

At that event, according to Benton, several hundred followers of Ayatollah Khomeini from the MSA, who were given "false rumors that an 'agent of the Shah' was scheduled to speak," converged on the forum and tried to prevent its taking place. In its publicity for the event, the FEF had issued leaflets comparing Khomeini to Kampuchea's Pol Pot, and they attacked the "anti-technology orientation of the Khomeini regime," charging that Khomeini was bringing about a dark age in Iran.

According to the FEF, the call for an investigation into the MSA originated from "reports of students that the Iranian consulate in San Francisco played a role in coordinating the southern California-wide mobilization."

"Cause for an investigation includes the fact that the new head of the Iranian secret service, the SAVAMA, Mustafa Chamran, was up until last year the leading organizer in California of Iranian student groups," said Mr. Benton. "We have been told that he worked under the direction of University of California at Berkeley Professor Hamid Algar, a British subject who uses an assumed Muslim name."

In fact, the events in California were only a dry run for a similar mobilization on the East Coast which brought hundreds of fanatic students into New York to shout "Death to the Shah!" outside the New York hospital where the Shah is supposedly undergoing medical treatment.

That mobilization led directly to the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Teheran that was begun on Nov. 4.

According to Iranian sources in Washington, the student demonstration was organized and led by members of Ayatollah Khomeini's secret police. The Iranian Embassy in Washington quietly publicized and financed a telephone number which Iranian MSA members, who wanted to shout against the Shah, could call for information. That number, in turn, referred callers to the MSA offices at American University.

And in Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, who is the head of the Muslim Brotherhood there, issued an official call for students to demonstrate in New York against the Shah.

Khomeini regime: a NATO puppet

Most Americans do not know that even during the terrorist occupation of the U.S. embassy in Teheran by Iranian secret police agents disguised as students beginning Nov. 4, the United States continued to send a steady stream of U.S. weapons, ammunition, and spare parts to the outlaw Iranian military! But this fact was admitted by the State Department and reported by the *Wall Street Journal*.

The facts behind this startling exposé, detailed in the following report, conclusively document that in fact the United States and Great Britain are fast building up a powerful armed force in Iran that, in the near future, will be linked to nearby Oman and other Arab states of the Persian Gulf in what the Anglo-Americans hope will be the kernel of a new "Middle East Treaty Organization." Among the various political figures of present Iran, two stand out as the chief actors in this drama: Defense Minister Mustafa Chamran, a secretive figure who is reputed to be an inner member of the hush-hush Islamic Revolutionary Council; and Admiral Ahmed Madani, the commander of the Iranian Navy and governor of Khuzestan, Iran's oil-rich southern province. Along with Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, these two military men are emerging as the strongman axis that, since September, has been the ruling force in Iran.

In 1978, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Cyrus Vance supported the British intelligence operation that toppled the Shah on the conviction that a strong Islamic fundamentalist regime, which would strengthen the forces of the Muslim Brotherhood throughout the region, might serve as a bulwark against the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

The London *Economist*, in its Oct. 20 issue, carried a quite revealing article called, "Forget the Propaganda," which had this to say:

Iranian left wingers have long predicted that Ayatollah Khomeini's regime, despite its anti-American propaganda, would eventually emerge as America's ally. Their predictions look like they're coming true. . . . The recent exercises of the Iranian Navy in the Gulf suggest that Khomeini's Iran could emerge once again as the self-styled policeman of the Gulf, keeping an eye on unreliable Arabs. The ayatollah's armed forces are still, bas-

ically, the Shah's armed forces, and their links with the Americans have never truly been cut. Shortly after the revolution, American technicians drifted back into Iran to help maintain the country's advanced weaponry. More recently, an agreement was reached on the supply of spare parts.

