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COMMITTEE PRINT

**THE IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS**  
**A Chronology of Daily Developments**

REPORT

PREPARED FOR THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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## FOREWORD

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
 COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
 Washington, D.C., February 23, 1981.

This chronology of events in Iran, from January 1, 1978, through January 25, 1981—the day the 52 U.S. personnel held hostage in Iran returned to the United States—was requested from the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress by the Honorable Lee H. Hamilton, chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. The compilation was directed by Clyde R. Mark, Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs in the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division.

As noted in the preface, the information in the chronology is drawn from unclassified public sources and has not been verified. It is published by the committee for use by the Congress and the public for review and analysis of this 14-month ordeal that was endured by the hostages, by the U.S. Government, and by the American people.

CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, *Chairman*.

(III)

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## PREFACE

Shortly after the November 4, 1979, seizure of the American Embassy and 66 hostages in Tehran, Iran, it became apparent that the Congress of the United States needed a consistent and concise summary of events in Iran. Members of Congress received periodic administration briefings on U.S. Government actions relating to the crisis and could avail themselves of public news sources' reporting of events, but lacked a continuing record of the hostage crisis in its Iranian context. To complement other sources of information the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division of the Congressional Research Service created issue brief 79281, Iran Crisis: A Summary of Daily Developments, to provide Members of Congress with a written record of events in Iran. Information for the chronology was drawn from unclassified news sources and foreign broadcasts considered sufficiently reliable to merit attention. CRS made no attempt to verify each report included in the chronology and has not edited the chronology to remove items later proven false or inconsequential. The chronology remains as it was presented to the Congress each day, either in printed form or on computer terminals accessible to congressional offices. A chronology covering major events for the 2 years prior to the embassy and hostage seizure has been added to provide a frame of reference for the crisis.

## THE IRAN CRISIS: A CHRONOLOGY OF DAILY DEVELOPMENTS

JANUARY 1, 1978 -- SUNDAY

The Shah of Iran entertained President Carter and Jordan's King Husayn in Tehran.

JANUARY 9, 1978 -- MONDAY

Police fired on a crowd of religious demonstrators, killing between 6 and 100 people, depending on which side was offering the estimates.

FEBRUARY 21, 1978 -- TUESDAY

Police patrolled the streets of Tabriz after a weekend of rioting killed nine persons and injured hundreds. The demonstrations spread to other cities.

MARCH 7, 1978 -- TUESDAY

The government announced that several SAVAK and police officials would be disciplined for allowing the February disturbances to get out of hand.

MARCH 29, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

Hundreds were arrested in Tabriz for demonstrating against the Shah.

APRIL 6, 1978 -- THURSDAY

The Iranian government announced that it had discovered a Soviet spy ring that included an Iranian army general.

MAY 11, 1978 -- THURSDAY

The Shah personally led Iranian troops against demonstrators in Tehran.

MAY 15, 1978 -- MONDAY

A general strike called by religious leaders closed shops and kept motorists off the streets of Tehran. Troops patrolled the streets to stop demonstrations.



MAY 31, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

About 2,500 students at Tehran University rioted over the issue of coeducation. The next day, women students rioted when guards were placed in their dormitories.

JUNE 6, 1978 -- TUESDAY

General Nematullah Nassiri was removed as head of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police.

AUGUST 11, 1978 -- FRIDAY

Isfahan was placed under a dusk-to-dawn curfew after two days of rioting. By the next day, Shiraz, Ahwaz, and Tabriz were also under curfew.

AUGUST 20, 1978 -- SUNDAY

In Abadan, a theatre fire killed 377 people. Muslim extremists were blamed for the arson. It was the sixth theatre fire since August 8, the start of Ramadan, the holy month of dawn-to dusk fasting.

AUGUST 27, 1978 -- Sunday

Jamshid Amuzagar resigned as Prime Minister. The Shah appointed Jaafar Sharif-Emami to form a new government.

AUGUST 31, 1978 -- THURSDAY

Two persons were killed by police in Mashhad.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1978 -- SATURDAY

In Qum, Ayatollah Kazam Shariat-Madari said the government had three months to institute reforms demanded by the religious leaders to ensure that elections scheduled for June 1979 would be free.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1978 -- FRIDAY

In Tehran, the army killed an estimated 86 people as demonstrators violated the martial law ban on street demonstrations. Martial law had been instituted the day before when hundreds of thousands marched through the streets of several cities calling for the overthrow of the Shah.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1978 -- SUNDAY

President Carter telephoned the Shah to reaffirm the close ties between the United States and Iran and to encourage the continued political liberalization in the country.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1978 -- SUNDAY

Sharif-Emami received a vote of confidence from the Majlis (parliament), and pledged political and social reforms, reconciliation with opposition groups, and efforts to end martial law.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1978 -- TUESDAY

The government announced that henceforth members of the royal family would be barred from financial dealings with government agencies.

OCTOBER 6, 1978 -- FRIDAY

Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini arrived in Paris from Iraq, where he had been in exile since 1963 for opposing the Shah.

OCTOBER 10, 1978 -- TUESDAY

President Carter said Iran was strategically important to the United States, and that the Shah was establishing democratic principles in Iran.

OCTOBER 11, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

A government worker strike entered its fifth day, as student demonstrators continued their protests in the streets of Tehran. Newspapers went on strike but resumed publication on October 15, after Prime Minister Sharif-Emami promised to end censorship.

OCTOBER 16, 1978 -- MONDAY

Religious leaders called a 1-day strike to commemorate "black Friday," September 8.

OCTOBER 24, 1978 -- TUESDAY

The Shah told Le Figaro that he would not abdicate. Demonstrators burned banks, theatres, restaurants, and government buildings in several cities.

October 26, 1978 -- THURSDAY

The Shah granted amnesty to 1,400 political prisoners.

OCTOBER 31, 1978 -- TUESDAY

The government released the names of 34 SAVAK officials (Sazeman Ettelaat va Amniyat Kashvar - the National Intelligence and Security Organization) recently relieved from duty.

Iran's oil workers went on strike, reducing oil production from 5.8 million barrels per day (MM b/d) to 1.1 MM b/d in one week.

NOVEMBER 1, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

Troops were deployed in the oil fields to prevent sabotage by striking oil workers and to protect workers not on strike.

NOVEMBER 2, 1978 -- THURSDAY

National Front leader Daryush Foruhar called for a referendum on a new government. (Over the next three days, violent demonstrations and strikes swept through the major cities of Iran.)

NOVEMBER 6, 1978 -- MONDAY

The Shah appointed General Ghulam Reza Azhari as Prime Minister of a predominantly military government. Sharif-Emami resigned the day before during the worst wave of violence in the continuing Iranian crisis. The State Department announced U.S. support for the new military government.

NOVEMBER 7, 1978 -- TUESDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini said in Paris that an Islamic republic would be formed, by force if necessary.

NOVEMBER 8, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

Amir Abas Hoveyda, former Prime Minister, was arrested. The day before, other government officials, including SAVAK head General Nassiri, were arrested. The government established a special court to try corruption cases.

NOVEMBER 9, 1978 -- THURSDAY

In Paris, Khomeini told Bild Zeitung that all contracts with foreigners would be renegotiated and that foreign interests caused Iran's problems.

The United States shipped riot control gear to Iran -- tear gas, batons, protective vests, and the like.

Karim Sanjabi, National Front leader, vowed to use strikes to bring down the government.

The Shah ordered an investigation into the imperial family wealth and the Pahlavi Foundation, the multi-billion dollar charitable enterprise established by the Shah in 1961. The day before, the government stopped foreign currency exchanges to halt the flow of money out of Iran into foreign bank accounts.

NOVEMBER 11, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Daryush Foruhar and Karim Sanjabi of the National Front were arrested for holding an illegal press conference, at which they said the Shah's government was illegal.

NOVEMBER 12, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The government ordered striking oil workers to return to their jobs. Eight people were killed in demonstrations at the oil centers of Ahwaz and Khorramshahr.

NOVEMBER 13, 1978 -- MONDAY

President Carter said a strong and independent Iran was a stabilizing factor in the region, that the Shah was a loyal ally of the United States and the West, that the people of Iran would decide their nation's future, and that there was no evidence that the Soviet

Union was behind the disturbances in Iran. In a separate interview, White House assistant Hamilton Jordan said the United States had contingency plans to intervene in Iran if the military government failed to restore law and order.

NOVEMBER 14, 1978 -- TUESDAY

Iranian oil production climbed to 3 million b/d as the 2-week oil worker strike ended.

NOVEMBER 19, 1978 -- SUNDAY

In a statement published in Pravda, Soviet Chairman Leonid Brezhnev warned that any foreign interference in Iran would be regarded as a threat to the security interests of the Soviet Union. The State Department said the next day that the United States had no plans to intervene. Later, a White House spokesman called the Soviet leader's statement "inappropriate." The Kremlin responded by saying the United States had denied satisfactorily that it had contingency plans to intervene in Iran.

The government released 210 political prisoners.

NOVEMBER 20, 1978 -- MONDAY

Khomeini denied to Der Spiegel that he was cooperating with Marxists, and that the Soviet Union could not portray itself as a friend to the oppressed because it oppressed Muslims. Ayatollah Shariat-Madari said in Qum that the military government must be replaced by a civilian government to avoid violence.

NOVEMBER 21, 1978 -- TUESDAY

General Azhari said he was running Iran, not the Shah.

NOVEMBER 22, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

The Iranian government announced that 267 political prisoners would be released.

The Shah said the armed forces would split, a civil war ensue, and communists would take over Iran if he did not remain on the throne.

NOVEMBER 25, 1978 -- SATURDAY

Oil production reached 5.4 million b/d. Meanwhile in Paris, Ayatollah Khomeini called for an oil workers strike to begin on December 2.

NOVEMBER 26, 1978 -- SUNDAY

The Iran-Soviet Union gas pipeline resumed operation.

According to press reports in Washington, President Carter criticized the U.S. intelligence agencies for their failure to forecast the crisis in Iran.

An estimated one million people marched to protest against the Shah in a 1-day general strike called by religious leaders. Twelve died in clashes between the demonstrators and the police.

NOVEMBER 27, 1978 -- MONDAY

The Washington Post reported that the U.S. Government had opened secret contacts with the Iranian opposition forces.

Following a meeting with the Shah, Senate Majority leader Robert Byrd said the United States would not interfere in Iranian affairs and would view "with utmost gravity and concern" any other nation's interference. The Senator's visit to Iran was seen as a reaffirmation of U.S. support for the Shah.

NOVEMBER 28, 1978 -- TUESDAY

The military government announced that public gatherings would be banned, except in mosques, during Muharram, the traditional mourning period for Husayn, the son of Ali, the first Shiite Imam. The government also announced that the nation's laws would be revised to conform to Islamic principles, an apparent concession to the religious community.

NOVEMBER 30, 1978 -- THURSDAY

President Carter reaffirmed his full confidence in the Shah and said the United States would not intervene in Iranian affairs. The President denied reports that he had ordered a review of the intelligence community evaluations of Iran.

DECEMBER 2, 1978 -- SATURDAY

Khomeini said in an interview that when his forces took over Iran, oil shipments to Israel would stop and the military ties to the United States would be re-examined.

DECEMBER 4, 1978 -- MONDAY

In Paris, Ayatollah Khomeini urged Iranian soldiers to desert, politicians not to cooperate with the Shah or his government, and workers to go on strike and paralyze the country. Oil workers began a strike which forced oil production down to 1.1 million b/d.

The Iranian government denied rumors that the Shah would leave the country in favor of a regency council. Meanwhile, other reports stated that Ali Amini, the National Front Prime Minister in 1961-1962, and National Front leader Abdullah Entazam were forming a regency council.

DECEMBER 5, 1978 -- TUESDAY

Ayatollah Talaghani appealed for peaceful processions during Ashura, the 2-day religious observance beginning December 10.

As the Shiite mourning celebration of Muharram began, Prime Minister Azhari warned that the military would not tolerate violence or sabotage. He denied reports that Tehran would be under a strict curfew for the religious holiday.

DECEMBER 6, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

National Front leaders Daryush Foruhar and Karim Sanjabi were released from prison. They had been arrested on November 11.

U.S. companies in Iran began evacuating their personnel and dependents in anticipation of violence during Ashura.

DECEMBER 8, 1978 -- FRIDAY

President Carter told reporters that the United States would not intervene in the affairs of Iran, and when asked if he thought the Shah would remain, the President said "I don't know. I hope so."

DECEMBER 11, 1978 -- MONDAY

Ashura, the 2-day religious holiday, ended without violence as thousands paraded through the streets of Tehran. The Azhari government relaxed the curfew and kept troops out of the city during the 2-day observance.

DECEMBER 14, 1978 -- THURSDAY

The Shah met with Ali Amini and Karim Sanjabi to persuade them to join a coalition government. Both refused.

DECEMBER 18, 1978 -- MONDAY

The general strike called by Khomeini closed down all business in Iran.

DECEMBER 19, 1978 -- TUESDAY

It was reported from Iran that Ghulam Husayn Sadighi of the National Front was unable to form a government to replace the military government.

DECEMBER 21, 1978 -- THURSDAY

According to reports in Washington, State Department and CIA officials were saying that the failure to recognize the growing crisis in Iran was in the White House, that key Presidential aides refused to hear criticism of the Shah.

DECEMBER 25, 1978 -- MONDAY

National Front leader Sanjabi told a rally in Tehran that the violence would end only when the Shah abdicated.

DECEMBER 27, 1978 -- WEDNESDAY

Iranian oil production dropped to 300,000 b/d, according to the National Iranian Oil Company. All exports of gas and oil were stopped.

Under Secretary of State David D. Newsom was named to head an interagency task force on Iran.

DECEMBER 28, 1978 -- THURSDAY

It was reported in Washington that the United States was considering sending a naval task force to the Persian Gulf in a show of force.

DECEMBER 29, 1978 -- FRIDAY

Oil production fell below 300,000 barrels per day. Iran's domestic consumption is about 900,000 barrels per day (b/d), which meant either shortages or importing oil products from other nations.

People were killed in demonstrations in Tehran, Hamadan, and Maragheh, and many were wounded in Ahwaz, Shiraz, Nahavand, Khorramabad, Isfahan, Tabriz, Resht, and other cities.

The Shah appointed Shahpur Bakhtiar, a National Front leader, to form a government to replace General Azhari's military government.

DECEMBER 30, 1978 -- SATURDAY

The National Front expelled Shahpur Bakhtiar because he agreed to establish a cabinet under the Shah.

General Azhari returned to office after a 10-day rest for his heart ailment.

DECEMBER 31, 1978 -- SUNDAY

General Azhari resigned as demonstrations against the Shah continued in most Iranian cities.

JANUARY 1, 1979 -- MONDAY

Canada and West Germany told their nationals to leave Iran.

Bakhtiar told a French interviewer that he would form a cabinet under four conditions: that the Shah left Iran; that SAVAK was disbanded; that police and military personnel responsible for shooting demonstrators would be tried; and that civilians would be in charge of Iran's foreign affairs.

JANUARY 2, 1979 -- TUESDAY

According to press reports, about 200 people were killed in demonstrations during the previous two days.

Textron announced that it had cancelled its \$575 million contract to assemble helicopters in Iran.

JANUARY 3, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

General Abbas Karim Qarabaghi was appointed Chief of the armed forces. The Majlis approved the appointment of Shahpur Bakhtiar as Prime Minister. Bakhtiar began forming a cabinet and a government program to present to the Majlis for a vote of confidence.

JANUARY 4, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Eraj Iskanari was removed as head of the Tudeh (Communist) party because he would not support Khomeini, and was replaced by Nuridin Kismuri.

JANUARY 6, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Bakhtiar named his cabinet. General Pereyund Jam, named as Defense Minister, later said he would not serve.

JANUARY 8, 1979 -- MONDAY

General Mulawi of the Tehran police, General Azhari, the former Chief of the armed forces and Prime Minister during November-December 1978, and General Oveysi, former head of the army, retired and left Iran.

JANUARY 12, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Khomeini told a German television interviewer that Iran's economic problems would be solved by economic experts who would decide which industrialization programs to continue and which to drop. Khomeini stressed that agriculture would be given top priority, and that oil production would continue although oil could be used for political purposes. Beirut's Monday Morning quoted Khomeini as saying that President Carter was an "enemy of Iran," that President al-Sadat was working against the interests of Muslims, that Chinese Communist party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng had "walked over the bodies of our people," and that Yasir Arafat had the support of the Iranian people. He also condemned the Soviet Union and Iraq for helping the Shah.

JANUARY 13, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini formed a national revolutionary council, but kept the names of the members secret.

JANUARY 14, 1979 -- SUNDAY

A nine-member regency council was named to rule Iran in the absence of the Shah.

JANUARY 16, 1979 -- TUESDAY

The Shah of Iran left Tehran for Aswan, Egypt. Hundreds of thousands celebrated the Shah's leaving, while several thousands gathered outside the royal palace and a few government buildings to show their support for the Shah. The Shah flew his own plane out of Tehran airport a few minutes after hearing that the Majlis had given the Bakhtiar government a vote of confidence. Several members of the Majlis resigned.

Khomeini said in Paris that he would name a provisional government to take over Iran as soon as the Shah left.

JANUARY 17, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

There were reports of a mutiny among army units near Ahwaz.

The Iranian foreign ministry announced that the ambassadors to Britain, Italy, France, Brazil, India, Syria, the United States, Australia, and United Nations had been dismissed. On January 21, ambassadors to Saudi Arabia and the U.S.S.R., and several consular officers were recalled.

JANUARY 18, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Khomeini told a Danish newspaper that people should not obey man's laws, only God's laws as interpreted by religious leaders. The newspaper also quoted Khomeini as saying that Jews and their foreign masters were trying to corrupt Islam and take over the world.

Bakhtiar said he would free all political prisoners.

JANUARY 20, 1979 -- SATURDAY

The government freed 162 political prisoners.

JANUARY 21, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Fifty people were killed in a clash between pro-Shah and anti-Shah demonstrators north of Tehran.

JANUARY 22, 1979 -- MONDAY

General Qarabaghi appealed to the armed forces to remain loyal to the Bakhtiar government.

Hamaladdin Tehrani, a regency council member sent to Paris to negotiate with Khomeini, resigned and pledged his loyalty to Khomeini.

JANUARY 23, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Khomeini said in Paris that he would not have any Tudeh party members in his government and that Iran would not maintain relations with Israel.

JANUARY 24, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Tehran airport was closed because of a plot to kill Khomeini, according to the police. The airport reopened the next day.

In an interview with Le Figaro, Mehdi Bazargan said the Islamic republic would be modeled after Muhammad's rule in Medina in the first 10 years of Islam, which he described as a form of consensus democracy. Bazargan said the provisional government to be appointed by Khomeini would hold a referendum to gain the Iranian people's approval of the Islamic republic, and a constituent assembly would be named to write a constitution.

JANUARY 25, 1979 -- THURSDAY

An estimated 100,000 people marched through the streets of Tehran in support of Bakhtiar and the constitution.

JANUARY 27, 1979 -- SATURDAY

All airports in Iran were closed.

JANUARY 28, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Thirty people were killed in Tehran as the Bakhtiar, Shah, and Khomeini forces continued their demonstrations.

JANUARY 29, 1979 -- MONDAY

In Paris, Ayatollah Khomeini postponed his return to Iran until the airports reopen.

JANUARY 30, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Iran's airports reopened after being closed for three days.

JANUARY 31, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Columns of Iranian military personnel and equipment criss-crossed Tehran in an apparent show of force the day before Khomeini's scheduled return.

FEBRUARY 1, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Tehran from Paris to tumultuous welcome by 2 million supporters. In a statement, Khomeini said he hoped God would cut off the hands of all the foreigners. Khomeini aide Ibrahim Yazdi said Bakhtiar should surrender the government to Khomeini.

CBS news affiliate KNXT in Los Angeles broadcast a tape recording purported to be the voice of the Shah of Iran telling his aides prior to his departure from Tehran that the army should shoot demonstrators to incite a civil war and that SAVAK should not be lenient with the opposition leaders. Supposedly, CIA representatives were present at the meeting. The Shah called the tape a forgery.

Reportedly, Iran cancelled British arms orders worth \$4 billion, including 1350 Chief-tan tanks and Rapier anti-aircraft missiles.

FEBRUARY 2, 1979 -- FRIDAY

U.S. Air Force planes flew to Tehran to evacuate the remaining 8,500 Americans in Iran.

Bakhtiar offered to include Khomeini supporters in the government.

FEBRUARY 5, 1979 -- MONDAY

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young told Der Spiegel that the reason the United States was surprised by the Iranian crisis was because the United States had ignored the opposition groups and chose to listen only to the Shah.

The U.S. Department of Defense announced that \$7 billion of the \$12 billion in arms scheduled for delivery to Iran had been cancelled, including 160 F-16 fighters, 7 E-3 AWACS, 16 RF-4 reconnaissance planes, and 2 of 4 Spruance class destroyers.

Khomeini named Mehdi Bazargan as the provisional Prime Minister. Bakhtiar said Iran could not have two governments and threatened to arrest members of the provisional government if they tried to interfere in government affairs.

FEBRUARY 7, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

The Majlis approved a law abolishing SAVAK.

Two more members of the Majlis resigned, bringing the total to date to 44.

According to reports, Khomeini supporters controlled the cities of Isfahan, Shiraz, and Qum, as well as several smaller towns.

FEBRUARY 9, 1979 -- FRIDAY

About 11 p.m. (7:30 p.m. GMT), army tank units attacked an air force base near Tehran, apparently after reports that members of the air force had joined the demonstrators against the Bakhtiar government. The incident appeared to trigger fighting throughout Tehran between government supporters and Khomeini supporters.

FEBRUARY 10, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Hundreds died during open fighting between pro-Khomeini and pro-Bakhtiar factions across Iran. Citizens stormed military bases, police stations, and government buildings. Members of the armed forces, and in some cases whole units, joined the Khomeini forces.

FEBRUARY 11, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar resigned to Mehdi Bazargan, the Khomeini-appointed Prime Minister. The Majlis resigned. General Qarabaghi, armed forces chief of staff, declared the armed forces to be neutral in the near civil war, and ordered all military units to stop fighting and return to their bases. Bazargan ordered deputy ministers in the government to continue operating their ministries until the new ministers could take over.

FEBRUARY 13, 1979 -- TUESDAY

In a television appeal, Ayatollah Khomeini told the people to give up their arms, except for the Islamic National Guard, and to stop the fighting in the streets.

Bazargan named Karim Sanjabi to be the Foreign Minister, Daryush Foruhar to be the Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, and Ahmad Sadr Haj Sayyid Javadi to be the Minister of Interior (police). The day before, Bazargan named General Muhammad Vali Qarni to replace General Qarabaghi as armed forces chief of staff.

FEBRUARY 14, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

An armed group attacked the U.S. embassy in Tehran, killing one Iranian employee and wounding two U.S. Marine guards before U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan surrendered to avoid further bloodshed. About 70 Americans were taken captive by the group, but released later on orders from Khomeini headquarters. One of the Marines was later kidnapped from a hospital but released later unharmed. The attacking group was described as members of the "People's Sacrifice Guerrillas" (cherikha-ya fad'i-ye khalq, popularly called the Fedayin), a newly formed coalition of various leftist factions.

FEBRUARY 15, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Armed gangs roaming the streets of Tehran began looting stores and homes. One group later identified by the government as "Afghans" shot at the U.S. embassy.

FEBRUARY 16, 1969 -- FRIDAY

Four generals were tried and executed by a military tribunal. Among those killed were Generals Nassiri, former head of SAVAK, and Rahimi, former commander of the paratroopers and head of the military district of Tehran.

FEBRUARY 17, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, arrived in Tehran to offer his support to the Khomeini government. While in Tehran, Arafat took over the Israeli embassy, abandoned some days before, as the PLO headquarters.

The Iranian workers ended their strike and reported back to their jobs. A government official said oil production would resume in 7 to 10 days. Later, the estimate was raised to 15 days.

FEBRUARY 20, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Bazargan appointed Hasan Nazih to be the managing director of the National Iran Oil Company.

Ayatollah Khomeini prohibited a Fedayin march from Tehran University to the Khomeini headquarters, but did allow the leftists to hold a rally at the University on February 23.

FEBRUARY 21, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

The new Iranian armed forces chief of staff, General Qarni, said the U.S. would no longer be allowed to use intelligence-gathering bases in Iran.

FEBRUARY 22, 1979 -- THURSDAY

In Washington, a representative of the Khomeini government told Congressman Michael Barnes that the Shah had bribed U.S. Government officials and members of Congress.

Kurdish separatists battled pro-Khomeini supporters near Kermanshah.

FEBRUARY 23, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Khomeini forces clashed with leftists near Tehran University at a rally of the "People's Sacrifice Guerrillas." A Khomeini spokesman said the next day that only 20,000 of the 80,000 people present at the rally were leftists and the remainder were just curious bystanders.

FEBRUARY 24, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Fighting among various factions continued in Tabriz and Kurdistan province. The day before, Kurdish independence proponents seized an army base near Mahabad.

