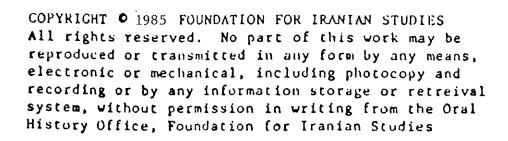
Foundation for Iranian Studies Program of Oral History

ALI SHAKERI

INTERVIEW WITH ALI SHAKERI
INTERVIEWED BY SHIRIN SAMI'I
PARIS, MAY 14 & 25, 1984 AND
FEBRUARY 15, 1985



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 Sami'i with Ali Shakeri in Paris in May 14, 1984, May 25, 1984 and February 15, 1985.

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.

اینجانب متن ونوارمصاحبه های انجام شده در ارتباط بابـرنامـه " تاریخ شفاهی ایران " رابه بنیاد مطالعات ایران هدیه میکنــم تادراجرای برنامه های آموزشی وتحقیقاتی بنیاد مورداستفاده قرار گیـــرد،

ملاحظات:

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Ali Shakeri was born in Iran in 1938. He completed his highschool education in Iran, before leaving the country for Switzerland. Shakeri studied Physics and the social sciences in Switzerland and France, and has taught in these subjects at the Universities of Lausanne and Paris.

Ali Shakeri's political activities began with his association with Pan-Iranism and the National Front in 1953, while he was still in highschool. Once in Switzerland he became a director of the Student Society of Lausanne through which he was introduced to Iranian student politics in Europe.

He became a founding member of the National Front Organization of Europe, as well as the chairman of the First Congress of the Confederation of Iranian Students. He remained a National Front activist and participant in the CIS until the Iranian revolution when he returned to Iran for a brief stay following many years of life in exile.

CONTENTS OF INTERVIEW OF ALI SHAKERI

SUBJECT	PAGE
Educational background, expulsion from Switzerland on two seperate occasions; return to Iran following the fall of the Bakhtiyar government; departure from Iran; accusations of collaboration with the CIA leveled against Shakeri by Yazdi as part of Majles' centure of Qashqa'i	1-2
High school education in Iran; the start of his political activities; involvement with Pan-Iranism, the National Front and Foruhar; divisions within the Pan-Iranist movement	2-4
His political activities during his student years in Europe; political inclinations of the first Tranian student cells in Europe; genesis of a National Front network in Europe	4-6
The origins and history of the Confederation of Iranian Students (CIS); the founding members of CIS, (1959-1961); proceedings of the First Congress, London, 1961, and the moderate and Tudeh factions' activities; political posture of the First Congress	6-8
Deterioration of relations between Tehran and student cells in Europe; confiscation of the passports of Fatemi and Qotbzadeh in the U.S. following clashes between Zahedi and a number of Iranian students; formation of the Federation of Iranian students of America; reaction of European federation to Zahedi's move against Fatemi and Qotbzadeh	8-9 ons
Shakeri's part in the student occupation of the Iranian Consulate in Geneva in response to the confiscation of passports; Amini and Arsanjani's futile attempts to have the students out of the Consulate; escalation of the passport issue into a stand-off between CIS and the government; the gradual radicalization of the CIS and the crystalization of its anti-Shah stance and the emergence of a united student front against the regime as a consequence of the passport issue	9-10
How Amini and Arsanjani's willingness to negotiate with the students placed undue import on their cause, actions, and political organization; as a consequence, Iranian students realized the potential political power which is inherent in an alliance among Iranian student organizations abroad; increasing power and reach of the CIS in the ensuing years	11

SUBJECT	PAGE
The CIS secretaries elected during the First Confederative Congress in London in 1961, their political positions and contribution to the radicalization of the CIS; the way in which the secretaries were elected in London; prevalence of leftist activists in the European secretariat of the CIS and the predominant presence of National Frontists in the world-wide secretariat (convened in 1962 in Paris); reaction of the Tudeh and leftist secretaries to the overwhelming presence of National Frontists in the Paris Congress of 1962	11-13
The election of Shakeri to the chairmanship of the Paris Congress following Tudeh-leftist withdrawl; participation of Iranian students from America and Tehran University in the Paris Congress (presence of a SAVAK agent)	13
Disputes over the legitimacy of the CIS leadership in the aftermath of the Paris Congress and the Tudeh activists' subsequent acceptance of the <u>fait accompli</u> at Paris	14
The maneuvers of the National Front group within the CIS leadership to secure its position prior to the Congress of Lausanne (1964); the budget for the CIS congresses and proceedings, sources of various federations' funds and outside contributions made to CIS	14-16
Extent of his participation in the CIS; numbers of years of his activities, and the position which he held in the CIS; outcome of the Lausanne Congress (1964); Third CIS Congress in London; growing anti-Soviet feelings in that Congress and the subsequent factionalism over the issue with the ranks of the Tudeh activists, producing a Maoist leftist faction; Bani Sadr's appearance in the London Congress	16-18
Alliance between the National Frontist and Maoist leftists in the Fifth CIS Congress in Germany; change in the political cliamte inside Iran; waning of the power of the National Front after 1963, combined with international revrberation of the Algerian and Cuban revolutions radicalized Iranian students abroad. Meanwhile, the quietist stance of National Front and the patience prescribed by its leader, Saleh, appeared unattractive to the CIS and helped pull the rug from under the feet of the National Front leadership in the CIS; gradual dwindling in the numbers of pro-National Front students and commensurate increase in the size of the radical activist facts	19-21 Lon