Several prominent members of the Iranian government, including the ministers of foreign affairs (Yazdi) and defence (Chamran), and the information chiefs, spent their long years of education and exile in the United States, and are now naturally drawn in that direction

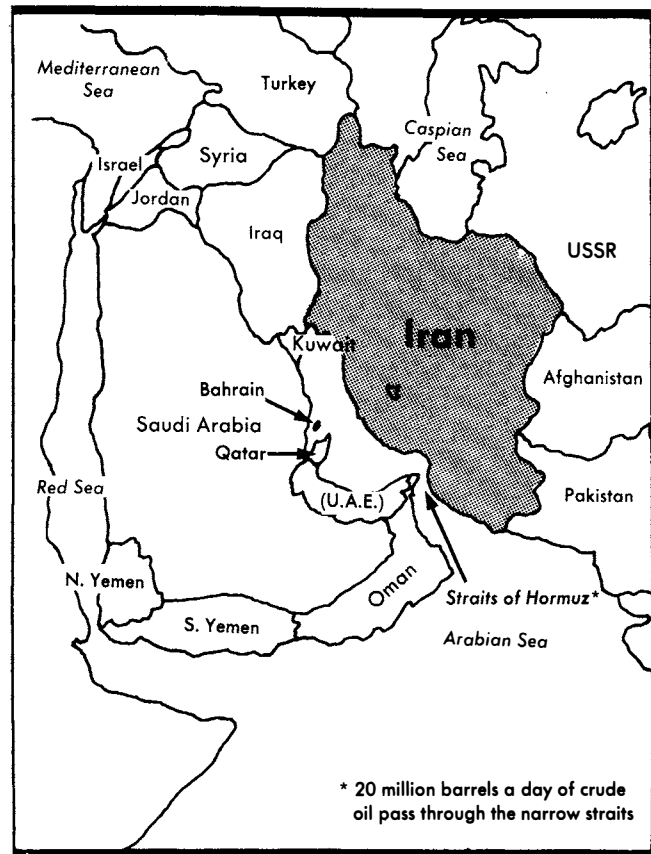
Immediately following the installation of Defense Minister Chamran on Sept. 28, the flow of American weapons into Iran was stepped up. According to an article in the London *Financial Times* of Oct. 5:

A large-scale airlift to resupply the Iranian armed forces with U.S. military equipment appears to be underway following the overcoming of financial obstacles outstanding since the change of regime in February Over the past ten days, Hercules and Boeing 747 transport aircraft of the Iranian air force have resumed their previous practice of breaking their long journey from the U.S. at Madrid's military airport. The aircraft, believed to be carrying badly needed spare parts for Iran's American-made helicopters and military aircraft, have been seen in Madrid almost daily.

According to reports from intelligence sources in Washington, the resupply effort included American personnel as advisers in sensitive intelligence posts. The delivery was speeded up to meet a growing threat of a military showdown in Kurdistan, where anti-Khomeini rebels were challenging the regime.

As the previous section of this special report reveals, the entire February revolution that toppled Shahpour Bakhtiar and brought in Khomeini was merely a revolution at the bottom. Behind the "Islamic" face of the revolt, at the top—in the closed offices of the SAVAK and the secret intelligence services—things did not change too much. Although the Shah left the country and the ayatollah entered, the same personnel remained in control of the state apparatus. In the *Financial Times* of Oct. 23, the extent of the SAVAK holdover was hinted at:

Ayatollah Khomeini's regime in Iran is being actively aided by a number of key military and security officers who were close to the Shah until he went into exile last January. Well-placed Iranians say that among those now holding official or unofficial positions are a number of boyhood friends of the former monarch and the Shah's last chief of staff of the armed forces. Senior figures in



SAVAK, the old secret police force, have also apparently switched sides without qualms.

The two most important men believed to have changed sides are Gen. Hossein Fardoust and Gen. Abbas Gharabaghi. They were closely involved in the military's negotiations with the Khomeini camp for a transfer of power during the crucial 48 hours leading up the Teheran uprising of February.

The present government is meanwhile believed to have retained almost intact three departments of the old SAVAK. These departments include numbers two, six, and eight, dealing with the communists, tribes at home, and counter espionage.

All intelligence activity comes under Defence Minister Mustafa Chamran. Working under him, prominent Iranian exiles say, are two senior members of the old organization, Gen. Farazyan and Gen. Kaveh.

What in fact had happened is that, with the installation of the Khomeini regime, the Muslim Brotherhood apparatus in Teheran, which has always been within the SAVAK, just assumed direct power. From the start, Yazdi and Chamran took over the actual management of the day-to-day activities of the huge SAVAK bureaucracy, with the close assistance of the leaders of the Iranian military.