FEBRUARY 25, 1979 -- SUNDAY

The government announced lists of military officers, mostly colonels, assigned to duties to replace "retired" generals. The Foreign Ministry announced the recall of 26 ambassadors and 114 other members of the Iranian diplomatic corps accused of being SAVAK agents.

FEBRUARY 26, 1979 -- MONDAY

The government announced that the first oil exports would leave Iran on Mar. 5, but did not name the destination or the carrier.

FEBRUARY 27, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Prime Minister Bazargan said 29 SAVAK agents had been extradited from Pakistan to stand trial in Iran.

FEBRUARY 28, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Hasan Nazih, National Iran Oil Company director, said Iran would negotiate new oil export contacts with the oil companies, that the price would be determined by the market, and that he expected a production of 3 million b/d within two weeks.



MARCH 1, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini moved from Tehran to the holy city of Qum, as he had previously announced when he returned to Iran. Khomeini said he would continue to guide the revolution from Qum, surrounded by other religious leaders.

In Washington, Congressman Albert Gore released figures that indicated that the Iranian oil shortfall had been adequately covered by increased production from other oil exporting nations, thus challenging statements by the Department of Energy that there was a 2 million b/d shortage in the United States.

MARCH 3, 1979 -- SATURDAY

An NIOC spokesman said the production level had been set at 4 million b/d.

MARCH 4, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Interior Minister Javadi said the referendum on the Islamic republic would be held March 30.

MARCH 5, 1979 -- MONDAY

Seven more former government officials were executed, bringing the total to date to 24 such executions after trials by Khomeini committee courts.

The first oil shipment in 69 days left Kharg Island for Japan.

MARCH 6, 1979 -- TUESDAY

The revolutionary government announced plans to try the Shah in absentia. Other government spokesmen had said that if Morocco would not extradite the Shah, he would be kidnapped and returned to Iran for trial.

MARCH 7, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

A Tehran newspaper reported that Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan had resigned because Khomeini's advisors were interfering with his government. Bazargan's office denied the story.

MARCH 8, 1979 -- THURSDAY

NIOC director Nazih said Iran's future oil production had been set at 3 million b/d.

It was reported in Iran that the so-called Khomeini committees, which have been running several cities and have controlled the courts trying and executing former government officials, were to be abolished and their duties assumed by the central government in Tehran.

MARCH 9, 1979 -- FRIDAY

The Middle East Economic Digest reported that large U.S. oil companies, allegedly with the support of the U.S. Department of Energy, had agreed to boycott Iranian oil offered for sale on the open market.

MARCH 12, 1979 -- MONDAY

Crown Prince Reza completed his flight training in Texas and flew to Morocco to join his family. It was reported that his father, the Shah, had suffered a "nervous collapse."

MARCH 14, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

It was reported in Tehran that Karim Sanjabi had resigned as foreign minister because of ill health, but the report was denied by Sanjabi's office.

Turkey stated that since Pakistan and Iran had denounced the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), it too would withdraw from the organization, leaving the United Kingdom as the only full member of CENTO and the United States as an observer.

MARCH 15, 1979 -- THURSDAY

The Tudeh party announced that it would support the referendum on March 30. Previously, The Fedayin had stated that they would boycott the referendum.

MARCH 22, 1979 -- THURSDAY

After three days of heavy fighting around Sanandaj, and an estimated 500 killed, Kurdish forces still held the town and the Khomeini forces remained trapped in the army barracks.

MARCH 27, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Armed Turkoman tribesmen captured a police headquarters in Gondar-e Qabus near the Soviet border. The Turkoman, allegedly with the encouragement of the Fedayin, were seeking autonomy or independence similar to the Kurds.

General Muhammad Vali Qarni was fired as Army Chief of Staff and replaced by General Nasser Forbad.

MARCH 30, 1979 -- FRIDAY

The 2-day referendum on the Islamic republic began.

The Shah and his family flew from Morocco to Paradise Island, Bahamas.

APRIL 1, 1979 -- SUNDAY

The government announced that 97% of the 20 million votes cast in the referendum approved the Islamic republic and the end of the monarchy.

APRIL 2, 1979 -- MONDAY

Turkoman tribesmen holding the army barracks at Gondar-e Qabus surrendered to the Army just before the Army launched an attack with tanks and armored personnel carriers.

APRIL 4, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Bazargan reversed his earlier position and said that the tribes and ethnic groups should not be granted autonomy within the Iranian Islamic Republic.

APRIL 5, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Prime Minister Bazargan blamed "Trotskyites, Maoists, and Marxists" for the unrest in Iran since the Shah's departure.

The summary trials and executions by the "Khomeini Committees" resumed. The next day, three SAVAK agents were shot, bringing the total number killed by the "Committees" to 71.

The government announced that all pending arms deals had been cancelled.

APRIL 9, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Khomeini warned merchants to lower their prices or face "Islamic justice."

APRIL 12, 1979 -- THURSDAY

According to reports from Tehran, 3 million people had lost their jobs because of the turmoil in Iran since the Shah's departure.

Two sons and a daughter of Ayatollah Talaghani were arrested. Talaghani went into hiding, but reappeared in Qum one week later to swear allegiance to Khomeini.

APRIL 16, 1979 -- MONDAY

Karim Sanjabi resigned his post as Foreign Minister because the "Committees" were uncontrolled and the militias have not been disbanded.

APRIL 17, 1979 -- TUESDAY

A government spokesman announced that the constituent assembly elections scheduled for the end of May had been postponed indefinitely.

APRIL 17, 1979 -- TUESDAY

The new Islamic constitution, 10 days overdue, was still being revised.

APRIL 18, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

The army marched through Tehran in a show of strength to convince the militias to surrender their arms.

APRIL 19, 1979 -- THURSDAY

The government banned importing automobiles, bananas, cookies, "exotic" fruits, and other luxury items, and reconfirmed its ban on importing liquor, pork, and frozen meat.

APRIL 20, 1979 -- FRIDAY

In Nagadeh, Kurdish factions began fighting among themselves over the autonomy proposals. In Abadan, rightists and leftists battled over control of oil installations and local government.

APRIL 23, 1979 -- MONDAY

General Muhammad Vali Qarni was assassinated in Tehran. Qarni served briefly as Army chief of staff for Khomeini and, according to reports, was a member of Khomeini's ruling council.

APRIL 30, 1979 -- TUESDAY

For the first time since resuming oil exports on March 5, Iran announced its crude oil price: \$16.04 for heavy and \$16.57 for light. The NIOC also announced that exports were running close to 3 million b/d.

Ayatollah Muntahhari was assassinated by an anti-cleric religious group who opposed his support for Khomeini. Reportedly, Muntahhari was a member of Khomeini's secret ruling council and in charge of the "Committee" trials.

MAY 2, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

An ultra right wing group calling itself "Forgan" (Arabic word for the "distinction between truth and falsehood") claimed credit for the assassinations of Ayatollah Morteza Muntahhari and General Muhammad Vali Qarni.

MAY 7, 1979 -- MONDAY

All Foreign Ministry personnel appointed during the reign of the Shah were recalled to Iran.

Ayatollah Sayid Javad Gharavi, Deputy Chief of the Central Revolutionary Organization, stated that the "Khomeini Committees" were to be purged and reorganized and that anyone committing "improper acts" in the name of the "Committees" would be "dealt with strongly."

MAY 13, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Khomeini ordered that only people guilty of murder, instigating a massacre, or torturing someone to death should be executed, and that other enemies of the state should be imprisoned.

For the second day, Arab nationalists seeking autonomy fought against militiamen and local authorities in Khuzistan Province.

Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi said that Iran would not be the "policeman" of the Persian Gulf region and would not cooperate with the United States or the U.S.S.R. in maintaining order in the area.

MAY 14, 1979 -- MONDAY

For the first two weeks in May, oil production averaged 4.1 million b/d and exports averaged 3.4 million b/d. NIOC announced new prices to take effect on May 15 of \$17.17 per barrel for light and \$16.16 for heavy.

MAY 15, 1979 -- TUESDAY

The government ordered the Arabs of Khuzistan to surrender their arms and ordered the Khomeini militiamen to disband and relinquish local government to the Iranian army.

MAY 18, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Shooting between Khomeini militiamen and local Arabs and oil field workers spread to Masjid-e Sulayman in the midst of the oil producing area.

MAY 20, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Iran told the United States to postpone the arrival of newly appointed Ambassador Walter Cutler.

MAY 25, 1979 -- FRIDAY

For the second day, thousands of Anti-American demonstrators paraded past the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

MAY 29, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Seven more were executed, bringing the total number executed by the "Committees" to 252.

MAY 31, 1978 -- THURSDAY

Iran declared a state of emergency in Khorramshahr after 100 died in 5 days of street fighting between right and left forces.

JUNE 4, 1979 -- MONDAY

Iran asked the United States to withdraw Walter Cutler as Ambassador to Iran.

The seven-member board of the NIOC resigned to protest the criticism of Hasan Nazih because he had criticized "Islamic solutions" as impractical.

Iraqi planes strafed Iranian border posts in the continuing series of incidents between the two countries. Earlier, Iran accused Iraq of supplying arms to the Arabs in Iran's Khuzistan province.

JUNE 8, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Iran nationalized all banks.

JUNE 10, 1979 -- SUNDAY

The Shah, his wife, and oldest sons arrived in Mexico from the Bahamas. The rest of the Shah's family went to the United States.

JUNE 14, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Baluchi tribesman attacked a police station in Baluchistan.

JUNE 15, 1979 -- FRIDAY

The new constitution was published in a Tehran newspaper. The constitution provides for a republic with a strong president and an influential clergy.

JUNE 22, 1979 -- FRIDAY

The National Democratic Front held a protest rally in Tehran against Khomeini's proposal to appoint a 75-member committee to approve the new constitution, after which the constitution would be presented to the people in a referendum. The National Front wants an elected constituent assembly to approve the constitution before a referendum.

JUNE 25, 1979 -- MONDAY

Iran nationalized all insurance companies.

JUNE 27, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

There were reports in Iran that the Shah was wounded in a helicopter attack on his residence in Mexico. Mexican authorities and a spokesman for the Shah denied the report.

JULY 5, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Iran nationalized the steel, copper, aluminium, aircraft, shipbuilding, automobile, and mining industries.

JULY 8, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Pipelines carrying oil and gas from the oil fields to the Abadan refinery were sabotaged. Three days later, after repairs were completed, the pipelines were sabotaged again. Hassan Nazih, head of the NIOC, asked for 1,000 troops to patrol pipelines and protect the Abadan refinery.

JULY 12, 1979 -- THURSDAY

A radar station, police headquarters, a rail bridge, and a rail station were sabotaged in Khuzistan province, as fighting between local Arabs and "Guardians of the Revolution" government forces continued. In the northwestern part of Iran, fighting between Kurds and Iranians was reported heavy by Turkish observers. One report from Turkey said 1,000 had died in the previous week's fighting.

JULY 16, 1979 -- MONDAY

According to the NIOC, oil exports averaged 3.4 million b/d for June on a production of 3.9. Current reports coming out of Iran and other Persian Gulf states suggested that Iranian production had dropped to around 3.2 or 3.3 million b/d because of the unrest in Khuzistan.

JULY 17, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Nine more people were executed, bringing the total to 350. Four prostitutes were among recent executions, the first women to be put to death by the "Committees."

JULY 23, 1979 -- MONDAY

Khomeini banned popular music from Iranian television and radio because the youth of the country became "addicted" to such music. The music ban followed bans on mixed male-female swimming, nightclubs, Western movies, and all forms of liquor.

Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs Cyrus Ibrahimzadeh announced the the Government's intention to issue new currency within a month and stated that foreign shareholders of nationalized industries would be compensated at the "book value," rather than the market value, of their assets at the time of the fall of the Shah's regime in February.

JULY 24, 1979 -- TUESDAY

In an interview published in Le Monde, Khuzistan Governor General Admiral Madani confirmed that some 300 arrests of Arab dissidents had taken place in the province some 14 "ringleaders" had been executed.

JULY 26, 1979 -- THURSDAY

The 30,000 residents of Marivan in Kurdistan were reported to have abandoned their town the previous week, after the Government had sent revolutionary militia to take over security duties.

JULY 28, 1979 -- SATURDAY

West German police arrested 20 suspects on charges stemming from a wave of extortion and beatings in the Iranian community reportedly by supporters of the Islamic revolutionary government.

JULY 30, 1979 -- MONDAY

In Paris, a spokesman for former Prime Minister Bakhtiar announced that Bakhtiar will lead a non-religious front in Iran's elections for a constituent assembly on August 3.

In an interview published in Time, Foreign Minister Yazdi stated the United States, at the Iranian Government's request, was assisting in investigating the transfer of several million dollars from Tehran to the Iranian Embassy in Washington to finance the activities of SAVAK in the United States. And he confirmed that his Government had begun negotiations with the United States to sell back F-14 aircraft purchased by the Shah.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied reports of Iran's role in the coup attempt against Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

JULY 31, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Kraftwerk Union of West Germany formally terminated its contract to build a twin-reactor nuclear powerplant at Bushehr.

AUGUST 2, 1979 -- THURSDAY

The Muslim People's Republic Party, comprising followers of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, and the National Front, together with some 18 other political groups, announced they will boycott elections for a constituent assembly in order to protest voting arrangements.

AUGUST 3, 1979 -- FRIDAY

In Qum, Ayatollah Khomeini declared that political groups, boycotting the constituent assembly elections were "enemies of the revolution and Islam."

AUGUST 6, 1979 -- MONDAY

Foreign Minister Yazdi said in Qum, following a meeting with a Cuban delegation, that Iran will reestablish diplomatic relations with Cuba, broken by the Shah in 1976.

Foreign Minister Yazdi said that in January 1978, President Carter had warned Ayatollah Khomeini he should support Prime Minister Bakhtiar if he wanted to avoid a military coup or a bloodbath in Iran. Yazdi reportedly said Khomeini had replied that even if he had agreed to remain silent and support Bakhtiar, "my nation would not do likewise."

Vice Prime Minister for Executive Affairs Sadeq Tabatabai announced that a new intelligence-gathering agency, to be known as the Iranian National Information and Security Organization, will be set up in the Prime Minister's office and will be headed by Mustafa Shamran.

AUGUST 7, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Leaders of 17 political groups complained that vote-rigging in the constituent assembly elections had led to sweeping victories for religious candidates backed by Ayatollah Khomeini.

Armed revolutionary guards occupied the offices of the Tehran newspaper Ayandegan, and a government official announced its publishers and editors would be prosecuted for "counter-revolutionary policies and acts."

AUGUST 8, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

In Urmieh, in northwestern Iran, army troops protesting the execution of a colonel and a sergeant clashed with revolutionary guards. Pars reported a number of persons were wounded.

AUGUST 9, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini clashed with thousands of demonstrators opposed to the Government's new press law as revolutionary guards fired into the air to disperse them.

Three Americans and 14 other foreigners working for an American construction firm near Tehran were released by Iranian workers after having been held hostage for some 12 hours in a dispute over severance pay.

AUGUST 10, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Government Spokesman Sadeq Tabatabai announced the cancellation of \$9 billion in U.S. arms agreements made during the Shah's regime, and said that Iran had demanded \$1 billion from West Germany to compensate for losses from a half-completed nuclear plant.

AUGUST 11, 1979 -- SATURDAY

The Government released the official results of the constituent assembly elections and, while no overall totals were announced, they indicated that at least 60 of the 73 places in the assembly had been won by Muslim clergymen and Islamic conservatives.

AUGUST 12, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Several Hundred persons were reported injured when Islamic militants clashed with leftists protesting suppression of the press in the most serious rioting in Tehran since the overthrow of the Shah's regime.

Revolutionary guards, acting under government orders, forcibly took over protection of the U.S. embassy in Tehran from an allegedly independent militia group.

AUGUST 13, 1979 -- MONDAY

Iran's press law was extended to foreign correspondents in a new 14-article code issued by the Deputy Minister of National Guidance. (One article holds a resident correspondent responsible for any report his organization published that is deemed "false, distorted or motivated against Iran's Islamic revolution, government or nation," and states the correspondent would be prosecuted "according to the relevant laws.")

Militant Muslims, seeking retribution for clashes with leftists the previous day, ransacked the headquarters of Fedayin-e Khalq, stormed the Tehran University law school and a campus library, and attacked several offices of leftist groups. Attacks on the headquarters of the progressive Muslim guerrilla group, Mujahidin-e Khalq, were repulsed.

Militant Muslims supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini fought with leftist opponents in Tehran for the third straight day as the authorities ordered revolutionary guards to halt all unauthorized demonstrations.

AUGUST 14, 1979 -- TUESDAY

In an interview with Agence France-Presse, former Prime Minister Bakhtiar declared that Ayatollah Khomeini's regime would last no more than 6 months "because of Government policies that are leading to an explosion," and he stated: "I will deliver the coup de grace."

The International Commission of Jurists issued a statement deploring Iran's new press code, saying that Iranian political life would suffer a "severe setback" because of the curbs on the opposition press.

The Iranian news agency Pars reported that agreement had been reached with the Soviet Union to triple capacity at the Isfahan steel mill, built by the Soviets in the 1960's.

AUGUST 15, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Canadian Defense Minister Allen McKinnon said that his Government was interested in purchasing the 78 U.S. built F-14 aircraft which Iran had stated it desires to resell to the United States.

Following 3 days of street clashes between leftist elements and supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini, the Government warned that unauthorized demonstrations would be broken up.

AUGUST 16, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Kurdish rebels were reported to have seized the town of Paveh, near the Iraqi border, after 2 days of fighting with revolutionary guards and national police units.

Ayatollah Khomeini, in a nationwide broadcast, called on Iranians to mark August 17 as a day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, branding Israel and the United States as "enemies of Islam." And he warned Iranian leftists: "unless you stop your follies, I shall give the final word."

AUGUST 17, 1979 -- FRIDAY

The U.S. Consulate in Tehran was slightly damaged by a rifle grenade attack. No injuries were reported.

AUGUST 20, 1979 -- MONDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini, after having banned the Kurdish Democratic party the previous day, urged Kurds to arrest and hand over their "treacherous" leaders to Islamic authorities.

AUGUST 21, 1979 -- TUESDAY

The Government proscribed 22 newspapers and magazines belonging to left-wing or secular political groups.

A Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that the exiled Shah had privately requested the Swedish Government for political asylum.

AUGUST 22, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Iranian air force F-4 aircraft were brought into action against Kurdish rebel tanks amidst new outbreaks of fighting near the Iraqi border.

The Kurdish Democratic party, in a letter to the Government, stated it did not object to the presence of the Iranian army in Kurdistan, but it demanded the immediate withdrawal of all revolutionary guards.

AUGUST 23, 1979 -- THURSDAY

The news agency Pars reported that Foreign Minister Yazdi had invited U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, to visit Iran.

Rebellious Kurdish elements battled Government forces in Saqqez and vowed they would execute one prisoner for every Kurd lined up before Islamic firing squads.

AUGUST 24, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Iranian Air force F-4s and army helicopter gunships attacked rebellious Kurdish positions at Saqqez in renewed fighting; and in Sanandaj, Kurds sympathetic to the banned Kurdish Democratic Party clashed with a crowd loyal to Ayatollah Khomeini following demonstrations by both groups.

AUGUST 28, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini rejected negotiations with Kurdish leaders aimed at bringing about a cease-fire. Talks between Government officials and the Kurds had begun the previous day.

amidst concern of a major battle provoked by Government attempts to restore authority in Mahabad. (Firing squads executed 20 Kurds accused of involvement in the revolt.)

AUGUST 30, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Two Kurdish rebels were executed in Zanjan and 2 persons were executed in Bushehr, bringing the total number of persons officially put to death since the revolution in February to 546.

AUGUST 31, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Prime Minister Bazargan offered his resignation to Ayatollah Khomeini, but subsequently withdrew it, stating that "the Government has been a knife without a blade.\*\*\*I plead with the people to request Ayatollah Khomeini to come to Tehran and take over.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1979 -- SATURDAY

The Tehran newspaper Keyhan International quoted NIOC Chairman Hassan Nazih as having warned that Iran might be forced to revise its agreement to sell oil to the United States because of controversy in Washington over the sale of U.S. diesel fuel and kerosene to Iran.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1979 -- MONDAY

Government forces seized the Kurdish stronghold of Mahabad following the evacuation of some 100,000 persons from the city and intense bombardment of Kurdish rebel positions.

NIOC Chairman Nazih said that oil production was averaging 4 million barrels per day, and that there was no labor unrest in the oilfields.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1979 -- TUESDAY

The Soviet Union denied allegations by Ayatollah Taleghani of having assisted Kurdish guerrillas.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini declared that the Kurdish rebel leadership had been crushed, and he called upon rank and file guerrilla forces to come out of hiding. Prime Minister Bazargan visited the Kurdish region and promised help for reconstruction and development.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1979 -- SATURDAY

A commentary by foreign affairs specialist Aleksandr Bovin in the weekend supplement to Izvestia accused Ayatollah Khomeini of arousing "religious fanatics, anti-Communist hysteria and attempting to show the policies and intentions of a friendly country (the Soviet Union) in a false light"; and he criticized the suppression of freedom of expression and the denial of equal rights and autonomy to ethnic minorities in Iran.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1979 -- MONDAY

Tehran radio announced the death of Ayatollah Taleghani, the Shi'ite spiritual leader of Tehran. Subsequently, Ayatollah Khomeini appointed Ayatollah Montazeri as his Tehran representative.

Prime Minister Bazargan, attending Ayatollah Taleghani's funeral, criticized "reactionary" Shi'ite clergy as having deceived the public by changing the draft constitution, and he defended some Western values as being of benefit to Iran.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira announced that Japan will underwrite the \$3.1 billion petrochemical project, presently 85 percent completed, at Bandar Khomeini (formerly Bandar Shapur).

SEPTEMBER 12, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

By a 53-8 vote, with four abstentions; the Assembly of Experts, charged with amending a draft constitution for an Islamic republic, approved a constitutional clause giving supreme spiritual and political power in Iran to a trusted religious leader, or in his absence, to a council of theologians.

Iranian press reports indicated that oil exports from Iran had averaged less than 2.1 million barrels per day (b/d) during the previous week -- down the recent average of 3.3 million b/d -- stating that the decline may have stemmed from a slowdown by oilfield workers in Khuzistan.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini reportedly declared that all candidates for parliamentary elections should be clergymen.

The Middle East Economic Digest reported that, according to Foreign Minister Yazdi, U.S. Government officials had assured the Iranian government that the exiled Shah would not be granted asylum in the United States.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Tehran radio reported the repeal of the 1947 law authorizing the presence in Iran of a U.S. military mission.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Deputy Economy and Finance Minister Cyrus Ibrahimzadeh said that expected price increases in 1980 and Iran's inability to handle "such enormous oil revenues" may lead to a reduction in oil exports during the coming year.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1979 SUNDAY

Foreign Minister Yazdi declared that his government had rejected a proposal by Oman for the joint defense of the Strait of Hormuz together with the United States and other Western Powers.

OCTOBER 2, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Firing squads executed two men, bringing to 613 the number of official executed since February.

OCTOBER 5, 1979 -- SATURDAY

The Department of Defense announced that the United States had resumed delivery of spare parts for Iran's U.S.-built military aircraft.

OCTOBER 7, 1979 -- SUNDAY

It was announced in Tehran that the United States and Iran had agreed on the appointment of a new U.S. Ambassador, Bruce Laingen, currently charge d'affaires in Iran.

OCTOBER 9, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Iranian Vice Prime Minister Tabatabai said in Beirut there were now five main authorities in Iran: the revolutionary committees, the revolutionary guards, the Revolutionary Council, the government, and the revolutionary courts; and he praised the Iranian revolution's accomplishments, claiming that Iranian reserves presently amounted to about \$11 billion.



OCTOBER 10, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

On his return to Tehran, Foreign Minister Yazdi said his talks with Secretary of State Vance had resulted in no change in Iran's relations with the United States.

OCTOBER 18, 1979 -- THURSDAY

A review of bank records in Paris indicated that Iran had withdrawn all its deposits -- a total of \$300 million -- from the Bank of France the previous week.

OCTOBER 22, 1979 -- MONDAY

The exiled Shah arrived unannounced in New York from Mexico to undergo medical examinations at the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center.

OCTOBER 23, 1979 -- TUESDAY

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said that United States had notified the Iranian government that the Shah would be admitted to the United States strictly for medical reasons and that he would return to Mexico after American and European doctors had finished treating him.

OCTOBER 24, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

The exiled Shah underwent an operation at the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center to remove several gallstones that had blocked a bile duct and had caused jaundice and to remove his gallbladder. At the same time, a team of surgeons removed and enlarged lymph node and took a small piece of the Shah's liver for tests to determine the extent of the cancer cell presence.

In Qum, Ayatollah Khomeini called on "all Iranians, Arabs, Palestinians and other Muslims" to demonstrate at the New York hospital where the exiled Shah was undergoing treatment, stating: "I warn the U.S. Government not to give him permanent residence. If it does, the consequences for the internal situation in the United States will be quite adverse."