SUBJECT	PAGE
Emergence of disputes among National Frontists; greater anti-regime activism and violence among new CIS members; assistance rendered to anti-regime forces by foreign powers	30-34
The emergence of the Third National Front and its ties to nationalist and religious elements within Iran; Khomeini's trip to France, his various meetings and his three-point declaration	34-38
Contacts between CIS members and terrorist groups	38-39
Mossadeq and his poitical goals; creation of the National Front; the Events of 1953 and its social and political repercussions; opinion of Mossadeq's views	39-47
Reasons for the collapse of Iran and the views of the National Front in this regard	48-49
History of National Front activities outside of Iran; absence of continuous relations between National Front outside of Iran and poitical forces within Iran; creation of the Freedom Movement, Society of Iranian Socialists and other political groupings	49-56
National Front's period of inaction within Iran; the Events of 1963; absence of contacts between National Front in Iran and its branches abroad and the subsequent radicalization of the European branches of the Front	56-59 1
Contacts between National Front abroad and Mossadeq; factionalism within the National Front and the creation of the Third National Front	59-66
Characteristics of Qotbzadeh, Bani Sadr, Rajavi and Khosrow Qashqa'i	66-73
Views on the future ptentials of the National Front	73-74
Organization, policies and program of the National Front after 1953; the National Front and the Amini government; Events of 1963 and the emergence of new political forces	75-79
The National Front and the political liberalization of the late-seventies; the Shah's proposal of premireship to Sanjabi, and the Shah reversal of his decision; contacts between the Shah, Sadiqi and Bakhtiyar concerning premiership of a National Frontist; discussions about Bakhtiyar's premiership in the Executive Committee of the National Front, and reactions to it	80-84 L

SUBJECT	PAGE
Participation of Daryush Foruhar in street demonstrations; details of Sanjabi's trip to Paris and his meetings with Khomeini; reaction of National Frontists to this meeting	80-84
Organization of the National Front in Europe; the popular image of National Front leaders and the current political legitimacy of the Party in Iran; opposition of the National Front to the Bakhtiyar government	87-91

NameName	Page
Parsa, Khosrow,	27
Pezeshkpur, Mohsen,	3,4
Puyan, Amir Parviz,	79
Qashqa'i, Khosrow,	
	2,50-53,70-72
Qazi Moqaddam,	17-18
Qotbzadeh, Sadeq,	8,10,11,18,38,62-68
Rasekh, Ali,	60
Rasuli, Hasan,	18
Ravasani, Shapur,	37
Revolution of 1978-79,	2,81-87
Rusta, Kambiz,	27,32
Sabetiyan, Manuchehr,	7,8,11
Sadeqi,	5
Sadiqi, Gholam-Hosein,	81-83
Sahabi, Yadollah,	5.5
Salamatiyan, Ahmad,	35,36
Saleh, Allahyar,	21,54-56,77,78
Sanjabi, Karim,	29,36,37,80-88
SAVAK,	33,77
Sazeman-e Mojahedin-e Khalq-e	
Iran,	26-27,30,78,79
Sazman-e Cherikhay-e Fada'iyan-e	
Khalq-e Iran,	26-27,30,32,33,79
Sharif-Emami, Ja ^c far,	89
Shaygan, Ahmad,	27
Shaygan, Daryush,	51
Sho ^c a ^c iyan,	79
Siyasi, Jila,	11
Society of Socialists,	11,55,76
Tabataba'i, Seyyed Ziyaoddin,	44
Taleqani, Ayatollah Seyyed Mahmu	d,55,65,83
Third Force Party,	76
Toilers of Iran Party,	75
Tudeh Party,	5,7,8,14,18,19,40,42
-	44,50,64,71,78
Yazdi, Ebrahim,	2,22,63,72
Zahedi, Ardeshir,	8,9