when the Prime Minister is also the chief person in the single party, honesty, intelligence and lack of political expertise of Amouzegar, Baheri as Secretary-General and his political style, conflict between Amouzegar as Prime Minister and Baheri as Secretary-General of the party, cooperation of Ansari, Hoveyda and Amouzegar in eliminating Baheri from the scene 8-10

CONTENTS INTERVIEW # 1 DR. AHMAD QOREYSHI

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
The two wings of Rastakhiz, influence of the party in the Majlis, problem of relations between Majlis and government, party as the intermediary between representatives and government officials in cases of conflict, ideological differences between the Progressive and the Constructive wings of the party, refusal to accept responsibility by high officials of the party and misrepresentation of the facts to the Shah	10-12
Shah's participation in party matters, giving in to the opposition and thus weakening the party and the government, Sharif-Emami's statement that he does not belong to the Rastakhiz Party and the beginnings of the disintegration of the structure of Rastakhiz, Shah's two choices: to declare martial law and use force to quiet the opposition or dissolve the Majlis, accept the consequences of a free election and allow variety and conflict within the system	13-14
Lack of influence of the United States on the Shah except during the last few months of his reign, the Queen's role in national policy formulation and her influence on her husband	14-15
The role of ex-communists in the Rastakhiz, influence of the leftists in the National Iranian Radio and Television Organization, their sabotage activities and anti-regime stance, Qotbi's support of these elements	15-16
Over-statement of SAVAK's power and efficiency, relations between the party and SAVAK and security clearance for Majlis candidates, participation of labour, the bazaar, students and clergy in the party, reduction of the budget allocated to assist the clergy during Amuzegar's tenure and the role of this on the subsequent dissatisfaction of this group, the one party experience, inter-relation between the limits of royal power and the possibility of public participation in political matters	16-20
Family background, employment at the National University, the structure and working of the National University, selection of the chancellors of the University, changes in the political climate of Iran, memoirs of teaching at the University, extent and manner of interference of SAVAK in the affairs of the universities	21-28
Reasons for the emergence of Rastakhiz Party, relations between government and the Party, structure of Rastakhiz Party, concerning the characteristics of Jamshid Amuzegar	29-35
Characteristics of Prime Minister Hoveyda and his relations with the Court, Mr. Alam's position and modus operandi, concerning the governorship of Khurasan, the beginnings of the revolutionary fervor in 1977.	36-43
Contacts between Qoreyshi and Amuzegar concerning the meeting between the Shah and Sanjabi, characteristics of Parviz Sabeti, SAVAK and the Revolution	44-46

QOREYSHI, AHMAD

Name	Page
Afkhami, Gholam-Reza,	1,8,29
Alam, Amir Asadollah,	3,25,30,36
Alikhani, <sup>c</sup> Ali-Naqi,	25,27,37
Alimard, Amin,	1,29
Amuzegar, Jamshid,	2,7-12,16,18,32,33,37,40-42
Ansari, Hushang,	10,12,14,16,37,41
Azmun, Manuchehr,	15,32,33,42
Baheri, Mohammad,	3,9,10,15,32,33
Bakhtiyar, General Teymur,	46
Bakhtiyar, Shapur,	43
Bani-Ahmad, Ahmad,	11,17
Bina, <sup>c</sup> Ali Akbar,	22
Endowments Organization,	17-18
Eqbal, Manuchehr,	25
Events of 1963-64,	38
Farmanfarmaiyan, Khodadad,	26
Ganji, Manuchehr,	1,4,15,29
Helms, Richard,	38-39
Hoveyda, Amir <sup>c</sup> Abbas,	3,4,7,10,12,15,16,18,19,26,29-33, 36-38,40-42
Iran Novin Party,	1,2,5,7,28,30,33-34
Khonsari, Ayatollah Ahmad Musavi,	44
Khonsari, Parviz,	26
Madani, Admiral Ahmad,	43
Mahdavi, Fereydun,	7,32
Majidi, <sup>c</sup> Abdol-Majid,	10,11
Mansur, Hasan <sup>c</sup> Ali,	25
Mardom Party,	1,28,30,33
Milani, <sup>c</sup> Abbas,	26-27
Mojtahedi, Mohammad <sup>c</sup> Ali,	22
Mogaddam, General Naser,	45-46
Mo <sup>c</sup> tamed,	22
Nahavandi, Hushang,	15,25,33,42
Nasiri, General Ne <sup>c</sup> matollah,	45-46
Nasr, Seyyed Hossein,	15
National Front,	14,44
National University of Iran (Melli University),	21-24,26-28
Nikpey, Gholam-Reza,	31
Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza Shah,	1,2,7-10,12,13,16,24,28-32,36, 38-43,45-46
Pahlavi, Prince <sup>c</sup> Abdol-Reza,	8,24
Pahlavi, Queen Farah,	14-16,29,30
Pirniya, Baqer,	37-39
Puyan, Anushiravan,	22,32
Qazi,	29
Qotbi, Reza,	15,16,43-44
Rahnema, Majid,	27



QOREYSHI, AHMAD

Name	Page
Raji, Parviz,	15
Rastakhiz Party,	1,4-15,17,18,25,28-35
Razmara, Manuchehr,	42-43
Revolution of 1978-79,	13-14
Rowhani, Mansur,	11
Sabeti, Parviz,	11,42
Safaviyan, <sup>C</sup> Abbas,	22
Sanjabi, Karim,	43
SAVAK,	16-17,26-28,35,44-46
Sharif-Emami, Ja <sup>C</sup> far,	13,42-43
Sharifi, Amir Hushang,	25
Shari <sup>C</sup> ati, <sup>C</sup> Ali,	45
Shari <sup>C</sup> atmadari, Ayatollah Seyyed	
Mohammad Kazem,	42,44
Sheykh Baha'i, Amir Hosein,	17
Sheykholeslam, <sup>C</sup> Ali,	21-22
Shirazi, Ayatollah Abol-Hasan,	42,44
Siyasi, <sup>C</sup> Ali Akbar,	24
Taslimi, Manuchehr,	15
Tehran University,	24,37
Torbati, <sup>C</sup> Emad,	42
Tudeh Party,	15,32,33
Valiyan, <sup>C</sup> Abdol- <sup>C</sup> Azim,	39-40
White Revolution of 1963,	25