The House Ethics Committee accepted a staff report which stated there was no evidence to support charges by spokesman for the present Iranian regime that, during the reign of the Shah, some Congressmen had received payoffs or had engaged in improper activities involving drugs and sex at the Iranian Embassy in Washington.

OCTOBER 25, 1979 -- THURSDAY

In a broadcast speech, Ayatollah Khomeini said the exiled Shah had gone to the United States under the pretext that he was suffering with terminal cancer. Khomeini declared he hoped the Shah would die, but expressed concern over the return to Iran of money taken by the Shah.

OCTOBER 28, 1979 -- MONDAY

The oil workers's union issued a statement threatening to impose an embargo on oil exports to the United States unless Washington extradited the exiled Shah to Iran.

Ayatollah Khomeini declared in a speech that Iran's current problems were caused by the United States, and he warned westernized Iranians to "either leave the country or reform themselves, stating: "These American-loving rotten brains must be purged from the nation.... This department must be cleaned of these traitors."

OCTOBER 31, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

The Islamic Republic Party -- inspired by Ayatollah Khomeini -- called for a march on the U.S. Embassy in Tehran for the following day to protest U.S. imperialism.

Foreign Minister Yazdi announced that the government planned to terminate the 1959 U.S.-Iranian mutual assistance agreement and clauses in the 1921 Soviet-Iranian treaty.

NOVEMBER 1, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Khomeini's office in Qum issued a statement saying, "it is therefore up to the dear pupils, students and theological students to expand their attacks against the United States and Israel, so that they may force the U.S. to return the deposed and criminal Shah."

NOVEMBER 3, 1979 -- SATURDAY

The Iranian Foreign Minister formally protested the U.S. decision to admit the Shah to the U.S. and the American refusal to allow Iranian doctors to examine him.

NOVEMBER 4, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Iranian students staged a peaceful sit-in at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. Later, demonstrators stormed the embassy and took approximately 100 hostages, demanding that the United States extradite the deposed Shah.

An Iranian spokesman inside the embassy claimed that Ayatollah Khomeini telephoned the embassy to express his agreement with the students' takeover.

NOVEMBER 5, 1979 -- MONDAY

Khomeini's son warned Premier Bazargan that if his government opposed the occupation of the U.S. embassy, they would be opposing the Iranian People.

It was estimated that of the 100 hostages being held, approximately 60 were Americans. Iranian intruders occupied the British Embassy in Tehran, but departed several hours later.

Iranian intruders occupied the American consulates in Shiraz and Tabriz.

Iran abrogated the 1959 Cooperation Treaty with the United States and the 1921 Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union.

Ayatollah Khomeini condoned the takeover of the American and British embassies saying that, "if they do not give up the criminals (the Shah and Bakhtiar)...then we shall do whatever is necessary...."

Khomeini's son, Ahmad Khomeini, arrived at the U.S. Embassy at the invitation of the "students" and endorsed the takeover.

NOVEMBER 6, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Khomeini's office asked students to refrain from marching so as not to escalate tensions.

The Iranian domestic news service noted that a wide spectrum of Iranian society (including clergy, government and private employees) supported the taking of the American Embassy.

Premier Bazargan and his government offered their resignations. Khomeini accepted the resignations and gave power to the Revolutionary Council. He directed the Council to manage the transition and prepare for new elections.

President Carter sent former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and Senate Intelligence Committee staff chief William Miller, on a mission to Iran to negotiate for the release of the hostages.

NOVEMBER 7, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini refused to meet a U.S. delegation that included Ramsey Clark and William Miller and ordered the Revolutionary Council not to receive the U.S. emissaries, who were on a stop-over in Turkey.

Brigadier General Sa'd Sayil and Abu al-Walid of the PLO led a delegation to Tehran with a message for Khomeini from PLO leader Yasir Arafat. They denied that the PLO was mediating between Iran and the U.S. concerning the hostages.

President Carter convened the National Security Council to discuss the situation in Iran.

The U.S. reaffirmed that the Shah could remain in the U.S. until his medical treatments were completed.

Khomeini's son refused a request from U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to intervene on behalf of the hostages.

The U.S. State Department advised all Americans to leave Iran as the State Department could no longer guarantee their protection.

An Iranian spokesman in the embassy said that all U.S. moves aimed at negotiations "cannot weaken the determination of the Iranian people."

Ayatollah Khomeini said that the U.S. was "far too impotent" to intervene militarily in his country.

The Mexican government affirmed that the Shah could return to Mexico at any point in the future.

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim expressed grave concern over the situation in Tehran to the Iranian charge d'affaires in New York.

The U.S. charge d'affaires, Bruce Laingen, was granted asylum in the Iranian Foreign Ministry. His security was called by the ministry "... a legal and religious responsibility of the government." Laingen had been on an official call at the ministry when the Embassy compound was seized.

Ayatollah Khomeini said that the U.S. was totally responsible for the "tense situation in Iran".

The U.S. House of Representatives drafted a letter to Khomeini urging prompt release of the hostages.

NOVEMBER 8, 1979 -- THURSDAY

A "responsible Palestinian source" denied a PLO mission to Tehran would negotiate for release of the hostages.

Iranian "students" paraded an American hostage before chanting demonstrators because he "refused to give his name." Reliable information on the hostages was reported hard to find. The embassy intruders claimed they would "accept no negotiations with the PLO, Yasir Arafat or anyone else..."

Iran's Revolutionary Court ordered the serving of an arrest warrant for the deposed Shah.

U.S. Representative Paul Findley (R-Ill.) asked the PLO for help in mediating the release of the hostages.

Iranian "students" demanded that the Foreign Ministry hand over U.S. charge d'affaires Bruce Laingen. The "students" sent a special team to the Foreign Ministry to guard Laingen.

U.S. halted shipment of military spare parts previously ordered by Iran.

Iranian students in India picketed the U.S. embassy there.

Iranian's newly appointed Foreign Minister, Abol Hassan Bani Sadr, visited the U.S. embassy.

NOVEMBER 10, 1979 -- SATURDAY

President Carter asked the U.S. Attorney General to inform the 50,000 Iranian students in the U.S. to report to the nearest immigration office. Any students found to be in violation of the terms of their visas would be deported. President Carter also asked Americans to be calm and refrain from any words or deeds that might endanger the lives of the hostages.

NOVEMBER 11, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Iranians occupying the U.S. Embassy initiated a 5-day hunger strike to "prove the Iranian's willingness to endure all possible sacrifice to achieve their purpose."

A spokesman for the Iranians holding the U.S. Embassy in Tehran said that if the Shah "dies in the U.S., we will keep the hostages, because we want him alive."

NOVEMBER 12, 1979 -- MONDAY

President Carter announced that the U.S. would stop importing oil from Iran.

Iran officials announced that Iran had suspended all oil sales to U.S. companies. They added that they would continue to produce and export their present level and sell to other clients.

NOVEMBER 13, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Iran urged Arab countries to cut off oil supplies to the U.S.

Iranians holding the U.S. Embassy continued to reject conciliatory measures, and urged Iranian students in the U.S. to continue their protests.

In a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim, Iranian Foreign Minister Bani Sadr called for a U.N. Security Council meeting. He accused the U.S. of creating an "atmosphere of war".

A Revolutionary Council member unofficially suggested a reduction in the demands for the release of the hostages might be possible. He suggested that an announcement by the U.S. that the Shah is a criminal, and that an international team was being created for investigating his crimes, would be sufficient to initiate negotiations.

The U.S. House of Representatives voted 379 to 0 to prohibit foreign aid and military assistance to Iran.

NOVEMBER 14, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Iran announced it would withdraw its financial reserves from American banks and transfer them to banks in countries more sympathetic to the Iranian regime.

President Carter froze assets in U.S. banks and their foreign branches.

Following President Carter's directive, the Justice Department issued new regulations which required all Iranian students to report to the Immigration and Naturalization Service within 30 days and prove they had not violated the terms of their visa.

On orders from the Revolutionary Council, telephone communications with U.S. were restored.

Tehran press announced that Iran closed its airspace and territorial waters to U.S. aircraft and shipping.

NOVEMBER 15, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Two members of the Iranian Revolutionary Council, Foreign Minister Adol Hassan Bani Sadr, and head of state television, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, hinted to Western reporters that women and blacks among the hostages would be freed soon. The Islamic students holding the embassy "strongly rejected" such a possibility. The Revolutionary Council asked students not take over other embassies.

Iran announced formation of a new cabinet to replace the government of former Prime Minister Bazargan which resigned on November 6. A new prime minister was not named.

Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi issued a statement saying that his government was deeply concerned by the situation in Iran and that Kenya could not accept the taking of hostages as a legitimate means of exerting pressure for any purpose. Moi urgently appealed to Iran for the immediate release of the hostages.

Three members of an NBC television crew in Tehran were taken hostage, but later released.

NOVEMBER 17, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Khomeini ordered the release and immediate deportation of blacks and females among the hostages. Iran state radio said the students holding the embassy had accepted Khomeini's directive.

President Carter said he was "thankful" for the announcement and said he would continue pressing for the release of the remaining hostages.

Ayatollah Khomeini announced he would begin a religious seclusion for three weeks.

NOVEMBER 18, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Three hostages, two black Marines and a female embassy employee were released from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. Iranian "students" holding the embassy said that others would be released shortly. The Ayatollah warned, however, that many of the remaining hostages might be put on trial for espionage if the Shah is not returned to Iran.

Ayatollah Muhammad Beheshti, member of the Revolutionary Council, said that plans have been made to break diplomatic relations with the U.S.

NOVEMBER 19, 1979 -- MONDAY

Iran released 10 more hostages -- four women and six black men. The three hostages released earlier were flown to West Germany.

Khomeini reiterated that the remaining hostages would be tried for espionage if the Shah is not returned to Iran.

Carter Administration officials estimated the value of Iranian assets in the United States at more than \$8 billion, including the following: (1) \$1.8 billion held at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, including \$1.2 billion in Treasury securities and about \$600 million in gold valued at current market prices; (2) \$400 million on deposit at the U.S. Treasury against U.S. defense equipment orders; (3) more than \$1 billion in deposits in domestic U.S. commercial banks; (4) more than \$500 million on deposit in domestic non-bank U.S. companies; and (5) \$4 billion on deposit in foreign branches of U.S. banks.

NOVEMBER 20, 1979 -- TUESDAY

President Carter ordered a naval task force, headed by the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk, into the Indian Ocean south of Iran. The Kitty Hawk, with 85 aircraft aboard, was ordered to sail from Subic Bay in the Philippines with five escort vessels, including a guided missile cruiser and three destroyers. Officials in Washington were reported to have said that no Marine landing forces were included in the task force.

In a statement issued by the White House, the U.S. suggested the possibility of taking military action should Iran decide to try the remaining American hostages. The statement

said that a peaceful solution is "preferable to the other remedies available" but that such remedies are explicitly recognized in the Charter of the United Nations.

NOVEMBER 21, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

A group of armed persons took over the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. The attackers, at first identified as members of a Shi'ite faction, were later identified as a conservative Muslim group led by a "Mahdi" (Messiah) opposed to Saudi modernization.

The U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, was partially burned after being stormed by thousands of Muslim demonstrators. Pakistani troops rescued over 100 people inside the embassy; a Marine guard and an Army warrant officer and four Pakistanis were killed during the siege. Other Muslim crowds attacked the U.S. Consulate General in Lahore. Various reports suggested that the demonstrators were reacting to assertions that the U.S. had staged the attack on the Grand Mosque in Mecca.

A White House source officially warned Iran that the potential for American military moves should be taken seriously and said that Iran would be held "strictly accountable" if the hostages in the embassy were physically harmed.

On the beginning of Muharram, the Shi'ite Muslim period of mourning, millions of Iranians took to the streets of Tehran shouting "Death to Carter" and "God is great."

According to the New York Times, U.N. officials offered Iran two forums in which to state their case against the ex-Shah in return for the release of the American hostages. Under the scheme, U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim would appoint a group of international legal experts to examine the regime's charges that the Shah stole billions of dollars from the Iranian people. Concurrently, the Security Council would also grant Iran the opportunity to air its grievances against the ex-Shah and the U.S. Government.

Cairo Radio reported that the Soviet-controlled National Voice of Iran, operating out of Baku in Soviet Azerbaijan, had called upon Iranian officials to release the Americans on humanitarian and political grounds.

Iranians occupying the U.S. Embassy in Tehran reportedly stated that if they felt that U.S. threats to employ military force were becoming a reality, all the hostages would be killed at once.

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko said: "We have always advocated, and we advocate, maintaining good relations with Iran. The Soviet Union has a positive attitude toward the revolution that took place in Iran. But this is an internal matter. Nobody should intervene from outside in the internal affairs of Iran." When asked about the takeover of the U.S. Embassy, Gromyko said "Let us hope that this problem is going to have a satisfactory solution, but I would prefer not to comment on what kind of solution."

Foreign Ministers of the 21 members of the Council of Europe approved a document calling on Iran to put a halt to the occupation of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

The Commander of the Iranian Navy put his forces on alert but reportedly said he did not think the U.S. would launch a military action against Iran.

An East German diplomat reportedly promised that the socialist states would meet Iran's food needs should Iran become the target of an economic blockade.

Conflicting reports from world news agencies claimed that Iranian Central Bank officials were refusing to accept U.S. dollars in return for oil and would only accept French francs, Swiss francs, and German marks. The reports were not confirmed.

NOVEMBER 22, 1979 -- THURSDAY

A statement by a high ranking PLO official said the Ayatollah Khomeini would release the hostages if the ex-Shah left the U.S. This statement was contradicted in Tehran by "students" holding the embassy, who insisted the hostages would go on trial regardless of the fate of the ex-Shah.

ABC news said the Empress Farah, the ex-Shah's wife, told Barbara Walters her husband wanted to leave the U.S. for Mexico as soon as his radiation treatment was completed and his gallbladder condition had improved.

Thirteen hostages freed from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran were met by Secretary of State Vance on their arrival at Andrews Air Force Base.

Five more non-American hostages were released from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

Representatives of Ayatollah Khomeini began talks with leaders of the Iranian Kurdish Democratic Party on Kurdish demands for autonomy.

Congressman George Hansen of Idaho was turned back by Iranian guards at the gate of the U.S. Embassy when he tried to discuss the forced occupation by militant Muslim students.

NOVEMBER 23, 1979 -- FRIDAY

About two dozen Americans living in Iran joined thousands of militant Iranians in a pro-Khomeini march.

The People's Daily in Beijing expressed its fears that the Soviet Union might benefit from the current crisis between the U.S. and Iran. The Chinese demanded the immediate release of the American diplomats; expressed their hope for an end of the crisis to ensure both regional and worldwide stability; and cited the positions of the United Nations Security Council and the European Economic Community on the inviolability of diplomatic immunity.

Foreign Minister Abol Hassan Bani Sadr announced that Iran was repudiating all foreign debts. The amounts of foreign debts owed by Iran was put at \$15 billion by the Iranians; the Washington Post reported, however, that the amount is closer to \$7 billion.

Over 400 Americans, mostly dependents or embassy personnel and including U.S. government employees, were evacuated from Pakistan, on orders from Secretary of State Vance.

Opposition Indian politicians, including supporter of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, organized an attack on the U.S. consulate in Calcutta and 10,000 marched in an anti-

American and anti-Zionist protest in Dacca, Bangladesh. In New Delhi, the U.S. Embassy and American center were closed without notice as a security precaution.

Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng expressed concern over events in Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, and said he feared a boost in Soviet influence in the Middle East if the crisis between Iran and the U.S. was not resolved.

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, at a news conference in Bonn, expressed the view that the Iranian situation was an "internal problem" of that country and said the Soviet policy was not to "interfere." He added that the Soviet Union always stands by international conventions, particularly respect for the status of foreign diplomats, and that the Soviet position has been made clear to the U.S. and in the United Nations Security Council.

The Defense Department cancelled all flight training for the approximately 273 Iranian military personnel receiving instruction at various Air Force and Navy bases around the country.

President Carter met with his diplomatic and military advisors at Camp David to discuss the Iranian situation and said the consequences would be "extremely grave" for Iran if even one of the remaining American hostages in Iran were harmed.

U.S. Treasury Secretary Miller expressed confidence that OPEC would postpone next year's proposed oil cutbacks to make up for the Iranian oil cutoff. He also expected Saudi Arabia to continue its stepped-up production of 9.5 million b/d.

Ayatollah Khomeini repeated the threat of the "students" holding the American embassy to blow it up and "destroy" their hostages if attacked. In a harshly worded speech, he called the sacking of the U.S. Embassy in Pakistan "a great joy" and said the Iranian nation would gladly suffer "martyrdom" if the U.S. attacks it. "This is not a struggle between the U.S. and Iran; it is a struggle between Islam and blasphemy," he said.

The new Turkish government leader, Sulayman Demirel, made a strong statement of disapproval of the holding of the hostages. When asked about the use of Turkish bases in the event of U.S. military action in Iran, he said: "There is no such demand. When such a demand is made, Turkey will adopt its attitude."

Reuters quoted Iranian Foreign Minister Abol Hassan Bani Sadr as saying Iran would not pay its foreign debts, estimated by the Central Bank of Iran at more than \$15 billion.

NOVEMBER 24, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Portuguese newspapers reported that American forces at the Lajes air base in the Azores had been placed on alert to support potential U.S. military operations in the Persian Gulf region. Earlier, a report on Portuguese radio quoted Prime Minister Maria Pitasilgo as saying, in informal remarks to the press on November 22, "We would not consider the possibility of the [Lajes] base being used by the United States in an indiscriminate manner."

General Mujid ur-Rahman, Pakistan Secretary of Information, expressed regret over the attack on the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad and stated that Pakistan would pay damages in line

with "international conventions." He urged the U.N. Security Council to meet on the situation in Tehran, saying Pakistan was "deeply disturbed over the possibility of the use of force against Iran."

President Kountche of Niger urged the immediate release of the American hostages in Iran, and noted that the taking of hostages "represents a grave strain on a universally respected principle."

NOVEMBER 25, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Iranian Air Force and Naval Support Bases were reportedly put on alert for any possible action by the U.S.

United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim called for a Security Council meeting to deal with the escalating tension and the "serious threat to international peace and security."

U.S. Congressman George Hansen (R-Idaho) on a "self-appointed peace mission" was permitted to enter the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and talk with some of the remaining hostages.

NOVEMBER 26, 1979 -- MONDAY

According to the New York Times, Iranian Oil Minister Ali Akbar Muinfar indicated that Iran would decrease its daily oil production starting next year, although he declined to say by how much. He also warned countries that had adopted "politically hostile" attitudes towards Iran of cutbacks or cutoffs of oil supplies from Iran.

It was reported that the United States had asked the Spanish government not to increase its purchases of Iranian oil when Spanish officials meet with Iranian representative in London to negotiate next year's oil deliveries.

Jody Powell, Carter Administration spokesman, and Thomas O'Neill, Speaker of the House, criticized Representative George Hansen (R-Idaho) for his "self-appointed peace mission" to Iran.

The U.S. State Department began a "precautionary evacuation" of non-essential personnel and dependents in 8 to 10 Muslim countries in preparation for the high emotional level that is expected to accompany Muslim holy days, beginning on November 30.

A declaration approved by the Organization of African States urged the Iranian government to end the occupation of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and to release the hostages.

It was reported that the British assured the Government of Cyprus that British bases on Cyprus would not be used in any possible U.S. military operations against Iran.

NOVEMBER 27, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Following 2-1/2 days of informal discussion, the U.N. Security Council postponed debate on the situation in Tehran until Dec. 1, giving the Iranian Foreign Minister time to arrive in New York after the Muslim holy days. Ayatollah Khomeini, however, criticized initiatives by the U.N. saying the "debate has been predetermined" and was "under direct influence by the U.S."

President Carter stated that the release of American hostages would not "wipe the slate clean" at the end of the current crisis situation in Tehran.

Iranian Foreign Minister Bani Sadr praised Representative Henry Reuss (D-Wisconsin) for holding the possibility open of a House Banking Committee investigation of the Shah if the hostages are released, but Khomeini dismissed the idea. According to Khomeini, "It is not possible to study the cases of the ousted Shah and the hostages at the espionage center except in Iran because the evidence for the crime exists in Iran and can not be transferred abroad."

U.S. attorney General Benjamin Civiletti urged Americans not to discriminate against Iranians in the U.S. "despite our justifiable anger." Civiletti hinted that the Justice Department might seek court orders to block instances of discrimination.

The State Department urged Americans to avoid private travel to 11 Muslim countries because of the Iranian situation. It listed the countries as Libya, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Kuwait, UAA, Qatar, North Yemen, Bangladesh, Oman and Bahrain.

Iranians holding the U.S. Embassy reportedly said that the compound had been mined and that people should stay away from the walls.

According to Iran radio, the airspace around Qom has been closed in precaution against a possible attack against Khomeini.

Dr. Muhammad Mukri, Iranian Ambassador to Moscow, said that in case of U.S. attack on Iran, "we do not want any friendly countries, including the U.S.S.R., to send troops...."

NOVEMBER 28, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

Abol Hassan Bani Sadr was dismissed as "supervisor" of the Iranian Foreign Ministry and Sadegh Ghotbzadeh was appointed the new Foreign Minister of Iran. Ghotbzadeh said that he had "not yet decided whether or not he would fly to New York to attend the U.N. Security Council meeting."

The U.S. naval task force led by the carrier Kitty Hawk joined other U.S. naval forces in the Arabian Sea.

President Carter held a news conference and reiterated his earlier warnings to Iran concerning resolution of the hostage situation. "Any claims raised by Iran will ring hollow while innocent people are bound, abused and threatened," he stated, and added that Iran would face "grave consequences" should the American hostages be harmed.

December 2 was set as a national holiday so that Iranians can vote on a constitutional referendum drafted by the Revolutionary Council.

Marine insurance companies in London declared the Persian Gulf a war zone and accordingly increased insurance premiums.

Muhammed Ali Hadi, head of an Iranian delegation sent abroad to explain Iran's position, claimed Iran "had the names of 15 Iranian students who were killed in U.S. during the last three weeks."

The Senate and the House unanimously approved resolutions demanding "an immediate, safe and unconditional release" of all the hostages and called on the United Nations Security Council to take "all measures necessary" to achieve that end.

NOVEMBER 29, 1979 -- THURSDAY

Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda announced that Mexico would not renew the Shah's tourist visa and would not allow him to return to exile there. Egyptian ambassador to the U.S., Ashraf Ghorbal, reiterated that Egypt's invitation to the Shah still stands.

Iranian "students" warned that "if the Shah leaves the U.S. and goes to a country other than Iran, we will put the hostages on trial much sooner than the date we have discussed."

The U.S. petitioned the International Court of Justice at the Hague for a speedy legal judgment that Iran must release the hostages immediately.

Replying to statements made during President Carter's news conference, Khomeini called for trials to pass judgment on Carter and former President Nixon, as well as the Shah. At the same time, Khomeini warned leaders of Arab oil-producing countries to "use their oil weapon against the U.S. or their people will make them suffer the same fate as the deposed Shah."

The New York Times reported that the aircraft carrier Forrestal left Norfolk for the Mediterranean. With two aircraft carriers already in the Mediterranean, and two in the Arabian Sea, the U.S. will have five carriers in the region of the crisis, with a collective complement of about 350 planes.

NOVEMBER 30, 1979 -- FRIDAY

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh stated that he would not attend the December 1 U.N. Security Council meeting. Ghotbzadeh stated that "we feel we cannot attend the meeting unless our legitimate demand for the return of the Shah is considered."

Ghotbzadeh said there is "no room for negotiation at present" in the crisis between the U.S. and Iran.

A Paris newspaper reported that while some 30 hostages are still being held in the embassy compound, some 20 others have apparently been taken to various locations around

Tehran. The "students" had announced some days before that some of the hostages would be moved to a nearby jail.

Former Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Erbakan said that in the event Iran is subjected to a U.S. invasion, the Turkish government should adopt a neutral stand. Erbakan told Prime Minister Demirel that he would join his government on the condition Demirel does not allow the U.S. to use its military bases in Turkey against Iran.

The biggest mass demonstration since the January revolution converged on the American Embassy in Tehran. The increase in the crowd was due to the beginning of the religious celebration of Ashura.

The Bank of Tokyo and 12 other Japanese foreign exchange banks sent a cable to Chase Manhattan Bank indicating that they would not join Chase in declaring Iranian governmental corporations in default on their loans. Japanese export shipments to Iran have resumed following Iranian partial payments for goods already delivered.

In his first press conference since becoming Foreign Minister, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh said that three senior American officials being held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry were free to leave at any time. The three are Bruce Laingen, charge d'affaires, and two embassy officials, Michael Howland and Victor Tomseth.

DECEMBER 1, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Iranian Foreign Minister Sadag Ghotbzadeh "clarified" his statement of the day before that the three Americans in protective custody at the Foreign Ministry -- Bruce Laingen, Michael Holland, and Victor Tomsseth -- were free to leave Iran. Ghotbzadeh said their safety could not be guaranteed once they left the Ministry, which, in effect, meant that they were not free to go. A spokesman for the intruders at the embassy denied that Ghotbzadeh ever had said that the three Americans could leave, despite listening to a recording of Ghotbzadeh's words, and reaffirmed that it was the intruders' intention to try the three with the other 50 hostages.