Upon assuming the official position of defense minister on Sept. 28, Chamran began to purge the Iranian army entirely of those officers, still a majority, who passively were resisting the Khomeini regime and to put the rest of the military command through an "Islamic purification." In an interview with Iranian radio on Sept. 30, Chamran declared: "As far as we are concerned, the existing order is an order created by the satanic regime (of the Shah). Our present revolutionary conditions warrant a change in this order so that the army may be brought into line with revolutionary requirements The purge will take place at the very top. At later stages it will embrace lower levels. The purge will be of an Islamic and revolutionary nature."

In a series of interviews in the weeks thereafter, Chamran continually emphasized the importance of building up what he called a "strong army." But a continuous theme of his remarks—though populist in tone, aiming at convincing the masses that Iran's "revolution" had swept away the vestiges of the Shah's apparatus—was that the "ideological and philosophical" purity of the armed forces must be ensured. In practice, what this meant was a commitment to forced conversion of the army command to support the Khomeini regime. A crucial part of this operation was the formal integration of the rag-tag Jacobin mob called the Islamic Revolutionary Guard into the state armed forces.

Hundreds of officers, not particularly loyal to the Shah but trained in the necessity for a technologically advancing nation, were ousted by Chamran. And the American supplies still flowed in. "Our objective is to effect structural and fundamental changes in the discipline of the army so as to harmonize it with the values of the Islamic revolution and monotheistic military discipline," said Chamran Oct. 11.

According to Iranian sources, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard was heavily funded and built up into a force of over 1 million men!

Despite the supposed xenophobia of the regime, Chamran at the same time began to hint that Iran might be willing to accept Western—that is, American and British—military advisers. Of course, behind the scenes, many such advisers were already present. But Chamran was preparing the ground for a shift in public position. Said Chamran in a radio interview on Oct. 8:

"We will purchase arms from all countries, but only under the name of trade and not by accepting imposed conditions. Efforts will be made, as far as possible, not to use foreign advisers within the army of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In certain limited circumstances foreign specialists will be used to train military personnel."

Only a few days before, Admiral Madani had similarly stated, "It is possible that we might take advantage of the greater degree of specialization of foreign experts, but there is a difference between specialists and military advisers."

And, on Oct. 20, the clandestine National Voice of Iran, a leftist radio, bitterly attacked Ibrahim Yazdi for his public statement that Iran might purchase U.S. weapons. Specifically, the NVOI declared that Yazdi had acted to annul the cancellation of the U.S.-Iran military agreement that occurred during the tenure of Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar! In a press conference, Yazdi had announced that he was seeking to receive at least \$12 billion in American arms ordered by the Shah and not yet delivered.

Admiral Madani

While Chamran and Yazdi collaborated to put together the Iranian armed forces, the past several weeks also marked the rapid rise to prominence of Admiral Madani. According to high-level Iranian sources, Madani is the only commander of any branch of the Iranian armed forces who has maintained a well-trained and disciplined unit capable of action. In his base in Khuzestan, where all of Iran's enormous oil reserves are located, Admiral Madani has accumulated great power and is now reported to be making a power play within Iran in coordination with Chamran.

Madani, who is portrayed by acquaintances as a dedicated opportunist with pronounced fanatic "pan-Iranist" beliefs, has recently moved to establish close links with Ayatollah Khomeini in order to get into the inner councils of power. Madani is also believed to be very close to the British Petroleum top executive, and he has carved out a fiefdom for himself in the oil fields in part to protect the interests of BP in that area. Madani is fanatically anti-Arab, and it is he who provoked the bitter clashes in Khuzestan among the Arab minority residents in that province during the summer, which left many dead.

The Japanese Kyodo News Service says Madani has built a virtual feudal kingdom in Khuzestan:

Adm. Ahmed Madani, commander of the Iranian navy, has quarantined most of Iran's coast on the Persian Gulf since late last month, according to The Arab Press Service. It said that intelligence sources speculated that Madani was likely to revolt against the religious rule of Ayatollah Khomeini. It quoted Arab military sources in Dubai as saying that Madani's Navy command, unchanged since Iran's Islamic revolution, had sealed off the country's coastline from Kharg Island near the head of the Gulf, where oil is loaded onto tankers, to Bandar Abbas. It said warships and Iran's 15,000-strong marine corps controlled a 48-km-wide strip along the 700-km coast, and was preventing Islamic Guards of Ayatollah Khomeini from entering the area.