In another sign of the lack of cohesion within the Iranian ruling circle, Economics and Finance Minister Abolhassan Bani Sadr, who was dismissed as acting Foreign Minister, criticized Khomeini, the Revolutionary Council, and the embassy attackers for adhering to their "unfruitful" demand that the Shah be extradited to Iran, and for claiming that the United States controlled the United Nations and the International Court of Justice.

The Shi'ite population of Iran celebrated Ashura, the religious holiday commemorating the death of the third Imam Husayn, with processions and passion plays. Many observers feared that the religious fervor always present during Ashura might present an added danger to the hostages, but the celebrations passed without serious incident.

At the embassy, the "students" released a document purported to be a cable naming William Daugherty and Malcolm Kalp (two of the hostages) as CIA agents. The embassy attackers said Daugherty had "confessed" that he was a CIA agent. The U.S. State Department refused to comment on the cable or the Daugherty allegations, but reminded journalists that the embassy attackers had forged other documents.

The United Nations Security Council began a late-night debate on the U.S.-Iranian crisis. Ghotbzadeh had announced on Nov. 30 that Iran would not attend the session. It was expected that the Security Council would approve a statement or a resolution condemning Iran for retaining the hostages and for ignoring treaties and agreements on the protection of diplomats.

Reports in Washington suggested that the United States was concentrating on South Africa as a permanent home for the Shah; the Shah's father lived in exile in South Africa between 1941 and his death in 1944. South Africa, it was believed, had nothing to lose by the Shah's presence since the Khomeini regime had severed all relations shortly after the Shah left Iran.

DECEMBER 2, 1979 -- SUNDAY

The Shah left the New York hospital for Lackland Air Force base, near San Antonio, Texas, for "recuperation." Rumors circulated in the Middle East that the Shah actually had flown to Egypt, and that the Texas story was a

ruse. In Washington, the State Department and the White House denied that the Shah would be given permanent asylum in the United States amid reports that U.S. officials were having a difficult time trying to find a nation that would take the Shah.

It was reported from Tehran that about one-half of the hostages had been removed from the embassy and taken to another location. The embassy attackers had stated previously that some, and perhaps all, the hostages would be moved to a nearby jail for safekeeping in preparation for the trial. When news of the Shah's move to Texas was received in Tehran, the attackers repeated their intention to try the hostages immediately if the Shah left the United States. There was no date fixed for the trial, which the attackers stated would be held under an Islamic judge and Islamic law. Islamic jurists in the United States and elsewhere repeated their contention that diplomats were immune from such Islamic trials, that Islamic law forbade the violation of treaties such as the diplomatic treaty between the United States and Iran, and that there was no contemporary Islamic precedent for trying "spies."

Voting on the referendum to accept the Islamic constitution was described as "light" and the polling place hours were extended. Reports from Iran stated that some religious groups not in sympathy with Khomeini's Shi'ite fundamentalism or with his intention to become President for life with near dictatorial powers, were boycotting the election. Ethnic minority groups, such as the Kurds, Azeris, and Turkomans in the north, and Baluchis and Arabs in the south, also boycotted the referendum because the constitution does not grant them autonomy, which they believe will institutionalize discrimination against them.

The United Nations Security Council debated the Iranian crisis for the second day. About 30 nations, including all 15 members of the Security Council, stated their disapproval of Iran's holding the diplomatic mission as hostages.

In Tripoli, Libya, a crowd of 2,000 marched on the U.S. Embassy and burned embassy automobiles and part of the embassy building. The fourteen Americans in the embassy escaped without injury.

DECEMBER 3, 1979 -- MONDAY

In a California interview, Senator Edward Kennedy said the Shah ran a "violent" regime and that U.S. concern for the hostages should not result in the United States supporting the Shah. Other Presidential candidates criticized Kennedy for his "ill advised" or "ill timed" remarks, suggesting that Kennedy favored abandoning the Shah. Kennedy responded that his rejection of the Shah's tactics while ruler of Iran did not diminish his concern for the hostages or his demand that they be returned to the United States, but that the two issues, the Shah and the hostages, should be kept separate.

At the United Nations Security Council, a "draft" resolution calling for release of the hostages circulated among the representatives, but approval of the resolution was not expected for at least another day. One point at issue was a Kuwaiti proposal that the resolution contain a denunciation of the use of force, a point rejected by the United States, which held that under the U.N. Charter, the use of force in self-defense is permissible. Kuwait was



reflecting a general fear in the Arab world that the United States' use of force in Iran would set a precedent for the use of force in any other political or economic dispute, such as rising oil prices or an oil embargo. Iraq, for example, warned Iran that retaining the hostages would give the United States a "justification" for military action.

Reuters news service reported from Tehran that eight of the hostages were being subjected to intense interrogation, the implication being that the eight were "spies" or CIA agents discovered by the embassy attackers.

Iranians approved the new constitution in the second day of the referendum. According to reports, there were demonstrations against the constitution and some violence at polling places in Kurdish, Turkoman, and Baluchi areas of Iran. Some political activists also boycotted the referendum because they believed the constitution gave too much power to the religious community in general and to Khomeini in particular.

Libyan President Muammar al-Qadhafi said in an interview that he was trying to persuade the Iranians to release the hostages in an attempt to avert a world war. Libya apologized for the attack on the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli of Dec. 2, but the United States rejected the apology as inadequate. The State Department said U.S.-Libyan relations were "under review."

There were demonstrations against the United States in Khartoum, Sudan, and Damascus, Syria.

The government of Panama denied reports in Panamanian newspapers that the government was negotiating with the United States over the possibility of the Shah receiving asylum on a Panamanian island.

DECEMBER 4, 1979 -- TUESDAY

According to the Washington Post, the Carter Administration formulated a diplomatic-political-economic plan to secure release of the hostages in a two-hour session of the National Security Council, chaired by the President. The plan will be implemented "step-by-step" over the next two weeks and may involve behind-the-scenes or secret contacts as well as public actions. The Post reported that the religious holidays and constitutional referendum in Iran made diplomatic contacts difficult over the past few days, but that the way was now clear for a concentrated U.S. effort.

The aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk joined the Midway on-station in the Arabian Sea. The United States now has 14 combat vessels, four support ships, and one command ship in the area. One news report said that Iranian and Soviet surveillance planes (on separate occasions) had approached the U.S. fleet but had been driven off by carrier-launched planes.

The United Nations Security Council unanimously passed a resolution (457) which called for the release of the hostages, a peaceful settlement of U.S.-Iranian differences, and participation by the Secretary-General to implement the resolution. The Security Council previously had issued two appeals through the President of the Council for release of the hostages, but this was the first resolution. Third World countries that had supported the Kuwaiti attempt to forbid use of force in the resolution settled for compromise language that reminded the United States and Iran of their

obligations to settle differences peaceably, thus leaving open for the United States the option of future action under the self-defense article of the United Nations Charter.

In Iran, the people holding the embassy rejected the Security Council resolution. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the "peaceful settlement" clause of the Security Council resolution meant extraditing the Shah. Ghotbzadeh said in another interview that the "students" definitely would try the hostages on espionage charges, and that the Soviet Union would not interfere in Iran, even if the United States launched a military attack against Iran. Bani Sadr, the Economics Minister, said Senator Kennedy's remarks on the Shah were a reflection of a changing mood in the United States that would make compromise easier. Tehran radio reported that a growing number of Americans, led by Senator Kennedy, realized that the Shah was corrupt, that the United States was wrong for supporting the Shah, and that the Shah should be returned to Iran for trial.

Mardom, the newspaper of the Communist Tudeh party in Iran, reported that the Khomeini-led Revolutionary Council was divided, that it had no foreign policy, and that it was not giving the country any direction. The Tudeh party had supported Khomeini on most issues in the past, raising the possibility that Tudeh, and perhaps other leftist elements, might be drawing away from Khomeini.

An article in Pravda, the official Soviet daily, appeared to be lecturing the United States to consider carefully the consequences of using military force. After noting a growing support for military action, both in the U.S. Government and among the American public, the author of the article suggested that U.S. "intentions" to use force in Iran could turn the crisis into one of the "serious international conflicts since World War II." The article repeated the Soviet position that holding diplomats as hostages was against international practice, but said the United States brought on the crisis through its support of the Shah. The author repeated Brezhnev's statement of one year ago, in which he cautioned against foreign intervention in Iran, but the article did not cite the rest of the Brezhnev statement that the Soviet Union considered events in Iran as affecting Soviet security interests. In all, the article appeared to reflect a low-level or semi-official word of caution to the United States.

Saudi Oil Minister Yamani walked out of an Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC, not to be confused with OPEC) meeting in Kuwait when Syria and Libya offered a resolution of support for Iran. Yamani said OAPEC was an economic, not a political, organization.

Mexican President Lopez Portillo said the U.S. decision to freeze Iranian assets was "hasty" and caused an international monetary problem. Lopez Portillo also said that Mexico had denied the Shah a return visa to avoid becoming entangled in someone else's trouble.

DECEMBER 5, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

The United States "suspended" most of its diplomatic operations in Libya, and warned that further steps, presumably including termination of diplomatic relations, would be taken if the Libyan government did not assume full responsibility for the attack on the U.S. Embassy on Dec. 2. Libya currently

provides about 650,000 barrels of crude oil per day for the United States, the third most important supplier after Saudi Arabia and Nigeria, and just ahead of Algeria and Venezuela. Libya is the second most important Middle Eastern customer for American exports.

The Treasury and State Departments announced that a "team" is being sent to Europe to marshal support for the new U.S. economic and political initiatives against Iran. Secretary Vance is expected to expand his scheduled trip to the NATO meeting in Brussels next week to include other European capitals to discuss Iran with European leaders. It is not clear what the "initiatives" are or what other action the United States may take beyond encouraging the renewed appeals for negotiations by the U.N. Secretary-General. Vice President Mondale, repeating charges previously made by President Carter, told a White House audience that the hostages were being held in "inhuman" conditions.

In Qom and Tabriz, supporters of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari demonstrated against the constitutional referendum. Two of Shariat-Madari's supporters were killed in a clash with supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini. A Khomeini spokesman said elections would be held on Feb. 10 and 11, 1980, and that the Revolutionary Council would disband after the elections.

Tehran radio said the U.N. Security Council resolution was not mandatory, did not condemn Iran's seizure of the U.S. Embassy, and provided an opening for further negotiations, a statement viewed by observers as conciliatory.

Ayatollah Beheshti, a leader of the Revolutionary Council, said the trial of the hostages would be conducted by a "revolutionary" Islamic court, not by the "students" holding the embassy as Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh had said on Dec. 4. A "student" interviewed by the Japanese daily Asahi Shimbun said the "students" did not have the legal competence to hold the trial.

Eric Rouleau, a respected Middle East correspondent of the Paris daily, Le Monde, reported a meeting between the embassy attackers and Economic Minister Bani Sadr in which Bani Sadr said it was wrong to try the hostages because they were protected as diplomats under international agreements, that for Iran to ignore the international treaties protecting diplomats debased Iran's honor, and that it was against the Koran to violate treaties. According to Rouleau, Bani Sadr criticized the Iranian government radio for lying to the Iranian people about the crisis and said Iran should attend the U.N. meetings to present its case and take advantage of the support of Iran's many friends in the international community. Bani Sadr also reportedly said that he hoped there would not be a trial of the hostages.

Islamic leaders in South Africa said the Shah should be sent to Iran and should not be allowed into South Africa. Paraguayan government sources could not confirm reports that the Shah would move to Asuncion. The Washington Post reported that American Islamic leaders had met with President Carter, but would not agree with the President's stand condemning Iran for holding the hostages; a few of the leaders suggested sending the Shah back to Iran.

The Cairo weekly magazine Akhir Saah reported that Yasir Arafat of the PLO had convinced Iraq authorities not to invade the islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs in the Persian Gulf; Iran seized the three islands from the United Arab Emirates in 1971.

DECEMBER 6, 1979 -- THURSDAY

According to news reports, some of the actions the United States hopes the European nations will take against Iran are to ban Iran Air, the Iranian state airline, from landing; to embargo arms or military equipment shipments; and to refuse Iranian banking transactions. The news sources also said the United States would rely on U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim to encourage other nations to offer more diplomatic support for the American demand that the hostages be released and to increase his direct contacts with Iranian authorities. White House spokesman said the United States was also using "secret," as well as public, contacts with Iran.

Followers of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari seized the radio station and government offices in Tabriz, the provincial capital of Azarbayjan province, in what appeared to be an open revolt against Khomeini. Khomeini met with Shariat-Madari, who is in Qom, to appeal for unity against the United States and for an end of the inter-Iranian strife. Azarbayjan province, populated primarily by Turkish-speaking Azaris, has been the site of a separatist movement in the past, and a problem area for Iranian governments centered in Tehran. Other news reports said Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards were moving into the Kurdish areas near Azarbayjan. The Kurds had been in open revolt against Khomeini prior to the embassy takeover, but had signed a cease-fire with the Bazargan government after promises of Kurdish autonomy.

Intruders at the American Embassy in Tehran released what they called proof that Thomas Ahern, one of the captives, was a CIA agent; the proof was a "fake" Belgian passport with Ahern's picture but a different name.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the U.N. Security Council resolution was a "step forward" in the negotiations.

Libya offered to pay for damages to the U.S. Embassy attacked in Tripoli on Dec. 2.

Three legislators in Guam submitted a bill to allow the Shah to move to Guam.

DECEMBER 7, 1979 -- FRIDAY

President Carter told a gathering of the families of the hostages at the State Department that he would not order any military action against Iran that would endanger the hostages. State Department officials said the President's comments did not represent a change from earlier statements in which it had been suggested that military options might be appropriate.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said at a news conference that a trial date for the hostages would be set within 24 hours. He also said that there were two kinds of hostages, "spies" and non-spies. In answer to a question whether the non-spies would be released and not tried, Ghotbzadeh said those who were not guilty of espionage would be released. The intruders at the embassy disagreed with the Foreign Minister and said none of the hostages would be released. The "students" also released another "document" purportedly proving that the embassy was involved in espionage. The intruders identified it as a memo from U.S. Air Force Colonel Thomas E.

Schaefer which suggested that visas could be given to Iranians in exchange for intelligence information. Presumably, Schaefer is one of the eight singled out for intensive interrogation and is one of the suspected "spies" along with Daugherty, Kalp, and Ahern.

The Shah's nephew, Shahriar Mustafa Shafiq, was assassinated by a lone gunman outside his mother's home in a Paris suburb. Shafiq, son of the Shah's twin sister Ashraf, was an Iranian naval officer before he fled with the rest of the family last January. Ayatollah Sadig Khalkhali told the Reuters news service that one of his "Islamic fedayeen" (self-sacrificing guerrillas) killed Shafiq. Khalkhali was the head of the Islamic "revolutionary court" that has executed over 600 Shah supporters during the past year, and was personally responsible for sentencing at least 300 of the "guilty" to death. Based on his "revolutionary court" experience, Khalkhali would be a likely "judge" to try the hostages, which might not bode well for their fate.

Followers of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, most of whom also support the Muslim People's Republican Party led by Haj Husayn Parshi, continued to hold the city of Tabriz in defiance of Ayatollah Khomeini. Shariat-Madari appealed to the people of Azarbayjan for calm and an end to the anti-Khomeini demonstrations. Former Prime Minister Bazargan was mentioned as a possible negotiator between the Azerbaijanis and the Khomeini forces, but the Azerbaijanis reportedly rejected Bazargan. Former Oil Minister Hassan Nazih, an Azarbayjani, said in a radio broadcast from Tabriz that the people should continue their "struggle" against Khomeini. Kurds from the nearby cities of Sanandaj and Mahabad sent a delegation to Tabriz in support of the Azerbaijanis. A Kurdish rebellion against Khomeini was temporarily halted by a 20-day cease-fire on Nov. 10, after the government promised the Kurds more autonomy.

Commentators in Paris doubted that European bankers would accept any U.S. suggestions to suspend financial transactions with Iran. According to reports from Europe, the United States will ask for the ban as part of the American initiatives to pressure Iran into releasing the hostages.

Iranian Oil Minister Muinfar left for Kuwait, Algeria, and Libya where he will appeal for oil production restrictions in support of Iran against the United States. Muinfar is on his way to the OPEC meeting in Caracas, Venezuela, scheduled for Dec. 17.

DECEMBER 8, 1979 -- SATURDAY

Spokesmen for the U.S. Embassy intruders in Tehran said on Iranian state television that all the hostages would be tried, and that no more hostages would be released until the Shah was returned to Iran. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said an "international tribunal" would be formed to review the "crimes" of the United States Government against Iran, the tribunal to be composed of "anti-imperialists and anti-Zionists." Ghotbzadeh appeared to change his position from the day before when he implied that the "innocent" hostages would not be tried and would be released. Economics Minister Bani Sadr told a Greek newspaper that all the hostages should be released and that Iran should take its case against the United States and the Shah to the U.N. Security Council.

Ayatollah Khalkhali said, according to the Washington Post, that the assassination of the Shah's nephew was a warning to the United States to extradite the Shah or "these assassinations may extend to the area of the White House."

There were reports that "revolutionary guards" (the militia loyal to Khomeini) were advancing into Kurdish areas in the north. The Kurds said the appearance of the revolutionary guards violated the cease-fire of Nov. 19. Other reports stated that a revolutionary guard contingent tried to land at the Tabriz airport but was turned away by the Muslim People's Republican Party holding the city. Another report stated that the Khomeini-appointed Governor of Azarbayjan tried to return to the government offices in Tabriz but was turned away. Ayatollah Shariat-Madari was reported to have said that the Governor's attempted return broke an agreement with Khomeini not to interfere in Azarbayjan. Baghdad radio reported that Shariat-Madari said the Revolutionary Council should stop insulting the people of Azarbayjan or the province would turn into another Kurdistan, a hint that the Azerbaijanis, like the Kurds, would start an armed rebellion against the Khomeini government in Tehran.

Kayhan, a Tehran newspaper, said Admiral Ahmad Madani, head of the Iranian navy and governor of Khuzestan province, would use his naval forces to oppose any U.S. attempt to enter Iranian territorial waters.

The Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry denied reports that it was mediating between the United States and Iran.

DECEMBER 9, 1979 -- SUNDAY

Secretary of State Vance left for Paris, Bonn, London, Rome, and Brussels where he will try to convince American allies to cooperate with U.S. economic and financial measures against Iran. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti left for The Hague where he will present the American case to the International Court of Justice. Iran announced that it would not take part in the Court's proceedings.

Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Said Hameed arrived in Tehran to negotiate with the Iranian authorities on behalf of U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim. Zuhair Yammin, a Lebanese member of the U.N. Development Program, also arrived in Tehran to act as Waldheim's spokesman and communications link.

In Tabriz, Khomeini supporters seized control of the radio/television station and the Governors's offices, which had been controlled by Shariat-Madari forces for the past three days. Later in the day, pro-Shariat-Madari supporters recaptured the radio/television station and the government offices from the Khomeini forces. Late at night, Iranian army units arrived in Tabriz and seized both the station and the offices, but it was not clear which side the army was on. Both sides claimed the army was loyal to its cause. An unconfirmed report stated that a Kurdish fighting unit had arrived to support the Shariat-Madari forces.

The Revolutionary Council announced in Qom that a three-man delegation would go to Tabriz on Dec. 10 to negotiate a resolution of the dispute. The Muslim People's Republican Party had rejected talks with former Prime Minister Bazargan, himself an Azarbayjani, because Bazargan had said the

rebellion in Tabriz was led by Communists. In a speech broadcast over Tehran radio, Khomeini said the Azerbaijanis were taking orders from the United States "or someone else."

Economics Minister Bani Sadr, who will be a member of the Tabriz negotiating team, said most members of the Revolutionary Council believed the American hostages should be released.

DECEMBER 10, 1979 -- MONDAY

Secretary Vance conferred with British Prime Minister Thatcher and Foreign Minister Lord Carrington in London before going on to Paris to meet with French President Giscard d'Estaing and Foreign Minister Francois-Poncet. In Paris, Vance also met with Japanese Foreign Minister Saburo Okita. According to news reports, Vance voiced American displeasure to the Japanese Foreign Minister for the uncooperative attitude of Japan toward the Iranian hostage crisis; Japanese banks supposedly are helping Iranian banks and Japanese oil companies allegedly are purchasing Iranian oil on the spot market. In The Hague, Netherlands, Attorney General Civiletti presented the American case to the International Court of Justice, claiming that Iran violated international treaties in seizing and holding the embassy and the hostages and asking the Court for a quick decision condemning Iran. Iran did not attend the Court session.

State Department spokesman Thomas Reston said the United States would not consider participating in an international investigation of the Shah until after the hostages were released. Reston's comment led to further speculation that the United States might consider participating in such an investigation after the hostages were released.

NBC televised an interview with one of the hostages, Marine Corporal William Gallegos, who said he was not being "mistreated" but was under some mental strain. Gallegos said he did not know the whereabouts or condition of 20 of the hostages. The interview was conducted under rules set by the embassy intruders who demanded "prime time," no editing, and an opportunity to make a statement at the end of the interview. White House spokesman Powell said Gallegos was under duress, and that the intruders' staging of the interview was a "cynical attempt to divert public attention" away from demands to see all the hostages.

The situation in Tabriz remained unclear, with both Khomeini and Shariat-Madari supporters claiming control over the city. The allegiance of the Iranian army in control of the radio station and the government offices remained unknown. Khomeini said on state television that the United States was to blame for the uprising in Azarbayjan. Shariat-Madari reportedly criticized Khomeini for blaming the United States and for assuming too much authority under the new constitution.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh repeated a statement made the day before that the international tribunal would convene within 10 days.

In an interview with a Beirut newspaper, Economic Minister Bani Sadr said that the Iranian attempts to get the Shah extradited had failed, that it would be a mistake to kill the hostages, and that putting the hostages in jail would only provoke further action by the United States. In a separate

interview with a Japanese newspaper, Bani Sadr said Iran would cut its oil production to 40% of its pre-revolutionary level of 6 million barrels per day.

A news report from Portugal stated that American cargo planes, C-41s and C-5s, filled with American combat troops, had stopped at Lajes air base in the Azores to refuel.

DECEMBER 11, 1979 -- TUESDAY

Secretary Vance continued his consultations with European governments in Rome and Bonn. Reports from Paris and London stated that Vance was "disappointed" at the response to the American requests for support of the economic measures to be taken against Iran, while American sources said the talks had produced some "encouraging signs" of European willingness to cooperate. Italy and West Germany supposedly offered support. Japanese Prime Minister Ohira rejected Vance's criticism of Japan and said that Japan had to ensure its supplies of oil and that if the Iranian-American crisis worsened, Japan would consider what measures it would take.

UPI and ABC reported that the Administration had set a 10-day deadline for the release of the hostages, but the State Department denied that any deadline or ultimatum had been established. Even so, the story of the 10-day deadline appeared to coincide with Ghotbzadeh's statement of the day before that the "international tribunal" would meet in 10 days.

A Federal judge held that the regulation requiring Iranian students to report to U.S. immigration authorities is unconstitutional and enjoined the United States from further deportations. Some 4,000 out of a total of about 50,000 Iranian students in the United States were found to be in violation of their visas and subject to deportation.

The Canadian Ambassador in Tehran visited U.S. diplomat Bruce Laingen at the Iranian Foreign Ministry and reported that he was well but under strain. Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said international observers would be allowed to visit the hostages, but did not say when.

A Kuwaiti newspaper reported a rumor from Iran that the hostages would be released on Christmas eve as a humanitarian gesture and a demonstration of Islamic religious tolerance. The newspaper said that President Carter had agreed, through secret contacts between Iran and the United States, to make a statement on Christmas eve praising Islam and the Iranian people and condemning the Shah, and that in response to the Carter statement Khomeini would release the hostages. Another Kuwaiti newspaper reported another rumor that the United States intended to launch an attack on Iran on Christmas eve.

The conflict between pro-Khomeini and pro-Shariat-Madari forces in Tabriz continued, but without the bloodshed of previous days. Shariat-Madari issued a statement from Qom that if "the executive" [meaning Khomeini?] did not grant more self-determination to Iran's ethnic minorities, there would be a civil war. The three-man delegation from the Revolutionary Council arrived in Tabriz to begin negotiations with the Muslim Peoples Republican Party. (Bani Sadr, Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani, and Ayatollah Sahabi represented the Revolutionary Council.) New clashes were reported in the near-by city of Urmiah.

Another Revolutionary Council three-man delegation, led by Daryush Foruhar, began its second day of negotiations with the Kurds in the city hall of Mahbad. The Kurd-Khomeini cease-fire, signed on Nov. 19, expired today.

Ibrahim Yazdi, Foreign Minister in the Bazargan government and a confidant of Khomeini, was named by the Revolutionary Council as an envoy to Iran's ethnic minorities to hear their complaints and to act as liaison between the government and the minority groups.

Observers trying to determine just who does run Iran (Khomeini, the Revolutionary Council, or the government, which still does not have a Prime Minister) were provided further conflicting signals by the re-emergence of Mehdi Bazargan, Daryush Foruhar, and Ibrahim Yazdi. Bazargan, Prime Minister of the government "discredited" on Nov. 6, was named to negotiate with the Azerbaijanis on Dec. 7 (the Azerbaijanis rejected him) and was involved in the Khomeini-Shariat-Madari talks. Foruhar was Bazargan's Labor Minister and a leader of the anti-Shah National Front during the Shah's rule. Yazdi was close to Khomeini during the Paris exile, became Khomeini's spokesman after the revolution, and was named Foreign Minister in Bazargan's government. Before leaving for his tour of the minority areas, Yazdi issued a statement on the upcoming trial of the hostages, a subject apparently not related to his primary duty. And, Bani Sadr, current Economics Minister and acting Foreign Minister until Ghotbzadeh's appointment, continues to speak against government actions with apparent impunity (Bani Sadr says he resigned his foreign ministry post, others say he was fired).

The Tehran newspaper Kayhan reported civil unrest in Bandar Abbas, a port on the Persian Gulf.

Ali Reza Nobari, governor of the Iranian central bank, filed a lawsuit in the Iranian court to claim \$600 million allegedly stolen by the Shah. The Iranian court supposedly will file a suit in American courts to claim the money. Nobari said other such suits will be filed and the amounts claimed by Iran from the Shah could go as high as \$10 billion.

DECEMBER 12, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

The State Department requested Iran to reduce the number of diplomats assigned to the United States from 218 down to 35 (15 at the Washington embassy and 5 each at Iranian consulates in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Houston).

Marvin Kalb of CBS news reported a CIA finding that Palestinians were inside the Tehran embassy compound and were guarding the building. Kalb said that the presence of the Palestinians was suspected when the "students" were overheard speaking Arabic rather than Parsi, the primary language of Iran. (It should be noted, however, that many Muslims pray or recite passages of the Koran in Arabic.)

The Iranian Foreign Ministry announced that it had received a telegram, supposedly sent by Senator Kennedy, requesting permission for Kennedy to meet with Ayatollah Khomeini. After Kennedy denied that such a telegram had been sent, the Iranian Foreign Minister agreed that the telegram was probably a fake.

There were peaceful demonstrations in Tabriz in support of Shariat-Madari and the Muslim People's Republican Party. Baghdad radio reported that there were more violent demonstrations in Bandar Abbas, and Tehran radio reported unrest in Ilam, near the Iraqi border in central Iran. Negotiations between the Kurds and the government were postponed to allow both sides further time to study their viewpoints. Ayatollah Beheshti said that Iran would consider regional self-rule for the minorities.

Beheshti also said that the international tribunal was approved by the Revolutionary Council, and was not Ghotbzadeh's idea alone. Beheshti commented that some of the hostages might be released. Ayatollah Khomeini was quoted as saying that even after the international tribunal and the trials of the hostages, no hostages found guilty would be executed. Ibrahim Yazdi stated in an interview that holding the trials of the Americans was an opportunity to mobilize the Iranian people to rebuild the society. Yazdi called the trial a "strong motivating force" in the government's plan to gain support among the masses. The Beheshti, Khomeini, and Yazdi comments appeared to suggest that the tribunal and trials might be staged for government propaganda purposes rather than for the purpose of punishing "guilty" hostages, which might offer some additional hope that the hostages would be returned safely. But, if the government is going to use the trials to "mobilize" the Iranian people, the trials could last a long time.

A French court ruled that the Paris branch of Citibank had to release an Iranian time deposit of \$50 million on Dec. 19.

The Bangkok Post reported that Iran purchased 40,000 to 50,000 tons of rice from Thailand, due for delivery by February 1980.

Reports from Tokyo stated that Japanese oil trading companies had purchased some 20 million barrels of Iranian crude since the U.S. oil boycott, but that most of the oil was resold on the Rotterdam and London spot markets rather than being shipped to Japan. In general, the Japanese were upset by a resolution introduced by Senator Roth on Dec. 11, which urged the Japanese to offer more support to the United States by halting purchases of Iranian oil. Prime Minister Ohira began a review of Japanese oil purchases and trading.

DECEMBER 13, 1979 -- THURSDAY

The NATO Foreign and Defense Ministers meeting in Brussels issued a statement condemning the embassy seizure and demanding the release of the hostages. American sources in Brussels said the European nations would support a U.S. move to seek economic sanctions against Iran in the U.N. Security Council. European sources said banking and financial circles in Europe were not enthusiastic about the sanctions. A decision on whether to go to the Security Council will be made in Washington after Vance meets with Carter on Friday. According to journalists covering the State Department, the United States believes the Soviet Union would not veto a Security Council resolution calling for sanctions against Iran because a veto would endanger the SALT II ratification in the Senate. One report from the U.N. said the Soviets would veto a sanctions resolution.

Members of the House Ways and Means Committee introduced legislation that

would allow the President to raise tariffs by as much as 50% on goods from countries which did not support U.S. efforts to free the hostages. Although the legislation did not specify countries, it was believed to be directed primarily at Japan. The Japanese news service Kyodo reported that Japanese companies stopped trading Iranian oil.

Khomeini sent Ghothzadeh a message, broadcast over Tehran radio, to proceed with the formation of the international tribunal and to form a group of international observers to visit the hostages. Both the State Department and the White House cautiously welcomed Khomeini's statement, but added that the international observers should be "neutral, impartial, and qualified," that a doctor should be among them, that the visits should be regular, and that the observers should see and speak with all the hostages. President Carter commented that he was encouraged by a changing attitude in Iran, citing as examples the recent tendency among Iranian officials to drop calls for the Shah's extradition and to end demands for the execution of the hostages.

Pro-Shariat-Madari demonstrations continued in Tabriz, and journalists reporting from the scene said Iranian soldiers and airmen in uniform had joined the marches, which suggested a further erosion of Khomeini support. Baghdad radio reported unrest in Ahwaz between unemployed oil workers and Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards. Tehran radio reported that Khomeini sent an envoy, Abdorrahman Rabbani, to Fars province to speak with dissidents and stop the disturbances. Ayatollah Beheshti of the Revolutionary Council said the Council would consider giving more self-government to the provinces "as soon as possible." Beheshti also said the extradition of the Shah was of "secondary" importance.

CBS news followed its story of yesterday that Palestinians were guarding the Tehran embassy with an interview with one of the "students" who said that Palestinians were not involved and a statement from the PLO representative in Tehran that there were no Palestinians in the embassy. A separate report from Beirut quoted Faruk Qaddumi, the PLO political chairman, as saying the PLO was not involved in the embassy takeover or in any embassy action since.

In a speech broadcast over Tehran radio, Ayatollah Khomeini made a plea for independence from "colonialism," saying that Iranians must cast out all "bad" vestiges of alien cultures, such as imported consumer goods, foreign political and economic systems, Western languages, and the desire to be involved in world trade and world power politics. Khomeini said Iranians should look to their own history and traditions and to Islam for their salvation. He blamed the Shah for diverting Iran away from Islam toward the West.

Fiji invited the Shah to go into exile on one of its islands as a "humanitarian" gesture.

DECEMBER 14, 1979 -- FRIDAY

A U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that the United States could continue its screening of Iranian student visas, but could not deport any students found not in compliance with visa regulations. The Appeals Court issued the temporary ruling pending a full hearing on Dec. 20 of the U.S. Government appeal of the Dec. 11 federal court ruling declaring the screening and

deportations illegal.

Doctors attending the Shah in Texas said his health was failing, but that he would not need further surgery.

The "students" in control of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran released a 15-minute taped telephone conversation between Jerry Plotkin, one of the hostages, and his wife in California. Plotkin is a businessman who happened to be in the embassy at the time of the seizure.

Tehran radio and television reported an Iraqi "incursion" across the Iran-Iraq border near the city of Korramshahr in Khuzestan province. The Iranians said the Iraqis attacked the oil fields with "artillery and heavy weapons" and moved 5 kilometers (3 miles) inside Iran before Revolutionary Guards drove them back. Iraqi news sources did not report the incident, which appeared similar to many such border clashes between the two countries over the years. Iranian news reports of the Iraqi incident demonstrated the level of distortion in the government-controlled news media. Iranian newscasters said the Iraqi government was a "client" and a "puppet regime" of the United States and that the Iraqis were "agents" and "mercenaries" acting on orders from President Carter.

Spanish news sources reported from Tehran that Ambassadors from Spain, Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Greece, New Zealand, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Norway would act as the neutral observers sent to visit the hostages.

Japan announced that it would limit purchases of Iranian oil to 602,000 barrels per day (b/d), the level that prevailed prior to the U.S. Embassy takeover on Nov. 4. The Japan Times of Tokyo quoted Foreign Minister Okita as saying that the United States did not fully understand Japan's need to purchase Iranian oil since the major international oil companies, most of which are American, had cut back their oil shipments to Japan from 1.4 million b/d at this time last year to 400,000 b/d now. Japan, he said, was forced by the major oil companies to buy Iranian oil on the spot market.

Reports from Beirut said PLO leaders were "embarrassed" by the appearance in Lebanon and Syria of Iranian "volunteers" to fight with the Palestinians in southern Lebanon. PLO officials said the Iranians were neither wanted nor needed. Other Iranian volunteers -- estimates varied between 1,000 and 10,000 -- marched on the Iranian Foreign Ministry in Tehran demanding passports, visas, and transportation to take them to Lebanon, and another group reportedly tried to seize the Tehran airport in an attempt to get to Lebanon.

DECEMBER 15, 1979 -- SATURDAY

The White House announced that the Shah left Texas for Panama where he will establish "residence." After landing at Howard Air Force Base near Panama City, the Shah flew 35 miles to the Pacific Ocean island of Contadora to the home of former Panamanian Ambassador to the United States Gabriel Lewis Galindo. The Panamanian government issued a statement that it offered the Shah "residence" on humanitarian grounds and that it was a neutral and independent country seeking a peaceful solution to the American-Iranian crisis.

The International Court of Justice unanimously ruled in favor of the United States and ordered Iran to release the hostages and restore the U.S. property.

At the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, the captors said the trial of the hostages would begin "as soon as possible." The "students" rejected the International Court of Justice decision.

In Tabriz, the Muslim People's Republican Party announced that it was closing all its offices in Iran and would cease operating in the open because of the attacks against it.

A spokesman for the "Iran International Exhibition for Freedom from Industrial Domination by America" said at the close of a 3-day meeting that Iran could manufacture 75% of the spare parts needed by the Iranian military.

Japanese news sources reported that snipers fired on the Japanese embassy in Tehran on Dec. 13 after the Japanese government issued a statement calling for the release of the hostages. The embassy did not report the incident until today.

News reports from Caracas said that Iran will ask the OPEC meeting, due to convene on Dec. 17, for a total oil embargo against the United States.

DECEMBER 16, 1979 — SUNDAY

The Shah and Panamanian President Royo met reporters during the President's visit to Contadora Island. The Shah said he might stay in Panama or he might move somewhere else in the future. He said he had offered to leave New York just after the embassy was seized on Nov. 4. President Royo repeated the government statement that Panama offered the Shah a home for humanitarian reasons and that Panama was a neutral nation not taking sides in the U.S.-Iranian dispute.

Khomeini said over Tehran radio that President Carter allowed the Shah to enter the United States in order to assure his re-election, but that the ploy failed and Carter would not be re-elected. Khomeini said the world's "scholars and thinkers" condemned the United States for violating international law by refusing to extradite the Shah. Admiral Madani said Iran would ask Panama to extradite the Shah. Intruders at the embassy said the United States sent the Shah to Panama because it is a "puppet state" of the United States. The hostage "spies" will be put on trial anyway, according to the "students."

Khomeini's son Ahmad said the U.S. Embassy grounds and buildings were mined and would be blown up if the United States attacked Iran. Ahmad Khomeini said only Ayatollah Khomeini can free the hostages and that the "spies" will stand trial.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said some of the hostages might be released by Christmas and that the international observers would visit the hostages within one week.

Tehran radio reported an overnight attack by Iraqi troops on four border

posts and another attack on two more posts Sunday afternoon. Iraqi sources did not mention any border incidents.

The Iranian Oil Ministry said it was trying to find out if Panama used Iranian oil; if it does, Iran will embargo oil to Panama. Panamanian authorities said the country's oil supplies came from Ecuador and Venezuela. Iran raised the price of its oil by \$5 per barrel, effective Dec. 1.

DECEMBER 17, 1979 — MONDAY

President Carter said he was "not displeased" with the comments of Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh that some of the hostages might be released before Christmas. The intruders holding the U.S. Embassy disavowed Ghotbzadeh's comments and said no hostages would be released and all would stand trial. Ghotbzadeh said that some of the hostages would appear before the international tribunal as witnesses, not as accused, and claimed that Sean McBride of Ireland and jurist Louis-Edmond Pettiti of France would be two of the members of the international tribunal. McBride, former chairman of Amnesty International and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, said he had not received an invitation to serve on the tribunal.

The Shah said he was "vacationing" and that he might move somewhere else after the first of the year. Panamanian students demonstrated against the Panamanian government for allowing the Shah to take up residence there.

Iran announced that it was cancelling a contract to furnish oil to Panama and was instituting an embargo against the country. Panamanian officials said there was no contract.

In an interview with a French television correspondent, Admiral Madani, Governor of Khuzestan province and head of the Iranian military forces, said the Soviet Union would not "remain aloof" from a conflict if the United States attacked Iran.

Revolutionary Council delegations sent to Azerbaijan and Kurdistan returned to Tehran to report to the Council on the complaints of Iran's ethnic minorities. According to Iranian news sources, the Revolutionary Council would consider changing the constitution to accommodate the minorities.

Kyodo news service of Tokyo reported that Iran was inquiring about bilateral arrangements with Japanese firms to supply machinery and spare parts for the state railway and electrical system. Iran criticized Japan for not welcoming such deals.

DECEMBER 18, 1979 — TUESDAY

Presidential press secretary Powell reiterated the White House statement of Nov. 20 that the United States had "other remedies available" if Iran did not release the hostages. U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Donald McHenry began contacting delegates at the U.N. to discuss possible economic sanctions against Iran. Foreign Ministers of the nine members of the



European Community asked the EC Commission to consider ways in which the EC could help the United States put economic pressure on Iran.

The U.S. Treasury permitted two Iranian banks to transfer frozen funds to active accounts to allow Iranian students in the United States to pay their expenses. Treasury previously freed funds for student payments and for Iranian embassy expenses.

In Panama, protests against the government decision to allow the Shah "residence" continued. There was some rock-throwing at the American Embassy.

In Tehran, Ayatollah Muhammad Mofatteh was assassinated by three men. Mofatteh was the head of the Tehran theological seminary, a member of the Tehran Revolutionary Council, and had been an intimate of Khomeini and the Revolutionary Council in Qom. Mofatteh was the third Khomeini associate killed in recent months. A previously unknown group calling itself "P.M." called Pars, the Iranian news agency, to claim responsibility for killing Mofatteh. Tehran radio said the assassination was the work of the CIA and SAVAK; the White House denied the charge.

According to a French news agency, Ayatollah Khalkhali issued a "declaration" to the "Islamic Pedayin Commandoes" to go to Panama and kill the Shah.

The "students" at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran said Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh was "irresponsible" for saying some of the hostages might be released and that only Khomeini could decide the fate of the hostages. Khomeini said no hostages would be released before Christmas. Ghotbzadeh said that the "spy" trials would begin after Christmas and that the Shah's departure for Panama was a "victory" for Iran in that the United States had been forced to send the Shah out of the country.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry announced that 42 Ambassadors and three Consuls-General had been dismissed from the foreign service. In May 1979, the Foreign Ministry went through a similar purge, clearing out all the Shah's appointees.

Tehran radio reported that a bomb blast ruptured oil pipelines near Dezful, in Khuzestan province.

A Kuwaiti newspaper reported that Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, the Egyptian journalist and a confidant of former President Nasser, had visited the hostages and interviewed the intruders in the embassy.

The London Arabic language newspaper al-Bawadith reported that PLO head Yasser Arafat had convinced the Government of Spain to supply spare parts for Iran's military.

DECEMBER 19, 1979 -- WEDNESDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim asked the United States to delay its appeal to the U.N. Security Council for economic sanctions against Iran because he was in the midst of "intensive discussions" with the Iranians. President Carter agreed to the Security Council delay, but said the United States would go ahead with other economic efforts. Holding Carter, III, the

State Department spokesman, said an Iranian suggestion that the U.S. Government hold an investigation of Iran-U.S. relations was a form of "blackmail." Carter added that it was probable that Congress would hold hearings on the Iranian crisis, but not until after the hostages were released.

The suggestion for the Washington investigation was made in Tehran by Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and was immediately rejected by the intruders holding the embassy. Later, Ayatollah Beheshti, the spokesman for the Revolutionary Council, was reported to have said that Ghotbzadeh did not offer just personal opinions, as charged by the "students," but that the Foreign Minister spoke for the Revolutionary Council, and that the ultimate authority within the Council was Ayatollah Khomeini. Beheshti's comment appeared to strengthen Ghotbzadeh's position and dismiss the rumors that Ghotbzadeh was a maverick or rebel within the Council. It also appeared that there was a confrontation brewing between the "students" and the Revolutionary Council over who would control the hostages in the future.

The Qom funeral of Ayatollah Mofatteh, assassinated yesterday, turned into an anti-American rally as thousands of mourners chanted slogans condemning the United States and supporting Khomeini.

In an interview after his visit with Khomeini, Egyptian journalist Muhammad Hassanayn Haykal said the hostages problem would not be resolved for 6 weeks or 2 months, but Haykal would not say why he offered that estimate. Haykal also said that he did not believe there would be a trial. Meanwhile, a West German newspaper speculated that the hostage situation would not be resolved until after the Iranian presidential elections scheduled for Jan. 25, 1980, and the parliamentary elections scheduled for mid-February.

The Kurds rejected the Revolutionary Council's offer of "self-administration" for Kurdistan and said that they wanted full autonomy. There were violent clashes in Zabadan, the capital of Baluchistan, between rival Baluchi factions arguing over the new constitution which named Shia as the state religion. (The Baluchis are Sunni.) Unemployed workers in Kerman staged a sit-in at government offices. In Tehran, 65 workers seized a factory manager as a hostage until the order for their firing had been rescinded and until they received 3-month's back pay.

Interior Minister Hashemi Rafsanjani said maybe the families of the hostages could visit the hostages in the embassy for Christmas.

A Kuwaiti newspaper said Khomeini would announce the fate of the hostages on Dec. 20.

DECEMBER 20, 1979 -- THURSDAY

The U.S. Government filed suit in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington to overturn the District Court decision of Dec. 11, which said the Government's review of Iranian student visas and deportations was discriminatory. The Appeals Court had issued a temporary ruling on Dec. 14 to allow the Government to continue screening visas, although not to deport visa violators, until the formal appeal.

The State Department criticized Iran for offering false hopes for family



visits to the hostages over Christmas. The "students" in the embassy had rejected the Iranian Interior Minister's proposal of yesterday to permit such visits.

Anti-Shah demonstrations continued in Panama.

A spokesman for the Revolutionary Council said the Council had reached a decision on what to do with the hostages and would announce the decision later, but no such announcement was forthcoming.

In an interview with the London Times (published on Dec. 21), Ayatollah Khalkhali said that since the United States refused to return the Shah to Iran for trial, he had "no other choice" but to send his "fedayin" to Panama to kill the Shah. Khalkhali also listed other Iranians he was "looking for," including former Prime Ministers Bakhtiari, Sharif-Imami, and Amuzegar, and several other former government officials and army officers. On the other hand, Khalkhali said they were "innocent" and were being treated as "guests" of Iran, that they should be released even if they were "spies" because Islamic law prohibited executing "spies", and that the real reason for the trial of the hostages was to "condemn" President Carter and the American Government.

The Tehran daily newspaper Ettela'at received a message from a group calling itself "the great serpent" which claimed responsibility for Ayatollah Mofatteh's death. Another group called "F.H." also claimed credit for the assassination.

Clashes between Revolutionary Guards and Baluchis and among the Baluchis themselves, continued in Zahadan. There were civil disturbances in the Persian Gulf port of Bandar Abbas. An explosion damaged an oil pipeline near Abadan. Bawdad newspaper reported that a group of Armenians seized an Armenian church in Tehran to protest the constitution, but other Armenians retook the church and proclaimed their support for the constitution.

DECEMBER 21, 1979 — FRIDAY

President Carter said the United States would seek economic sanctions against Iran in the U.N. Security Council sometime next week. There is some doubt how the Security Council might vote; nine votes are needed in the 15-nation body, a "no" vote from one of the five permanent members (China, France, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States) will stop the resolution. The Soviet Union has not said how it would vote on a sanctions resolution. The three African countries, Nigeria, Zambia, and Gabon, may reflect their dissatisfaction with U.S. failure in the past to support economic sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia. Kuwait, the only Arab country on the Council, may reflect Arab dissatisfaction with U.S. refusal to support economic sanctions against Israel. It is not known how Jamaica, Bolivia, and Bangladesh, a Muslim nation, might vote. Norway and Portugal, along with France and Britain, are expected to vote for a U.S. resolution. China will probably abstain. Some U.S. Senators suggested that a Soviet veto would have negative implications for the SALT treaty before the Senate.

In Qom, Khomeini said Christian priests and clergymen would be allowed to visit the hostages for Christmas services. Khomeini said Black clergymen would be given preference. "Students" at the embassy accepted Khomeini's

statement. The State Department "welcomed" the proposal.

In a speech broadcast over Tehran radio, Khomeini said that the "spies" might not be executed. Despite the fact that the Shah is now out of U.S. jurisdiction, intruders at the embassy issued a statement that said the hostages would be placed on trial if President Carter did not extradite the Shah. The Tehran newspaper Ettela'at published an interview with Ayatollah Muhammad Gilani, head of the Tehran Sharia (Quranic law) Magistrates, in which he said that the trial would be conducted by a Sharia court under the supervision of the Magistrates and the Revolutionary Council. Gilani said at one point that the hostages would defend themselves, meaning there would be no defense lawyers, and at another point said that the hostages would be defended by Islamic lawyers. Gilani said, according to Ettela'at, that once the "spies" were found guilty (which appeared to predispose the verdict), that Khomeini could take one of three actions: (1) sentence them to death; (2) sentence them to slavery; or (3) pardon them.

Civil unrest continued in Baluchistan. Baghdad radio said a fire destroyed the oil reservoir at Kermanshahr.

Demonstrations against the government continued in Panama.

A French court rejected an Iranian suit to free \$50 million held by the U.S. bank "Citibank" in its Paris branch. The Essen Municipal Court in West Germany issued a provisional order to attach Iranian stock shares in the Krupp industrial conglomerate to cover a Citibank claim against Iran for \$91 million. The same court earlier issued two provisional orders attaching Iran's Krupp shares to cover Morgan Guarantee claims against Iran for \$40 million and \$24 million.

DECEMBER 22, 1979 — SATURDAY

The U.S. Government formally requested the U.N. Security Council to meet at an early date "to consider measures which should be taken to induce Iran to comply with its international obligations." The request was made by U.S. Ambassador Donald McHenry to the President of the Security Council for December, Chen Chu of China.

The Pope called for the release of the hostages and criticized Iran for violating international standards of conduct. The Vatican appointed Cardinal Duval, the Archbishop of Algiers, to conduct Christmas services for the hostages in Tehran. In the United States, Reverend William Sloane Coffin of New York, Catholic Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, and Reverend William M. Howard, Jr., president of the National Council of Churches, were named as an American delegation to visit the hostages for Christmas.

Nobel Peace Prize winner Sean MacBride, former Irish Foreign Minister and former head of Amnesty International, arrived in Tehran for meetings with Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, supposedly to discuss MacBride's serving on the international tribunal. Ghotbzadeh told Mexican and Cuban newsmen that the trials of the Americans would begin in January. Khomeini told a three-man French parliamentary delegation that all the "spies" would be tried, but did not say when the trials would begin. Ayatollah Khalkhali said in an interview that the "spies" would be sentenced to death if they were found guilty, which contradicted Khalkhali's previous statements that no one would

be executed.

In Isfahan, the Sharia (Quranic law) Magistrate, the state prosecutor, several members of the local clergy, and a number of local lawyers staged a "sit-in" at the government offices to protest the actions of the "komitahs," the Khomeini-supported groups that have acted as Iran's legal system since last February. The protestors, with the support of mayors of surrounding towns, called for the "komitahs" to be disbanded and for a return to the Sharia courts.

Khomeini's representative Ibrahim Yazdi announced in Zahedan, the capital of Baluchistan province, that the army would restore order. The fighting which began as a clash between pro- and anti-constitution Baluchis spread into a near civil war between Sunni Baluchis and Shia Sistanis with both sides also shooting at the Revolutionary Guards.

Iranian Oil Minister Muinfar said Iran was willing to sell oil to Panama since both countries were "waging a war against imperialism" and because Panama's oil supplies had been "rationed" (supposedly by the United States). In Panama, the demonstrations against the Government continued.

DECEMBER 23, 1979 — SUNDAY

Nobel Peace Prize winner Sean MacBride met with Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh about the hostages and about MacBride's participation in a proposed tribunal. After the meeting, MacBride told reporters that he was not optimistic about an early solution to the hostage crisis. MacBride, who did not expect to meet with the hostages before returning to Ireland, said that he saw an entrenchment of views on both sides in the 4 weeks since his last visit to Iran.