Key to the role of Madani is his sudden assertion of the role of Iran in protecting the oil routes through the

PLO role in Iran questioned

The offer by the Palestine Liberation Organization to mediate between the United States and Ayatollah Khomeini's hordes to rescue American hostages, while a useful action should it succeed in saving lives, brings into focus what has been until now a dangerous PLO flirtation with Iran's Muslim Brotherhood rulers. According to informed sources, the PLO contains within it elements which belong to the Muslim Brotherhood machine dating back to the founding of the PLO in 1964.

From the start of the Khomeini revolution, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat established close and warm relations with the Khomeini dictatorship. Even before the revolution, the PLO worked closely with the Shi'ite movement in southern Lebanon, especially the fascist Al Amal group run by Imam Musa Sadr, whose military commander, Mustafa Chamran, is now the overall director of Iran's intelligence services and the defense minister.

Reportedly, Saudi Arabia and Iraq have recently grown increasingly concerned with the tight relation-

ship between the PLO and Khomeini's regime. *Le Figaro* reported that Saudi Arabia has even threatened to reduce its financial subsidies to the PLO unless the Palestinians halted their cooperation with Iran.

From Oct. 11 to Oct. 19, PLO leaders Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) and Hani al-Hassan brought a delegation of the PLO to Iran for a full-scale round of strategic coordination. While in Iran, Abu Jihad and Hassan met with Khomeini, Yazdi, Ayatollah Montazeri, and many other leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood elite there. Following the meetings, several wild claims were made, including the statement that the PLO had received offers of 70,000 volunteers from Iran to fight in southern Lebanon.

But most dangerous was the pattern of PLO activities in the Gulf. Immediately following the visit to Iran, Abu Jihad called a meeting with all of the PLO representatives in the Gulf countries. Ostensibly, the purpose of the meeting, in the PLO's own words, was an effort to smooth relations between Iran and the Arab Gulf countries. That, according to observers, can only be taken as an effort to isolate Iraq and, in effect, to win support in the Arab world for the Oman plan for a Gulf security pact.

Persian Gulf. In September, Madani ordered the start of large-scale naval maneuvers in the Gulf, which were taken with alarm by the Iraqis and the smaller Gulf states on the Arab side. The threatening maneuvers, which involved the entire Iranian Navy, were run directly by Madani. Said Madani:

"We shall not be the policemen of the Persian Gulf, but of the Iranian nation in safeguarding what belongs to her. It was to achieve this idea that maneuvers on a larger scale than in the past have been held We believe that countries with vested interests should act. We speak from a position of strength when we say that we shall crush any misdemeanor."

What made Madani's statement especially alarming was the fact that it followed by days a statement from Ayatollah Rouhani that Iran would soon reassert its long-abandoned claim to the island nation of Bahrain, and also statements from various Iranian Shiite religious leaders that Iran would seek to whip up Islamic fundamentalism among the population of the Arab Gulf countries.

It was at this time that the British and the British colony of Oman began launching their proposal for the creation of a Gulf Security Pact linking Oman, Saudi Arabia, the smaller Arab states, and, eventually, Iran!

According to European sources, the government of Oman has been organizing since September for a pact

to be created that would bring foreign (American and British) troops into the Gulf. The nation of Oman, perhaps the most British-dominated state in the entire world, announced at the end of October that it has received "financial and military" support from Iran for the establishment of a series of military installations in the Straits of Hormuz. At the same time, a top-level delegation from Oman visited Iran several times during the summer and fall to work out the details of the plan, which was kept secret. The United States announced last week, meanwhile, that it has begun the establishment of top-secret radar installations at the Hormuz Straits.

In an unusual interview, Yazdi himself hinted that Iran might well consider forming an alliance with Oman to protect the straits. Yazdi said that he "was not acquainted with" any plans by Oman to protect navigation in the straits, but that Iran does consider that it has a responsibility for the area. He said that the extent of Iran's "readiness to cooperate" with Oman in protecting the straits "depends on the circumstances," and he refused to comment any further. The Yazdi admission, which may have been inadvertent, is all the more unusual because Yazdi has been meeting recently with representatives of the terrorist PFLOAG, the "liberation" movement that is based in nearby South Yemen.

—Robert Dreyfuss