The Sunday Times of London quoted prominent Egyptian journalist Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal as saying the proposed trial in Iran would conclude with a political verdict, finding the Americans and the Shah "guilty". He suggested that in his recent talks with Khomeini, it was implied that the hostages could be released after the trial, which he estimated would begin in 6 to 8 weeks.

An Interpol spokesman reported from Mexico City that the International Police are looking for six men and two women in Panama and Mexico who are believed to be members of an Islamic commando group ordered to kill the deposed Shah.

Soviet News Agency Tass reported that "by resorting to the U.N., the U.S. aggravates the American-Iranian conflict since Washington is drawing other countries into it." Tass did not indicate what the Soviet position will be should the Security Council vote on economic sanctions against Iran.

Iranian troops entered Zahedan, the capital of Baluchistan, where disturbances between pro- and anti-Constitution Baluchis and between Baluchis and Sistanis had occurred last week. Khomeini's mission to the province reported that all was calm since the 885th armored division had entered the city and established order.

According to a report from Tehran, Khomeini's office received a scroll

from the people of Kermanshah region expressing support for the Islamic Republic and the Constitution. (Kermanshah province has a large Kurdish population and was the site of border clashes between Iran and Iraq earlier this month.)

Bani Sadr, Iranian Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, announced major changes in Iran's banking and financial system, including the abolishing of interest on financial transactions effective March 21.

Disturbances were reported in Bandar-E-Lengeh, a coastal town near the Straits of Hormuz, and in Tabriz, site of recent clashes between supporters of Khomeini and Shariat-Madari. Iraqi news sources reported that Kurdish citizens have begun to reinforce their military position in Western Azarbaijan.

DECEMBER 24, 1979 — MONDAY

The three American clergymen delegated to lead Christmas services for the hostages arrived in Tehran. Speaking of their trip, Reverend Sloane Coffin said, "Private citizens cannot negotiate for governments. But when a government is having a hard time talking, it's up to private people to try and discuss the situation..."

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, in a Tehran press conference, sought to clear up contradictions between his statements and those of the "students" at the American Embassy. Said Ghotbzadeh, "the release of some of the hostages, as one of the afternoon dailies printed as revealing a difference of opinions between you brothers and sisters and me, is not true as it was printed; there was merely talk of the possibility."

The Iranian Foreign Ministry sent a letter to the President of Panama officially requesting the extradition of the former Shah. The letter said that "legal documents as well as other evidence which may be used in the extradition proceedings, which will take place in Panama, will be sent to you upon the request of your country's authorities."

Sean MacBride, in Tehran at the request of Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, attended a meeting of the Revolutionary Council. After the meeting, a Council spokesman, Dr. Habibi, said "his presence is basically connected with the appointment of the jury, whether it can be organized or not..." Iran has been suggesting the possibility of an international jury to discuss the crimes of the Shah's regime, and America's role in Iran during that time period.

Representative George Hansen (R-Idaho) left for New York enroute to Iran for another "good will mission". The Representative visited the hostages in November.

Anticipating strong Iranian reaction to possible U.N. Security Council debate on economic sanctions, Great Britain reduced its staff at its embassy in Tehran to 11. An initial reduction, made after the takeover of the American Embassy, reduced the staff from 60 to 24.

Japanese Ambassador to Iran Salehkhah asked that Japan "stand neutral" in the dispute between Iran and the U.S. during a meeting with his country's

Foreign Minister Okita. Okita told the ambassador that Japan could not stay out of what he called "the moves" of the international community.

DECEMBER 25, 1979 — TUESDAY

Three American clergymen and an Algerian Archbishop conducted Christmas services for the hostages in the American Embassy. After negotiating unsuccessfully with their captors to have one ecumenical service for all the hostages together, the clergymen met with the hostages in small groups. At a press conference after their visit to the embassy compound, the clergymen said that the hostages looked well but that they "found more visible signs of stress in some than others." The clergymen's account of having met with 43 hostages set off debate as to the actual number of hostages being held. The State Department claims that there are 50 hostages in all. There have been many reports that some of the hostages have been singled out as spies, and may even have been moved from the embassy compound.

Egyptian President Sadat criticized other Moslem leaders for remaining silent while the "ugliest crimes are being committed in the name of Islam."

DECEMBER 26, 1979 — WEDNESDAY

The three clergymen, enroute from Tehran to New York, were quoted as saying they had a list of 35 names of the 43 hostages they had seen during the Christmas services at the American embassy in Tehran. Later, it was reported that Bishop Gumbleton, Reverend Coffin, and Reverend Howard had a list of 43 names but that they denied that they had given a list to the Department of State. The State Department said it was up to the Iranian Government to produce a list of names of the hostages. The confusion grew when Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he did not know how many hostages there were but that he would discuss the problem with the embassy intruders. Another seven-man American delegation (two university professors and five clergymen), led by Reverend Jimmy Allen who said their visit was unofficial, refused to discuss their Christmas day meeting with Ayatollah Khomeini.

Ayatollah Beheshti denied rumors that some of the hostages would be released before the trial.

The Government of Kuwait said it would not vote for a U.S. sponsored U.N. Security Council resolution to apply economic sanctions against Iran.

"Students" at the embassy said on Tehran television that former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and two other members of the Iranian Freedom Movement had connections with the U.S. embassy and implied that they were spies. Bazargan filed charges against the "students" for making false claims and demanded their arrest and prosecution. The two intruders apologized and withdrew their accusations against Bazargan.

Tehran radio said ten Revolutionary Guards had been kidnapped by Kurds. Iraqi radio said oil installations in Ilam province in Iran had been attacked.

Economics Minister Bani Sadr said he would run for President in the January election. Transportation Minister Yusof Teheri-Qazvini resigned because of ill health.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry denied reports that Turkey had suspended all economic relations with Iran.

PLO representative in Tehran Hani al-Hasan said that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat would visit Tehran in February for the revolution's first anniversary celebrations, and denied stories that the PLO was acting as a mediator between Iran and the United States.

DECEMBER 27, 1979 — THURSDAY

A three-judge U.S. Appeals Court overturned the lower court ruling of Dec. 11 that the screening of Iranian student visas and the deportation of those in violation of their visas was illegal. With the Appeals Court decision, the U.S. Government may resume the screening and deportations. On Dec. 14, the Appeals Court had given the U.S. Government permission to continue the screening on a temporary basis until its final decision. Lawyers acting on behalf of the Iranian students in the United States said they would appeal the new ruling.

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Donald McHenry continued his discussions with delegates to the Security Council to gather support for a U.S. resolution to bring economic sanctions against Iran. According to news reports, the United States was assured of seven of the nine votes needed for passage. Other reports said the Soviet Union might abstain on the vote rather than veto the resolution. Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said economic sanctions could affect the fate of the hostages. There was speculation on just when the United States might call for a vote in the U.N. Security Council because five of the current members will finish their terms on Jan. 1 to be replaced by five new members.

During a stopover in New York, the three clergymen who visited the hostages on Christmas said they were told by the embassy captors that six of the hostages did not want to attend religious services on Christmas. In Tehran, Ayatollah Beheshti said the purpose of the trial was to pass judgment on the Shah and the United States and that the hostages would be released after the trial, even if some of them were found guilty of "spying." Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said that if the United States continued to pressure Iran the hostages would be placed on trial. After meeting with Ghotbzadeh, Sean MacBride suggested that an international commission could investigate the Shah's activities, but not until after the hostages were released. A report in a Kuwaiti newspaper said that three of the hostages would be released soon because they were "non-American," one Mexican, one Portuguese, and one American Indian. The paper did not name the hostages.

Reuters reported that there was another attack across the Iraqi-Iranian border near Kermanshah. Baghdad radio said the attack was the work of Kurds. A religious leader was assassinated in the city of Kerman, but the attackers or the reason behind the attack were unknown. In Baluchistan, Khomeini's representative Ibrahim Yazdi announced that calm had been restored and that all the parties had agreed to a cease-fire.

Former Prime Minister Bazargan withdrew his candidacy for the President. Interior Minister Rafsanjani said he would not run for President.

French President Giscard d'Estaing reportedly told the French cabinet that France would support the U.S. moves to secure the release of the hostages. Reports from Tokyo stated that Japan opposed a U.S.-implemented naval blockade of Iran. Britain reduced the number of its diplomats in Iran from 20 to 8. Norway recalled its two diplomats from Tehran for consultations. Both Britain and Norway are expected to support the U.S. resolution in the U.N. Security Council. A news report from Greece said Turkey had agreed to sell large amounts of grain to Iran.

DECEMBER 28, 1979 -- FRIDAY

President Carter said that Iran would pay an "increasingly higher price" for not releasing the hostages and that the United States had "adequate" support for its U.N. Security Council resolution calling for economic sanctions against Iran. Carter said Secretary of State Vance would go to the U.N. Headquarters in New York on Dec. 29, Saturday, for consultations with the Security Council members. Observers speculated that Vance would hold informal meetings in the morning and attend a formal Council session in the afternoon, but doubted that the United States had the necessary nine votes despite Carter's optimism. President Carter also condemned the Soviet intervention in the Afghanistan coup of Dec. 27, and announced that Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher would go to Europe to consult with U.S. allies on the Afghan problem. Iran and most other states in the region also condemned the Soviet intervention and the presence of Soviet combat troops in Afghanistan.

Bishop Gumbleton, Reverend Coffin, and Reverend Howard met with Vance and members of the hostages' families before appearing at a news conference. They declined to release a list of the hostages they visited over Christmas in Tehran, and suggested that the United States should not use threats or pressure to secure the release of the hostages.

The Washington Post reported that the State Department could not confirm whether or not Iranian diplomats had left the United States as they were supposed to by Dec. 17, after the announcement of Dec. 12 that Iran had to reduce its diplomatic personnel in the United States to a total of 35.

Panamanian President Rojo said in an interview that Panama would consider a formal Iranian request for the Shah's extradition, but added that Iran would have to meet all international requirements for the extradition, which Rojo said was "nearly impossible." The intruders at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran said Rojo was not serious.

News reports from Iran suggested that the international tribunal idea was being dropped by the Revolutionary Council because no international authorities would agree to serve unless the hostages were released first. Ghotbzadeh told an interviewer that the international tribunal might be bypassed and the hostages put on trial if the United States continued its pressure on Iran.

A shooting incident in Tabriz apparently triggered a series of other

incidents; nine Revolutionary Guards were kidnapped, Friday prayers at a mosque were disrupted by a stone-throwing mob, the house of one of Khomeini's supporters was attacked, and several buildings were fired.

An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman said the report that appeared in a Kuwaiti newspaper on Dec. 27, that three of the hostages -- a Mexican-American, a Portuguese-American, and an American Indian -- would be released, was only a suggestion that was being considered by the Revolutionary Council.

A Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry spokesman warned Japanese oil traders to be cautious in signing contracts for Iranian oil at prices \$4 and \$5 below the spot market prices of last week.

DECEMBER 29, 1979 -- SATURDAY

The United States did not offer a draft resolution to the evening session of the U.N. Security Council, but proposed instead that Secretary-General Waldheim go to Tehran for another attempt at mediation. If Waldheim could not secure the release of the hostages by a "specified date," then the United States would seek economic sanctions against Iran in the Security Council. The "specified date" was not specified, but was understood to be one to two weeks. Apparently, the United States could not get the necessary nine votes for passage of a strong sanctions resolution, or had good reason to believe the Soviet Union would veto the resolution, and accepted the Waldheim mission as a compromise. There was speculation that if the Iranians did not accept the Waldheim mission, that the Security Council would consider a U.S. draft resolution on Monday, Dec. 31. American diplomatic efforts to gather support for economic sanctions in the Security Council will become more complicated after Jan. 1, 1980, when five non-permanent members leave the Council to be replaced by five new states.

Japan agreed to cooperate with U.S. proposals to constrict Iranian access to international banking services. Most European states indicated their cooperation with the U.S. proposals earlier. The United States hopes to put economic pressure on Iran by tightening credit and forcing Iran to pay cash for all its international transactions.

The Arab League issued a statement through its observer at the United Nations which called for the immediate release of the hostages, but supported the Iranian proposal for an international investigation of Iran-U.S. relations after the release.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh repeated his statement of yesterday that increasing U.S. economic pressure would result in a quick trial of the hostages. He also expressed hope that the U.S.S.R. would support Iran in the U.N. Security Council. In another interview, Ghotbzadeh said he acted on Khomeini's orders when he proposed the international tribunal and invited the three American and one Algerian clergyman to visit the hostages on Christmas. Ghotbzadeh said he does not make individual decisions, but acts on Khomeini's orders or with the approval of the Revolutionary Council. He also said the intruders at the embassy would not tell him how many hostages they held. Ghotbzadeh was named to be the liaison between the "students" and the Revolutionary Council.

In a reversal from yesterday, the captors holding the hostages said they would release the hostages if President Royo of Panama extradited the Shah.

Reports of an Iranian "commando" team assigned to kill the Shah on Contadora Island, off Panama, continued to circulate through Central America. Guatemala denied that it had increased its border and port security and was involved in a search for the "commandoes."

In Tabriz, the civil unrest continued after yesterday's demonstrations. Two people were killed by snipers and schools closed to protest the presence of the Revolutionary Guards. Kurds attacked the radio station in Sanandaj, the scene of heavy fighting between the Kurds and the Revolutionary Guards in the past. The Kurds demanded the removal of the Guards.

Ayatollah Khomeini, in a radio broadcast, spoke out against the movement within the army to drop all forms of rank and elect officers. Khomeini said the army must have order and that the present rank structure provided order.

Radio Tehran broadcast an appeal in Arabic to all Muslims worldwide to take up arms against the United States, which the broadcast labeled as "infidels," and to "blow up all American interests."

DECEMBER 30, 1979 -- SUNDAY

The U.N. Security Council continued its debate on the American proposal to ask Secretary-General Waldheim to go to Iran to mediate the Iranian-American crisis. In Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini said he would not receive Waldheim. The "students" at the embassy said they would not accept Waldheim's mediation. The Revolutionary Council announced, through Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, that it would permit the Waldheim visit and would present its views of the Iranian-American problem, but that it would not negotiate the release of the hostages. Secretary-General Waldheim announced that he had received a formal invitation from the Iranian ambassador to the U.N. to visit Iran and that he would leave for Iran on Monday, Dec. 31. U.N. officials at the U.N. said they had enough votes in the Security Council to pass the resolution providing for the Waldheim mission. It is presumed that if Waldheim fails to secure the release of the hostages, which seems likely, that the United States will seek strong economic sanctions against Iran sometime next week.

Tehran radio reported that the Austrian ambassador to Iran had stated that Austria would not cooperate with economic sanctions against Iran. The radio also reported that Romania had agreed to sell 100,000 tons of wheat to Iran. West Germany "extended" the Christmas "holiday" of its dependents to return to Germany.

Baghdad radio reported that a group of young Iranian pilots had planned to strafe Khomeini's residence in Qom, but had been discovered just before take-off and jailed.

Disturbances continued in Tabriz and in the Kurdish areas, and there were reports that sporadic sniping incidents were continuing in Baluchistan.

DECEMBER 31, 1979 -- MONDAY

Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim left New York for Tehran to "evaluate" the Iranian-U.S. confrontation. Waldheim repeated that he was not going to Iran in order to mediate or arbitrate the crisis. A short time after Waldheim's departure, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 461 (the vote was 11 in favor, and none against, with four abstentions) instructing Waldheim to report to the Security Council by Jan. 7 on the results of his mission. The resolution states that if the Secretary-General is unable to report any progress, the Security Council will "adopt effective measures" against Iran, meaning economic sanctions. It is generally presumed that Waldheim's chances for success are small and that the Security Council will be faced with the problem of economic sanctions, but it is not known how the Security Council (with five new members after Jan. 1) will vote on sanctions. Secretary of State Vance said the United States was pleased with the Security Council vote.

In Iran, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said Iran would not negotiate with Waldheim, but would present Iran's views on the continuing hostage crisis. Intruders at the U.S. Embassy repeated their earlier statements that the hostages would be released only in exchange for the Shah and that they would not meet with Waldheim. Ghotbzadeh said the Revolutionary Council did not agree with the "students'" position of not talking to Waldheim.

Radio Tehran broadcast messages from the hostages which spoke against the Shah and in favor of the Islamic Revolution of Ayatollah Khomeini. State Department officials said the messages were made under duress.

There was more fighting in the northern city of Sanandaj between Revolutionary Guards and Kurds. Tehran radio reported sniping incidents in Baluchistan. Ayatollah Khomeini sent a representative to Isfahan to talk to the clerics and lawyers sitting-in at government offices to protest the continuation of the revolutionary courts. The Qom home of Ayatollah Rouhani, one of Khomeini's supporters, was attacked by unknown assailants.

JANUARY 1, 1980 -- TUESDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim met with Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh after arriving in Tehran. Ghotbzadeh said that the United States suffered a defeat at the Security Council because the U.S. call for economic sanctions failed.

A group of Afghani laborers and Iranian "students" demonstrated at the Soviet embassy in Tehran to protest the Soviet military and political incursion in Afghanistan. The demonstrators broke through the fence around the embassy and tore down the Soviet flag before being driven off by Revolutionary Guards.

Fighting between Kurds and Revolutionary Guards continued in Sanandaj, where several people were reported killed and/or wounded. Baghdad radio reported that unemployed people attacked the municipal building in Shiraz and staged a sit-in at the government building in Najafabad.

JANUARY 2, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim met for nearly three hours with Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh. After the meeting, Waldheim called the exchange of views "useful". Revolutionary Council spokesman Beheshti reiterated the Iranian position that the Waldheim mission is a factfinding effort, not a mediation for the hostages' release. Other activities planned for Waldheim, including a meeting with invalids (allegedly injured during the Shah's regime) and a ceremonial wreath-laying, had to be cancelled because hostile crowds demonstrating posed a threat to Waldheim's physical security. Ghotbzadeh said that Iranian authorities had thwarted an assassination plot against Waldheim.

At the daily Revolutionary Council meeting, domestic issues such as the upcoming elections were discussed. According to a spokesman, there was not time to raise the issue of the Waldheim mission, and Waldheim did not attend the Council meeting, as had been expected.

Fighting broke out again in Kurdistan, despite a 48-hour cease-fire signed between Kurdish rebels and Islamic militiamen. An autonomy plan presented by a Kurdish delegation was rejected by Khomeini's envoy to Kurdistan, who said it was "unrealistic, shows a lack of understanding of the structure of Iranian society and will not be acceptable under any circumstances."

The Iranian Jurists' Association, which played a central role in opposition to the Shah but has not maintained a high profile in the Khomeini regime, released a letter sent to U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim listing criminal charges against the Shah.

Bishop Gumbleton, one of the three clergymen who met with the American hostages for Christmas services, said that the hostages were putting on "an act" in an Iranian-made film aired Dec. 31 on U.S. television. He urged the American public not to misread statements critical of the U.S. made during the film.

In Tabriz, in Azerbaijan province, militiamen loyal to Ayatollah Shariat-Madari released nine Revolutionary Guardsmen they had been holding hostage since last Thursday. The release followed an appeal by Shariat-Madari.

JANUARY 3, 1980 -- THURSDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim held a series of meetings in Tehran, but was denied an audience with Ayatollah Khomeini. The Revolutionary Council met with the U.N. envoy, who characterized the talks as "helpful and constructive, ...in a spirit of trying to explain and understand." Waldheim was able to carry out two activities that had been cancelled the previous day because of the danger posed by large and angry crowds of demonstrators. He met with people disabled during the Shah's regime, to whom he promised a U.N. inquiry into human rights violations. (Some have suggested that a precedent is the U.N. investigation into atrocities allegedly committed in Uganda by former President Idi Amin.) Neither Iran nor the United States had any immediate reaction to the proposal. Waldheim also went to the Behest Zahra cemetery in south Tehran where thousands of Iranians who fell in the

revolution are buried. Demonstrators near the U.S. Embassy presented Waldheim with a resolution asking why he hadn't gone to Panama instead of Iran, since the extradition of the Shah was the real issue at stake.

The Soviet Ambassador to Iran met with Khomeini to discuss Iranian demonstrations against the Soviet Union, which were sparked by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Iranian Foreign Ministry has lodged a strong protest with Moscow concerning the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, but Khomeini has been restrained in his comments.

The Italian Embassy in Tehran advised all Italian nationals to leave Iran if their presence is not essential. This recommendation came in accordance with measures taken by other European Community countries.

Israeli domestic news services report that the Israeli government will consider favorably any requests by the U.S. to use air or naval facilities in Israel for military action against Iran. Earlier news stories indicated that the Carter Administration had asked the Israeli government to refrain from making any such offer public, for fear of jeopardizing the hostages and prejudicing American actions. The U.S. Government has stressed it is exploring basing prospects in Oman, Kenya and Somalia, and has indicated that it is not actively considering the use of bases in Israel or Egypt at the present time.

Khomeini began a review of the 124 presidential candidates for the elections to be held in Iran on Jan. 25. He stated that he will bar any candidates who had any contact with the Shah's regime. Other conditions for prospective candidates include: (1) being influenced by neither the "west nor the east," (2) planning to run the country according to the wishes of "the all-powerful God," and (3) favoring "Shi'ah Muslim theocracy." Approved candidates are expected to be announced Jan. 5.

JANUARY 4, 1980 -- FRIDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim left Iran after 3 days of talks. He explained that his departure was sooner than expected because of Security Council meetings on the crisis in Afghanistan. Waldheim met with Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh before leaving and was quoted upon his arrival in New York as saying he was "glad to be back, especially alive." He said he would discuss his trip with members of the Security Council, but warned that there was no "quick solution" to the crisis.

Militants holding the hostages demanded that U.S. Charge d'Affaires Bruce Laingen, in protective custody at the Iranian Foreign Ministry, be sent to the embassy to explain documents confiscated during the takeover. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Revolutionary Council would consider the request. The militants also threatened to put one of the hostages who served in Vietnam on trial for war crimes.

Supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini clashed with supporters of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari in Qom, leaving over a dozen demonstrators injured.

Tokyo news agencies reported that Iran would increase oil supplies to Japan by 50,000 barrels per day, to a total of over 1 1/2 million barrels per day.

JANUARY 5, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The Islamic Revolutionary Guards in Qom issued a directive, warning against illegal use of firearms in the aftermath of the disturbances that took place there on Friday. Tabriz was reported calm after morning rock-throwing episodes between supporters of the Ayatollah Shariat-Madari and Ayatollah Khomeini.

The Revolutionary Council declared Jan. 5 a national holiday to display support for Khomeini's leadership, and larger crowds than usual gathered before the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

Rival Sunni and Shi'ite Muslim groups clashed in the streets of Bandar Lengeh, a southern port city in Iran. It was reported that 28 people were killed and over 100 injured in the violence that erupted during the demonstrations.

The spiritual leader of the Kurds, Hoseyni, called for demonstrations to demand the withdrawal of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard from Kurdistan. The Iraqi news agency reported that Kurds successfully routed Iranian tanks and artillery en route to the unsettled Kurdish province.

Panama released the text of the Dec. 21 letter from the Iranian Foreign Ministry indicating their intent to request the extradition of the Shah.

The Iranian Interior Ministry released the names of the 106 presidential candidates, including Finance Minister Bani Sadr and Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh. Nineteen previously announced candidates had been removed from the list for not meeting all the requirements for candidacy. Under the new constitution, Khomeini is empowered to determine eligibility, but on Jan. 4 he indicated that he was leaving the choice up to the "public, so that it can determine its own destiny."

JANUARY 6, 1980 -- SUNDAY

President Carter met for 2 hours with U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim to discuss the U.N. envoy's recent trip to Iran. Waldheim requested that the U.S. put aside its announced intention to seek U.N. economic sanctions against Iran and proposed instead that an offer be made to set up an international tribunal to investigate crimes of the Shah in exchange for release of the hostages. Carter reportedly rejected the proposal and reiterated the American intention to seek imposition of sanctions by the Security Council on Jan. 7. (News accounts indicated that such a proposal may not pass the Security Council.)

The government of Iran, in a statement from the Ministry of National Guidance, threatened to expel Western journalists for allegedly biased reporting of the hostage crisis and unsympathetic treatment of the Iranian revolution.

It was reported that Japan and West Germany had agreed on a four-point

package of financial sanctions against Iran, including a ban on extending new credit, and refusal to accept any increases in non-dollar deposits by Iranians in German and Japanese banks.

Afghani students occupied the Afghanistan Embassy in Tehran for 4-1/2 hours to protest the Soviet intervention and the establishment of a puppet government in their country. They later withdrew peacefully. No casualties were reported.

In Esfahan, one of Iran's largest cities, the head of the Revolutionary Committee was assassinated. Violence continued in Bandar Lengeh, and in Tabriz, the challenge to Khomeini by the Turkish-speaking population contained for the first time graffiti and shouts of "death to Khomeini."

Kurdish leaders released a statement accusing the government of indifference to finding a peaceful solution to the demands for autonomy by the Kurdish population.

Khuzestan Governor Madani, a candidate for President in the upcoming elections, threatened to withdraw from the race if the "free and unbiased atmosphere for the elections continues to be lacking."

JANUARY 7, 1980 -- MONDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim briefed a closed session of the Security Council on his recent trip to Iran. The Security Council, after dealing with resolutions on the Afghanistan crisis, was expected to return to consideration of the U.S. proposal to impose economic sanctions on Iran.

Ayatollah Khomeini announced that he would cancel all appointments for 2 weeks beginning Jan. 12 because of fatigue. The 79-year-old leader has taken several such rest periods since his return to Iran in February 1979.

Pierce fighting continued between rival Muslim groups in Bandar Lengeh, a southern port city. Over 50 deaths and 100 casualties were reported. Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi headed a delegation sent by the Tehran government to discuss the situation with the town council.

Fighting also continued to flare in Tabriz between pro-Khomeini and pro-Shariat-Madari demonstrators. The shops in the bazaar were closed and eight foreign journalists (primarily French and American) were detained at their hotel and later escorted to the airport by Revolutionary Guards. Their expulsions from Tabriz coincided with a mounting campaign against the Western press by the Tehran government.

One of Iran's presidential candidates, radical Islamic People's Crusaders Party head Masdud Rajavi, was attacked and seriously injured. Rajavi founded his party in the late 1960s as an underground anti-Shah resistance movement.

The newspaper Islamic Republic publically criticized the Foreign Ministry for permitting U.S. Charge d'Affaires Bruce Laingen to continue U.S. espionage in Iran through his contacts with U.S. Government officials in Washington by telephone. Militants holding the hostages had requested that Laingen be sent to the embassy, but the Foreign Minister rejected the demand.



The London Times contained an interview with Sayyid Sadiq el-Mahdi, a prominent Sudanese Moslem leader well regarded in both the Western and Muslim worlds, who has just returned from Iran. The Mahdi said that he does not believe the hostages will meet with violence, and that the solution to the crisis will involve a package deal "leading to the satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the Iranian people." He said that Iranian militants have responded most positively when ideas have been presented in a wider context than the hostages' conditions. The package deal, according to the Mahdi, should include an investigation into the Shah's crimes, a process to repatriate the Shah's funds, and an effort to look into U.S. involvement in Iran's domestic affairs. He suggested that there has been a clear veering away from insistence on the physical return of the Shah to Iran.

JANUARY 8, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Carter Administration launched a campaign to change the way in which the militants holding the hostages are perceived in the press and in public opinion. The President, the White House press secretary, and a State Department spokesman all made elaborate statements describing the militants as Marxist terrorists who are beyond the control of the Khomeini government. Some news analyses have concluded from this new effort that the U.S. Government will make new attempts to resolve the crisis with the help of the Iranian government.

Egypt's Defense Minister Kamal Hassan Ali disclosed that Egyptian and United States air forces have conducted "joint exercises" to test the capability of U.S. warplanes to use Egyptian bases "in reference to Iran." The training exercises, which took place about 2 weeks ago, were made public at the summit being held between Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Begin, who have devoted a large part of their discussions to the crises in Iran and Afghanistan and to ways in which their countries can enhance U.S. military responses in the region. It was also revealed that two U.S. Airborne Warning and Control aircraft (AWACS) and 250 associated personnel were in Egypt for potential support of U.S. military operations.

Ayatollah Shariat-Madari called again for national unity in the wake of reports that his supporters are due to arrive in Qom for the Jan. 9 observance of Arba'in, an Islamic holiday commemorating the 40th day after the martyrdom of Imam Hussein ibn Ali. Qom has been the site of violent clashes between Shariat-Madari supporters and those loyal to Khomeini. Tabriz, where most of Shariat-Madari's support comes from, was reported quiet, although shops and schools remained closed and thousands of demonstrators rallied in the main square of the city.

The other scene of recent violence, Bandar Lengeh, a southern port city, was also reported to be calm. Ibrahim Yazdi, an envoy from Ayatollah Khomeini, met with Sunni and Shi'ite Muslim leaders to try and resolve some of the issues that have caused the disturbances of the past week.

Khomeini met with the delegation he had sent to Kurdistan to address the problems of autonomy-seeking Kurds. He indicated that he would be sending a religious representative to continue discussions on his behalf.

Tehran radio broadcast statements by the embassy militants calling for the overthrow of the Saudi government. The statements claim "the region is now

unstable and the United States and its puppet regimes are no longer able to control and destroy the movements and revolutions."

JANUARY 9, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The Soviet news agency Tass reported that the Soviet Union will not tolerate any U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Iran, and that it "will not allow the U.S. to impose a decision to apply economic sanctions against it." Senior State Department officials said that even if the Soviets veto the sanctions measure under consideration now in the Security Council, the U.S. and its allies will impose economic sanctions of their own. The State Department official was optimistic about the allies supporting such a "makeshift arrangement" should the Soviets veto the U.S. proposal.

Revolutionary Council Secretary and spokesman Beheshti said that Iranian opinion has altered with regard to the hostages, but their release should not be expected in the next few days. He reiterated that U.S. Charge d'Affaires Laingen will not be delivered to the embassy compound from the Foreign Ministry, as the hostages' captors have demanded. Beheshti did not rule out a trial of some of the hostages, but suggested that a U.N. inquiry into human rights violations under the Shah could be part of a solution to the crisis.

The heaviest fighting to date between followers of Shariat-Madari and Khomeini took place in Tabriz, and Revolutionary Guards were flown in to help restore order in the Azerbaijan provincial capital. It was reported that eight were killed in the fighting, with over 100 wounded. Azerbaijanis were received by Khomeini in Qom, and were urged by the Ayatollah to remain calm through the upcoming election period, after which time the revolution's leader pledged to "attend to the reconstruction of modern Iran."

The Ayatollah's envoy to the troubled southern city of Bandar Lengeh, Ibrahim Yazdi, announced after a 10-hour meeting with the town's warring Sunni and Shi'ite factions the successful approval of a 10-point resolution of cooperation between the two communities. The resolution addressed matters of the town council membership, security arrangements, and common economic development projects. Yazdi requested that people go back to work and reopen their shops, and promised that the instigators of the disturbances will be tried in Islamic revolutionary courts.

Nationwide marches commemorated the Islamic holiday Arba'in, which marks the martyrdom of Imam Hussein ibn Ali. In Qom, the marchers also called attention to those who were martyred in street fights in Qom on Jan. 9, 1979. Many of the marches in major cities throughout Iran included speeches by clergymen and chanting of pro-Khomeini slogans.

JANUARY 10, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The United States indicated that it believes it has the needed nine votes in the Security Council to impose economic sanctions on Iran, although the threat of a Soviet veto remains. The ninth vote is reported to be Tunisia, the Arab member of the Council for 1980. (In the December vote on the Waldheim mission and the possible imposition of sanctions, the Arab member,



Kuwait, abstained.)

Khomeini met in Qom with a delegation of the militants from the embassy. It was not known whether the meeting, the first since the militants seized the hostages on Nov. 4, was related to negotiating the release of the hostages or to more general topics.

The leader and 15 members of a rightist reactionary group called Forqan were arrested in Tehran. This group is suspected of carrying out assassinations of close associates of the Ayatollah and has been outspoken in its criticism of the revolution.

Tabriz was reported quiet, and Revolutionary Guard reinforcements were sent in to maintain order in the Turkish-speaking city where Shariat-Madari followers have been agitating against the Khomeini regime. It was reported that 50 persons were arrested on charges of instigating the disturbances that have plagued the Azerbaijan capital for the past few weeks.

The militants, whose numbers may have reached 600, arrested five people they had suspected of plotting to assassinate the PLO military chief, Abu Jihad, in front of the PLO mission office in Tehran. This was the first reported instance of the captors of the American hostages extending their activities into security matters beyond the embassy compound.

Khomeini met with his appointed delegation for Kurdistan problems and was briefed on the problems in the region. The delegation, which will return to the province for negotiations with local authorities, later told the press that the central government should control all military and civilian affairs in the Kurdish region.

Tehran radio criticized the government for the slow ratification of agrarian reform proposals, and said that important time has been lost in implementing measures to redistribute large landholdings to landless peasants. The radio editorial chided the government for missing the autumn crop season and said that the agricultural program can now only be implemented in the southern regions of the country. The editorial may reflect a growing concern with food supplies in Iran, where economic activity has been dramatically affected by the crisis.

The National Mobilization Headquarters, created by the Revolutionary Council in early December, called for a national mobilization week to "prepare all the Iranian people to organize the 20 million strong army of resistance." The week's activities, according to the announcement, will include exercises for self-reliance in political, economic, and military spheres.

JANUARY 11, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Iran's representative to the U.N., Mansour Farhang, made a verbal compromise offer to U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim, the first substantive initiative by Iran to resolve the crisis. Uncertainty surrounded the specific provisions of the offer and the authority by which it was made. Some speculated that the offer included a U.N. investigation into the crimes of the Shah, recognition of the legitimacy of the extradition request to Panama, and return of the Shah's assets to Iran. U.S. Ambassador to the

U.N., Donald McHenry, in his remarks during consideration of the economic sanctions measure in the United Nations (before the Iranian offer delayed the proceedings), spoke of the crisis not as a bilateral issue in U.S.-Iranian relations but rather as a matter of Iran's relations with the world community.

Secretary of State Vance said that the U.S. could "not rule out" the possibility that it would use a naval blockade in the Persian Gulf to prevent goods from reaching Iranian ports.

Iranian oil minister Moïnfar stated in an interview published in an Iranian magazine that Iran would cut oil shipments to any countries supporting economic sanctions against Iran.

There was widespread shooting in the environs of Tabriz between Revolutionary Guards and supporters of Shariat-Madari. Late at night, about 25 people were rounded up and brought to the Tabriz prison, charged with fomenting the disturbances.

It was reported by Tehran radio that the Ayatollah Khomeini's discussions in Qom with the militants holding the hostages did not include the hostage crisis.

Tehran radio mocked the "false tears" the United States is shedding for the Afghan people, and said the real motive is the need to expand influence in the area, not concern for the painful experience of the Afghan citizens. The same broadcast was highly critical of the Soviet role in Afghanistan.

British Foreign Secretary Carrington, in Turkey as part of a Middle East tour, was told of the concern of the Turkish government over instability in the Kurdish and Azerbaijan regions of Iran. The Turks, who have 5 to 7 million Kurds in their eastern provinces, expressed anxieties about secession and about growing Soviet influence in these regions.

JANUARY 12, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Thirty minutes before the scheduled vote on economic sanctions against Iran in the U.N. Security Council, Iran came forward with a written proposal to exchange the hostages in a three-part package deal. The offer, as transmitted by Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh with Ayatollah Khomeini's authorization, formalized the verbal offer made by Iran's envoy to the U.N. the previous day. Waldheim reportedly cabled Ghotbzadeh for further clarification, and U.S. officials again agreed to postpone the vote, but held in reserve any judgment on the Iranian proposal.

Eleven Shariat-Madari supporters were executed at dawn in Tabriz, following a night of disturbances in the Azerbaijan provincial capital. The eleven were members of Shariat-Madari's Muslim People's Republican Party. As news of the executions spread through the city, people swarmed into the streets and more violence was sparked.

Panama received a warrant for the arrest of "Mr. Mohammed Reza Pahlavi" on criminal charges. Iranian authorities hoped to skirt the fact that Iran and Panama do not have an extradition treaty between them by charging the Shah as a common criminal. Yet the same Iranian dispatch alluded to an extradition

request that will be prepared in the next 90 days.

Iranian broadcasts have been focusing on Arabian peninsula politics for several days and have been reporting that a group of dissenting Saudi students was protesting at the Tehran University mosque. In addition to frequent criticisms of the "reactionary" Saudi regime, the Tehran media has been making charges against the government of Iraq. For the first time, Tehran radio today accused the Saudis and Iraqis of an alliance.

JANUARY 13, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Iran failed to clarify a proposal to resolve the hostage crisis that it had offered on Saturday. U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim expressed regret, saying that "the fundamental problem remains the same -- the timing of the release of the hostages and the procedure to be followed to meet the grievances of the Iranian government." The Security Council then proceeded to vote on the U.S.-proposed economic sanctions measure, which, as expected, the Soviet Union vetoed. The vote was 10-2, with the Soviet Union and East Germany voting against, Mexico and Bangladesh abstaining, and China surprisingly casting no vote. The United States reiterated its intention to impose unilateral sanctions and U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher was expected to seek allied cooperation in his talks in Europe on Iran and Afghanistan.

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. McHenry denounced the "cynical and irresponsible use" of the veto, which came only a few days after the Soviets vetoed a measure condemning their action in Afghanistan.

In Tehran, the hostage crisis received little attention in the local press, and no mention was made of the Iranian "compromise" that had dramatically delayed Security Council action for 2 days. Analysts in Iran were predicting that there would be no change in the embassy crisis until after the Presidential elections scheduled for Jan. 25.

Khomeini criticized the United States for allegedly plotting against the upcoming elections.

On the eve of his trip to the United States, Spanish Prime Minister Suarez was expected to convey to President Carter Spain's reservations about the possible use of Spanish bases in connection with U.S. military reprisals against Iran. Spanish radio reported that the Prime Minister will be pressured by Washington, but that Spain will convey the concern of European allies about any military action.

JANUARY 14, 1980 -- MONDAY

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh criticized the United States for applying too much pressure on Iran, and said that Iran could hold the hostages "more or less forever." Carter Administration officials conceded that the crisis could drag on for weeks or even months.

The Revolutionary Council voted to expel American journalists from Iran

for allegedly biased reporting and insulting the revolution. Similar measures against British and West German journalists were considered but not approved by the Council, which was reported to have given the Americans 48 hours to leave the country.

It was reported that 10,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan are within striking distance of Iranian oilfields. Other reports alluded to remarks made by the Soviet ambassador to Mexico offering Soviet military aid, should Iran request it. The Revolutionary Council denounced the notion of such "aid" being offered "in the same way that the Soviets intervened in the neighboring and Muslim country, Afghanistan."

Hong Kong radio reported that the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) rejected a U.S. request to mediate the Iran crisis. ASEAN officials explained that it is ASEAN's policy not to deal with developments outside the region.

Panama's Foreign Minister sought to end speculation about its policy on extraditing the Shah. "No country which has granted political asylum to a person can return him to another country where death penalty charges have been made against him."

JANUARY 15, 1980 -- TUESDAY

A Revolutionary Council spokesman said that American journalists had to leave Iran by midnight, Jan. 18, and warned West German and British journalists not to "distort" their news stories or they too would be expelled.

The Iranian government news agency said that the crude oil pipeline to the Abadan refinery was sabotaged by an explosion. Two bombs exploded outside the Turkish consulate in the northern city of Urumiyah. Another bomb damaged the Revolutionary Court building and a near-by sports stadium in the City of Sari.

The Revolutionary Court in Tabriz released 47 of those arrested three days before during the demonstrations against Khomeini.

Paris news sources reported that some of the hostages were moved to the Avin prison north of Tehran and that the prison area had been placed under heavy guard and declared "off limits." The report implied that hostages in the prison were under control of the Khomeini government and not the "students." Similar reports of the hostages being moved have appeared in the past.

The Shah left Contadora Island for the northern Panamanian city of Boquete, either to look for a new home, according to one news source, or to do some sightseeing, according to another news source. The Shah told Congressman Dickenson that he expected the Soviets to move against Iran as soon as Afghanistan had been secured and pacified.

Jalalladin Parsi withdrew from the Jan. 25 Iranian presidential election because his father was an Afghan. (Parsi was portrayed as Khomeini's candidate.) Parsi's withdrawal supposedly left Economics Minister Bani Sadr in the lead among the 100 candidates.

The embassy intruders released another batch of documents which purported to show that the CIA and the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad supported former Prime Minister Bakhtiar.

Australia, acting upon a U.S. request, began a "review" of its trade relations with Iran.

U.S. Secretary of State Vance said in an interview that he was "frustrated" as a negotiator in the Iranian crisis because Iran often changed its chief negotiator, changed its negotiating position, and did not appear to have a stable central authority. Vance said "more than 10" secret channels had been utilized in seeking the release of the hostages, including three secret trips he made to U.N. headquarters in New York.

JANUARY 16, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Bay al-Amm reported that several young army officers were discovered planning to overthrow the Iranian government, including the kidnapping or assassination of Ayatollah Khomeini. The paper said the officers were executed.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry denied that U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim would act as a mediator in the Iran-America crisis.

The Soviet news agency Tass denied yesterday's Western and Iranian news stories that Soviet troops were concentrating along the Afghan-Iranian border. Moscow radio reported on U.S. preparations for a possible war against Iran, citing as proof U.S. Defense Secretary Brown's San Diego press conference in which he warned of a Soviet corridor through Afghanistan and Pakistan to the Indian Ocean, U.S. military preparations for a naval blockade of the Persian Gulf, the presence of "several" aircraft carriers in the Arabian Sea, and the failure of the economic sanctions in the U.N.

Iranian Oil Minister Muinfar said Iran may reduce its oil production from its present level of 3-3.5 million barrels per day down to 1.5 million barrels per day and stop shipments to Japan and Western Europe if those nations cooperate with the American economic sanctions. According to the ministry, Iran has contracts for 2 million barrels per day for delivery in 1980, one-half of which is destined for Europe and Japan. Muinfar denied Western news reports that current Iranian oil production was down to 2 million barrels per day.

Khomeini's son and grandson and several other religious leaders endorsed Finance Minister Bani Sadr for President, despite claims by religious leaders that they would not become involved in the presidential election campaigns. Bani Sadr's emergence as a leader in the 100-man field after Farsi's withdrawal opened questions of how "president" Bani Sadr, with his well-known inclination to release the hostages, would get along with the more militant Khomeini and the "students."

JANUARY 17, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The U.S. aircraft carrier Nimitz has entered the Indian Ocean. Two aircraft carriers, Midway and Kitty Hawk, are already on station in the Arabian Sea. U.S. Department of Defense sources said the United States has 25 combat or combat-related ships in the Indian Ocean, compared to 24 Soviet ships. In what may be a related event, the United Kingdom sent six men-of-war into the Mediterranean on a "training exercise," but some commentators suggested that the six British ships would help fill the gap left by the transfer of the Nimitz.

Iranian Economics Minister Bani Sadr accused the Soviet Union of trying to create divisions among Iran's ethnic groups that would make a Soviet conquest of Iran easier. Bani Sadr said the Soviets are trying to seize Iranian territory that would give the Soviet Union access to warm water ports on the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

Mexico may introduce a resolution in the U.N. Security Council calling for freeing the hostages and establishing an international commission of inquiry into Iranian charges against the Shah.

The International Court of Justice set a Feb. 18 deadline for Iran to respond to the Court's decision in support of United States charges that Iran violated international law by seizing the hostages.

Chancellor Schmidt said West Germany would support U.S. economic sanctions against Iran (for holding the hostages) and the U.S.S.R. (for invading Afghanistan). Japanese officials said, in a series of guarded statements, that they would cooperate with U.S. efforts to apply economic sanctions against Iran. British Prime Minister Thatcher said her government favored, in principle, moving the Olympic games out of Moscow as a protest for the Soviet actions in Afghanistan.

Hojjat al-Islam Sayyid Husayn Mosravi, president of the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Tabriz, said "freemasons and capitalists" were behind the unrest in Tabriz and the northern provinces of Iran.

In an interview of Panama, the Shah said that two American oil companies were involved in an international conspiracy to overthrow his government in order to create an oil shortage and raise oil prices.

JANUARY 18, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Qabas said that the attempted coup in Iran on Jan. 16 was led by Admiral Ahmad Madani, the Governor of Khuzestan province and the head of the Iranian armed forces. According to the al-Qabas, Madani was not arrested because of his powerful position in the country and because he was a candidate for the presidency. (The al-Qabas story could not be confirmed by other sources.) Other Middle Eastern sources said 63 officers were executed for the coup attempt.

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh called the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan a "threat to the vital interests" of Iran. Ghotbzadeh also said that U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim favored forming a U.N. commission to investigate human rights violations of the Shah's regime, but that the United States stopped Waldheim from implementing the proposal.

**CONTINUED**

**1 of 5**

Hasan Habibi, a spokesman for the Revolutionary Council, said the Council had no control over the "students" at the embassy, and that one of the first tasks of the new president would be to take control of Iran's foreign relations and negotiations over the hostages. Meanwhile, the "Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's Policies," the title used by the intruders at the embassy, issued a statement warning that "American conspirators" were going to cause disruptions at the Jan. 25 elections.

The Governor of the Central Bank of Iran announced that a French Extraordinary Court in Paris had ruled that all assets of the Paris branch of the New York-based Citibank be frozen and that the bank stop all operations. The court's action followed an Iranian complaint against Citibank for freezing Iranian assets.

The Kyodo news service of Japan reported that the Japanese government would cooperate with U.S. economic sanctions against Iran, with the exception of the Japanese-Iranian petrochemical project.

JANUARY 19, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini issued a statement in which he said that anyone who did not vote for the constitution could not run for the presidency. Massud Rajavi, head of the "Mujahedin guerrillas," withdrew from the presidential race because he had opposed the constitution. Many Kurds, Baluchis, and Turkomans supported Rajavi and threatened to boycott the elections.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said in an interview with Le Figaro of Paris that Iran could not tolerate the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and that Iran may consider arming the 50,000 Afghan refugees in Iran to fight the Soviets. Finance Minister Bani Sadr rejected a U.S. offer of cooperation in defending Iran from a Soviet invasion across the Afghan-Iranian border. Bani Sadr said Iran should remain neutral and not take sides in the U.S.-U.S.S.R. confrontation. The U.S. "offer" of support for Iran came in a State Department briefing in which Hodding Carter said that the United States continued to support the territorial integrity of Iran.

Baghdad radio reported that between 20 and 50 airmen and officers had been arrested at an Iranian airbase near Tabriz for distributing arms to the Azerbaijanis and for plotting a coup d'etat.

A Paris news report stated that 300 to 400 Iraqis had attacked Iranian outposts along the northern border.

JANUARY 20, 1980 -- SUNDAY

In an appearance before "Meet the Press," President Carter said that the United States supported a unified, stable, and independent Iran, implying that the United States would oppose threats to Iran posed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The President condemned those elements of the Iranian government which tolerated the seizure and continued holding of the 50 hostages, and restated the U.S. concern for the safety and release of the

hostages without bloodshed, but stressed the U.S. desire to cooperate with what he called the "responsible" people in the Iranian government. The President said the United States would apply unilateral economic sanctions and would continue to seek support for sanctions among U.S. allies.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said Iran feared Soviet intervention in Sistan and Baluchistan provinces under the 1921 treaty, which gives the Soviet Union the right to maintain order in Iran. Former Prime Minister Bazargan revoked the 1921 treaty on Nov. 5, 1979, but Ghotbzadeh said the Soviets might not accept the unilateral Iranian action. Ghotbzadeh again rejected the suggestion of an Iranian-U.S. alliance against the Soviet threat.

Khomeini approved a constitutional referendum which would allow the Iranian people to vote for equal rights for Sunni Muslims and for separate Sunni and Shi'a courts in Iran. The move was seen by some as an attempt to appease the Turkoman and Baluchi Sunnis.

JANUARY 21, 1980 -- MONDAY

Tehran radio reported that the Revolutionary Guards were withdrawing from the Kurdish cities of Mahabad and Sanandaj as part of the agreement between the Kurds and the Revolutionary Council to give the Kurds more autonomy. Since the Kurds were threatening to boycott the election, the Revolutionary Guard withdrawal appeared to be an attempt to win Kurdish support for the government. A group of Revolutionary Guards were attacked outside the city of Miandow Ab, near Urmiah, in the Kurdish area.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said that Iran was considering offering arms and assistance to the Afghan rebels in their confrontation with the Soviet troops. Ghotbzadeh repeated his earlier statements that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan represented a threat to Iran. The Soviet embassy in Tehran issued a communique stating that the Soviet Union would not attack the Iranian oil fields.

Interior Minister Rafsanjani said the presidential election scheduled for Jan. 25 would not be postponed, apparently in an attempt to quash rumors that the withdrawal of Farsi, the Iranian Islamic Republic Party candidate (Khomeini's group), and Rajavi, the Mujahedin-e-Kalg candidate (Islamic Marxists), would force a postponement. The run-off election, if needed, is scheduled for Feb. 8.

The religious leader of the city of Mashad, Ali Tehrani, accused Revolutionary Council spokesman Ayatollah Beheshti, Interior Minister Rafsanjani, and Tehran religious leader Ali Khama'ini of being "power hungry plotters connected to the United States." Ayatollah Khomeini approved the publication of Tehrani's letter accusing the three, which appeared to contribute to the political infighting in the presidential campaign.

The 18-day "sit-in" by unemployed engineers in the oil field city of Masjid Sulayman ended after the government issued an ultimatum to leave the government buildings or be arrested.

Finance Minister Bani Sadr said Iran may boycott the Moscow Olympic games to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

A report from Hamburg said West German journalists may be expelled from Iran because they were "distorting" the news.

Foreign Minister Zawawi of Oman denied that his country had offered basing rights to the United States.

JANUARY 22, 1980 -- TUESDAY

In his preliminary message to the Congress on the State of the Union, President Carter said the United States was ready to cooperate with Iran in meeting the Soviet threat from Afghanistan and in establishing a new relationship once the hostages are released. The President reversed his earlier position of threatening reprisals against Iran for seizing the hostages.

Iran radio interrupted its late-night news report to announce that Panamanian President Rojo had telephoned Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh with the news that the Shah was under arrest and would be detained until Iran furnished the evidence needed for the Shah's extradition to Iran. Reportedly, President Rojo denied that the Shah had been arrested, while a Presidential spokesman said the Shah was under detention and a Foreign Ministry spokesman said "no comment." Tehran radio quoted Ghotbzadeh as saying the story was true. The Department of State was unable to confirm the story.

A report from India said U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim cut short his Asian tour to return to U.N. headquarters in New York to arrange a "package deal" that would resolve the Iran-U.S. crisis.

[Note: President Carter's move to reverse the reprisal threat and his offer to cooperate with Iran could ease U.S.-Iranian tensions, particularly since the two countries now share a common concern over the Soviet threat to Iran posed by the Afghan invasion. The story of the Shah's arrest in Panama, as yet unconfirmed, and his reported detention awaiting Iranian extradition proceedings could meet at least part of the Iranian precondition to release the hostages — that the Shah be returned to Iran. If the story of Waldheim's "package deal" is true, and if the "package" includes investigations into the Shah's financial dealings and alleged human rights violations, other Iranian preconditions would be met, also in part. While such "evidence" is, at best, circumstantial, it would appear that the stage may be set for a resolution of the hostage crisis, if the stories are true, and if the primary actors are in a position to take advantage of the opportunity. It should also be noted, however, that an unpredictable Khomeini still holds power in Iran and that the "students" in the embassy, also somewhat unpredictable, are not under the control of the Iranian government or Khomeini.]

The Revolutionary Council announced that articles 5 and 6 of the 1921 treaty with the Soviet Union were being abrogated. Articles 5 and 6 give the Soviets the right to intervene in Iranian affairs to maintain order. The Revolutionary Council announcement may reflect the Council's doubts about the legality of Prime Minister Bazargan's abrogation of the treaty on Nov. 5, 1979. Such doubts were raised by Ghotbzadeh's comments on Jan. 20 that the treaty may still be in effect.

In an editorial, Tehran radio advised Pakistan not to accept American military aid because Pakistan would become the pawn of the United States.

The National Democratic Front announced that it would boycott the elections set for Friday. The NDF had supported Rajavi. The Kurds said they would boycott the elections because Rajavi had been declared ineligible. The National Voice of Iran, the Soviet-controlled radio, announced its support for Revolutionary Council member Hasan Habibi.

The intruders at the embassy released another document which, they claimed, proved that Barry Rosen, press attache at the embassy, was a CIA "spy."

The Governor General of Khorasan province bordering on Afghanistan closed the province to foreign journalists because the newsmen, according to the Governor, were sneaking across the border to take pictures of the Soviet troops and could be caught as "spies."

Baghdad radio said Arabs in Khuzestan province ("Arabistan" according to the Iraqis) had sabotaged a bridge, stores, and homes belonging to Khomeini supporters, and a gas station, and had tried to assassinate Khomeini with an automobile bomb, all in the past week.

JANUARY 23, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

In his State of the Union message to the Congress, President Carter said that Iran would pay a "severe price" if the hostages were harmed, but added that if the hostages were released the United States would be willing to cooperate with Iran in confronting the Soviet challenge. The President stressed that the United States would use military force, if necessary, to prevent "an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region," which the President called "vital" to the United States.

President Rojo of Panama denied that the Shah was under arrest, but said the Shah was "under the care of the Panamanian security forces." A spokesman in the President's office said the Shah may as well be under arrest since he could not leave the island of Contadoro, while another spokesman said the Shah was never under arrest and there was no intention to arrest him. President Rojo repeated his earlier statement that Panama would consider extraditing the Shah once Iran submitted the proper documents. Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh held to his story that Rojo called him to announce that the Shah was under arrest. There was speculation that Ghotbzadeh may have misinterpreted Rojo's message in his desire to make a favorable impression with Iranian voters in the election scheduled for Friday.

Khomeini cancelled all appointments for 15 days to rest. Later, it was announced that Khomeini had entered a hospital in Qom. Other reports from Iran said Khomeini had a heart condition.

Mawlawi Abd al-Aziz, leader of the "Sunni brothers" of Sistan and Baluchistan, said that his organization would participate in the election because they had received assurances from Yazdi, Khomeini's troubleshooter for minorities, that the constitution would be changed to give Sunni Muslims equal rights with Shi'a Muslims.

JANUARY 24, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Panama radio offered an explanation of what it called the "brilliant confusion" over the Shah's reported arrest. Panama's President Rojo told Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh that the Shah was "in the care of the security forces," which Rojo intended to mean "under the protection" of the Panamanian armed forces, but which Ghotbzadeh understood to mean "under arrest." The radio commentator suggested that the Iranians jumped to the wrong conclusion because they were seeking a way to release the hostages and maintain their dignity, while Panama, according to the commentator, was suggesting that any attempt to harm the Shah would be repulsed by the security forces.

The Kurdish Democratic Party announced that it would not boycott the Iranian presidential elections. A report originating from Baghdad radio said the Arab population of Iran would boycott the elections. There are 66 candidates for president in the elections scheduled for Jan. 25, some 40 candidates having withdrawn and another 20 having been declared ineligible. Radio Tehran broadcast a Khomeini speech from his hospital bed in which he appealed to the voters to participate in the election.

JANUARY 25, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Despite snow in the north and flooding in the central parts of the country, voter turnout in the Iranian presidential election was reported heavy. Early unofficial returns showed Finance Minister Abdolhassan Bani Sadr with a commanding lead of almost 3-to-1 over second place Admiral Ahmad Madani, head of the navy and governor of Khuzestan province, and a nearly 10-to-1 lead over third place candidate Hasan Habibi, a spokesman for the Revolutionary Council. Bani Sadr claimed victory and said his priorities as President would be to reconstruct the economy of Iran, to broaden political freedom, to solve the ethnic and minority problems, to break the clergy's monopoly over the press, and to seek close cooperation with Europe, Japan, and the "oppressed" countries of the world. Bani Sadr said he would seek an end to the U.S. embassy siege and the release of the hostages.

An editorial in the Tehran newspaper Jumhuri-ye Islami said the United States and the Soviet Union were in collusion to "crush the Islamic revolt" in Afghanistan and that the United States approved the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The editorial warned Pakistan not to fall victim to "imperialism" by accepting U.S. assistance.

Khomeini's health was described as "satisfactory" by doctors at the Tehran cardiology hospital.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said Iran would participate in the Islamic Foreign Minister's conference due to begin on Jan. 27 in Islamabad, Pakistan.

JANUARY 26, 1980 -- SATURDAY

A spokesman for the office of Panamanian President Rojo said the Shah would need a special permit to leave Panama, which apparently meant that the Shah was not free to move as he pleased, as the Panamanian authorities had said previously.

The Iran Interior Ministry said the vote count from Friday's presidential election would be completed by Monday, Jan. 28. Preliminary reports indicated that Bani Sadr's lead had increased to 5-to-1 over Madani and 12-to-1 over Habibi. In an interview, Bani Sadr said he, as president, would help the Afghan rebels in their fight against the Afghan government and the Soviet occupation force: "We will help the Afghan people, who are part of Iran, with all means." It was not known what Bani Sadr meant when he described the Afghan people as "part of Iran."

JANUARY 27, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Finance Minister Bani Sadr appeared to be an easy victor in the presidential elections, claiming between 75% and 80% of the vote. In an interview, Bani Sadr said that after the United States announced to the "American people and the world" that it was ending its "expansionist" policies, it would be possible to reach a solution on the hostage situation. Bani Sadr also said he would take immediate action on some of Iran's economic problems, such as reducing prices, providing land for farmers, and finding jobs for the unemployed. Other problems would have to wait for the election of a Majlis (parliament) and the appointment of a government.

Tehran radio announced that Interior Minister Rafsanjani had appointed a new governor-general of Khuzestan province. No mention was made of Admiral Ahmad Madani, the present governor.

A commentary broadcast over Tehran radio said Iran was supporting Iraqi "revolutionaries" against the Baath regime, which, the commentator said, was cooperating with the United States. Iran was giving arms, money, and propaganda assistance to the anti-Baath, anti-American rebels, the radio said.

Abd al-Rahman Ghassini, head of the Iranian Kurdish Democratic Party, said the Revolutionary Guards would be confined to their barracks in the Kurdish areas, and would be withdrawn in the near future as part of the Revolutionary Council-Kurd agreement.

Four more military personnel accused of taking part in the attempted coup against the Khomeini regime were executed in Tabriz.

Baghdad radio reported that an unknown group fired at the "students" holding the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

JANUARY 28, 1980 -- MONDAY

Abdolhasan Bani Sadr, confirmed by the Interior Ministry as the winner of

the presidential election, said that the hostages could be released if the United States acknowledged its "crimes" of supporting the Shah, approved Iran's right to begin proceedings against the Shah (presumably a trial), and offered guarantees not to interfere in Iranian affairs in the future. Bani Sadr said the U.S. offer of assistance against the Soviet Union was "unacceptable" and that Iran could stand against the Soviets without American help. The president-elect added that Ayatollah Khomeini would have to approve any arrangements that would lead to the hostages' release.

The U.S. State Department responded that while Bani Sadr's comments raised hopes that the hostages would be released soon, there was no evidence to support such hopes. The State Department noted that Iran still did not have a government with clear authority, and that the United States would wait to see if Bani Sadr could establish his authority as the Government of Iran. The State Department suggested that the economic sanctions against Iran could be delayed to allow the Iranians time to figure out a way to release the hostages, and to see if Iranian public opinion shifted away from the United States and toward the Soviet Union. Another State Department spokesman said further that U.S.-Iranian problems were limited to the hostages, as if to confirm a change in U.S. attitudes toward Iran from the total break and possible "punishment" advocated last month, to the prospect of renewed Iranian-American cooperation if and when the hostages are released.

Bani Sadr also criticized the "students" at the embassy for trying to create a "rival government" to the Revolutionary Council and the Iranian Government. The intruders at the embassy said they were not trying to form a rival government but said they had the right to voice their opposition to Bani Sadr's policies. Bani Sadr criticized the state-run radio and television authority for discriminating against him during the campaign. The "Supervisory Council" of the state radio issued a statement that they had not discriminated against Bani Sadr, but admitted that some of his campaign broadcasts had been mishandled accidentally. In another interview, Bani Sadr told the Turkish newspaper Milliyet that Turkey and Iran should form a "common front" against the superpowers.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic nations, meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan, adopted a Saudi Arabian resolution condemning the Soviet Union for its intervention in Afghanistan, calling for an immediate Soviet withdrawal, suspending Afghan membership in the Islamic conference, offering assistance to Afghan refugees, and advocating an Olympics boycott unless the Soviets withdraw from Afghanistan. Although the vote was secret, a spokesman for the 38 nations in attendance said the resolution was unanimously accepted, with a few countries reserving until later their decisions on attending the Olympics and breaking relations with Afghanistan. The Iranian delegate earlier told the conference that United States intervention in Iran created the conditions which triggered the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The conference will vote later on an Iranian resolution condemning the United States for interfering in Iranian affairs, for establishing bases in the region, and for imposing economic sanctions on Iran.

In an interview, Admiral Madani, who finished second in the presidential vote with 14% of the ballots compared to Bani Sadr's 75%, said he would form an opposition party to run for the Majlis against Khomeini's Islamic Republican Party. Madani blamed his loss on the "students" at the embassy who accused him of being an agent of the CIA.

Ayatollah Khomeini was released from the intensive care ward at the Tehran hospital, but will remain in the hospital for the time being.

Canada closed its embassy in Tehran and recalled its diplomatic staff because of the lack of work and the danger inherent in the current situation.

JANUARY 29, 1980 -- TUESDAY

A Canadian newspaper reported that Canadian Embassy officials in Tehran had smuggled six American diplomats out of Tehran on forged Canadian diplomatic passports. U.S. and Canadian Government officials confirmed the story. The six had been hiding at the Canadian Embassy and in embassy housing in Tehran since the U.S. Embassy and hostages were seized on Nov. 4, 1979.

The Washington Post reported that officials at the United Nations were making progress with Waldheim's "package deal," which called for the hostages to be turned over to International Red Cross representatives in Tehran while an international commission began an investigation into Iran's complaints against the Shah. Once the investigation were underway, according to the plan, the Red Cross would release the hostages.

The Islamic conference meeting in Pakistan passed several more resolutions, including one which asked the United States and Iran to settle their differences by peaceful means. Another resolution condemned "Western" (meaning the United States, although the United States was not named) pressures, such as the economic sanctions, against Iran. According to reports, several countries, led by Iraq, appealed unsuccessfully for the resolution to condemn Iran for seizing the hostages in violation of international law. The resolution did denounce the "West" for reviving imperialism by establishing new bases in the region. Other conference resolutions reaffirmed Islamic solidarity with the Palestinians for the liberation of the occupied territories and Jerusalem, reaffirmed the Islamic conference condemnation of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, and reaffirmed the boycott against Egypt.

The Iran Central Bank announced that 15 Tehran offices of U.S. banking representatives were being closed. Oil Minister Muinfar stated that Iran would not nationalize the joint Japanese-Iranian petrochemical project and warned countries that cooperated with the American economic sanctions that Iran would cut off their oil.

JANUARY 30, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

A State Department spokesman said that the United States supports any initiative that could lead to the release of the hostages, including the U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim's mediation efforts now going on in New York. In a carefully worded statement, Hadding Carter said the United States would cooperate with the international investigation that would begin after the International Red Cross took custody of the hostages in Tehran, which appeared to differ from previous U.S. statements that the United States would not cooperate with any efforts until after the hostages were released.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh called the Canadian actions to smuggle



American diplomats out of Tehran "espionage" and said that the Canadian actions violated international law. Ghotbzadeh said that Canada would pay for its "duplicity." He also stated that a "third party" had informed him that Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark apologized to Iran for the diplomat smuggling scheme, which Clark approved in the hope that it would help the Canadian's election campaign, a charge which Clark immediately denied. The people holding the embassy questioned the Iranian Foreign Ministry's efficiency because the Foreign Ministry apparently did not know how many Canadian diplomats were in Iran. Ghotbzadeh said that the Canadian affair was the fault of the security forces, not the Foreign Ministry. The "students" pledged not to harm the hostages in retaliation for the Canadian escape.

Tehran radio reported heavy fighting between rival Kurdish political parties. Baghdad radio said the fighting was between the Kurds and the Revolutionary Guards. Another Tehran radio broadcast said there was fighting between the Revolutionary Guards and local people in the area around the city of Kermanshah. The Revolutionary Council warned the people of Tehran not to participate in demonstrations and civic disruptions, perhaps referring to a "sit-in" at the government education and training offices staged by unemployed workers.

Ayatollah Khomeini, acting under his constitutional authority, approved the election of Abdolhassan Bani Sadr as president of Iran.

The Agriculture Ministry issued ration cards for meat purchases for the people of Tehran; meat shortages have been driving prices up and causing hoarding.

Radio Tehran said China had agreed to maintain normal economic and commercial relations with Iran and would not participate in economic sanctions.

JANUARY 31, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals voted 5 to 14 not to reconsider an earlier ruling that upheld the President's authority to review Iranian student visas. A lawyer for the Iranian students said they would appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Tehran radio reported fighting between Revolutionary Guards and Bakhtiari and Lur tribesmen in central Iran. Another report said the city of Pavah, near Kermanshah, was "under siege," and that the Revolutionary Guards had asked for help from other Guard units. Fighting between the Revolutionary Guards and the Kurds continued, and new fighting broke out between the Revolutionary Guards and the Azerbaijanis. An unidentified group attacked a Mujahidun e-Kalk (a very conservative Islamic guerrilla group) rally at Tehran University. Revolutionary Council spokesman Ezzatollah Sahabi said the Kurdish disturbance was minor and that the Revolutionary Guards were restoring order, and that the city of Sanandaj was "back to normal" after the guards pulled out yesterday. However, Sahabi said the guards would remain at "key" points, such as the radio station and the airport. Interior Minister Rafsanjani said demonstrations and marches would need Interior Ministry permits in the future. Tehran radio reported that the government would investigate the Bakhtiari and Lur disturbances.

The "students" at the embassy said they would obey an order from Ayatollah Khomeini to release the hostages, but that they would not obey a similar order from president-elect Bani Sadr.

The Revolutionary Council announced that food stamps would be issued to low-income government workers.

Bani Sadr sent a message to Ayatollah Khomeini, who runs the state radio and television, congratulating him on the "purge" of "saboteurs" in the state broadcasting agency who were spreading false stories and denying the people the truth.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark was a "liar" for denying that Clark had sent a message to Iran stating that the escape of the six Americans was a campaign stunt intended to help Clark in the election. President Carter, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Senate praised Clark, Canadian Ambassador to Iran Kenneth Taylor, and all Canadians for helping the six escape.

FEBRUARY 1, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The Swedish government refused to comment on a story appearing in a Swedish newspaper that one of the six Americans smuggled out of Iran last Monday had been protected by the Swedish embassy in Tehran until the last day before the escape.

A Soviet radio broadcast called the Canadian involvement in the diplomatic escape "far from courteous" and a violation of international law. The National Voice of Iran, the Soviet-operated radio station which beams its broadcasts into Iran, said that Iran should cooperate with the new Afghan regime in its fight against imperialism.

Iranian Oil Minister Munifar announced that two oil pipelines about 40 miles from Ahwaz, in Khuzestan province, were sabotaged. He also announced that Iranian crude oil prices would be raised by \$2.50 per barrel, up to \$31 for Iranian light crude.

FEBRUARY 2, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The Iranian news agency Pars reported that a "special delegation" from the United States would arrive in Iran shortly at the invitation of the "students" at the embassy to discuss what the "students" call the "Khomeini plan" for the release of the hostages.

Bani Sadr called upon the United States to "block the wealth" of the Shah and his family to allow the Shah's extradition proceedings to enter a "more serious phase." The report by a French news agency quoted Bani Sadr as saying that a U.S. freeze on the Shah's money would be a gesture of good will. The report also said that Bani Sadr would be sworn in as Iran's first president on Monday, Feb. 4, by Ayatollah Khomeini in his hospital room, and that Bani Sadr had not decided whether to form a government before the Majlis

was elected (the Majlis must approve the government under the new constitution) or to allow the Revolutionary Council to continue to run the country until after the Majlis election.

Reuters reported that fighting between the Kurds and the Revolutionary Guards was continuing.

The Ministry of National Guidance complained that "unauthorized" American journalists were sneaking into Iran and resuming their reports.

Khomeini's doctors said the 79-year-old Ayatollah would remain in the hospital for "one, two, or three" more weeks. Khomeini entered the hospital two weeks ago for a two-week stay.

The intruders at the U.S. Embassy called for a mass march on the embassy to celebrate Muhammad's birth on Monday, Feb. 4, but later cancelled the march because it conflicted with other celebrations.

A report from Damascus, Syria, said 70 Iranian "volunteers" had returned to Iran and that the other 223 "volunteers" were still in Syria. The Iranians had arrived one month ago to join the Palestine Liberation Organization's war against Israel in southern Lebanon.

An Iranian Oil Ministry delegation is to visit the Soviet Union to discuss the price of gas shipped from Iran to the Soviet Union via pipeline. According to one report, the Iranians want to quadruple the price.

FEBRUARY 3, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Muhammad Hassanian Haykal, the Egyptian journalist, wrote in an article in the Sunday Times of London that President Carter had contacted Bani Sadr and Khomeini to tell them that the United States had changed its attitude about Iran since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, to urge that the hostages be released so that the United States and Iran could reconsider their relations in light of the Soviet presence, to offer renewed U.S. assistance to Iran, including spare parts for Iran's military equipment, and to reaffirm that Iran's security was vital to the West. According to Haykal, Carter offered to give public assurances that the United States would not retaliate against Iran if the hostages were released unharmed. Haykal said the United States agreed to the "package deal" rumored to be under consideration at the United Nations, but that Iran and the United States had not agreed on the composition of the international tribunal. [The "package deal" supposedly calls for a third party -- the Swiss, according to Haykal -- to take custody of the hostages while an international tribunal meets in Tehran to investigate Iranian charges against the Shah.]

U.S. State Department officials responded cautiously to the reports that the "package deal" was accepted and would neither confirm nor deny the story. U.N. officials said the Iranian acceptance of the international commission to investigate the Shah was a hopeful sign.

Baghdad radio reported that the Kurds had driven the Revolutionary Guards out of Sanandaj and were in control of the city. Tehran radio reported that Sanandaj was calm.

The "students" at the embassy issued another statement accusing the Iranian newspaper Bamdad of working for the CIA. Bamdad did not publish its regular morning edition after the accusation. Bamdad is the only morning paper in Tehran not under the control of the clergy.

Tehran radio said Bani Sadr would be sworn in as president on Feb. 4.

FEBRUARY 4, 1980 -- MONDAY

The State Department would not confirm a story that former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young was enroute to Tehran to take part in negotiations over the hostages.

Abdolhassan Bani Sadr was sworn in as Iran's first president by Ayatollah Khomeini in the hospital waiting room. Bani Sadr will form a government after the election of the 270-seat Majlis in late February or early March. Khomeini issued a statement which said Iran would give "all necessary aid" to Afghanistan and which condemned the occupation of Afghanistan although it did not mention the Soviet Union. Khomeini also condemned Israel and the United States.

The "students" at the embassy issued a statement, repeating earlier statements, that the Shah and his money must be returned to Iran before the hostages would be released. The embassy intruders condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and said they supported the "revolution" underway in Saudi Arabia to overthrow the U.S. "puppet" regime. The "students" repeated their previous statements that they would take orders only from Khomeini and not from president Bani Sadr.

The London Times printed an interview with former Iranian Prime Minister Shapur Bakhtiar in which the Paris exile said he would return to Iran soon to "take up the struggle against Khomeini." Bakhtiar said he would rule Iran for 2 or 3 years before offering the people a choice between monarchy or republic, based on the 1906 constitution, but that the Shah would not return under any circumstances.

An explosion and fire damaged six oil and gas pipelines between the Aga Jari oil fields and the Abadan refinery. Iranian authorities did not say the pipelines had been sabotaged.

FEBRUARY 5, 1980 -- TUESDAY

President Carter said Andrew Young was on a personal visit to Iran and was not on an official mission. One unconfirmed report from the Middle East said Young stopped in Beirut to meet with PLO officials and that the PLO would accompany Young to Tehran to assist in the negotiations for the hostages' release.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the Revolutionary Council had decided to hold the international inquiry into the Shah's financial dealings and human rights violations. Ghotbzadeh did not mention the release of the hostages or the "package deal." Reuters news service reported that a group

of French lawyers arrived in Tehran to discuss arrangements for the international commission and that former Irish Foreign Minister, head of Amnesty International, and Nobel peace prize winner Sean MacBride would be the chairman of the commission.

Iranian news agency Pars announced that Bani Sadr would become the chairman of the Revolutionary Council. Hasan Habibi, Revolutionary Council spokesman, said the Majlis elections would begin March 7.

Muhammad Kho'ini resigned as head of Iranian radio and television, apparently after Bani Sadr's complaints about the way the presidential inauguration was broadcast. Bani Sadr had been in conflict with the state broadcasting agency for several months.

Iranian Oil Minister Muinfar said Iran would hold oil production at 3.5 million barrels per day and that no oil would be sold to nations that cooperated with the economic sanctions against Iran.

The Japanese news service Kyodo reported that Japan would not provide more capital for the completion of the Mitsui petrochemical project in Iran until the hostages were released.

Students and teachers clashed with Revolutionary Guards in the city of Mahavand in western Iran. The students and teachers staged a sit-in at the education ministry building.

FEBRUARY 6, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

An unofficial delegation of 50 Americans (one report said 46) arrived in Tehran at the invitation of the "students" holding the embassy for 70 days of discussions about Iran-American relations. A spokesman for Andrew Young reportedly said Young was not going to Iran, but was scheduled to go to Algeria.

Tehran radio reported that the Shah was under arrest in Panama, but had been released on bail and could not leave the country. One report from Panama said the Panamanian Foreign Minister confirmed the Shah's arrest and that he could not leave the country. President Royo later said the Shah was not under arrest, not out on bail, and was free to leave Panama at any time. The leader of the government of the Azores (a Portuguese possession) said the Shah would not be welcome in the Islands because the Shah's presence would create "international problems." Apparently, a mayor of an Azores town had invited the Shah to live there after stories circulated that the Shah would leave Panama for Portugal in the near future. A spokesman for the Shah said, "The Shah has no future plans."

The intruders at the American Embassy in Tehran accused National Guidance Minister Nasir Minashi of collaborating with the CIA. The Revolutionary Guards arrested Minashi and put him in a Tehran prison. President Bani Sadr ordered Minashi's release and denounced the "students" for "acting like a government." Bani Sadr also complained that the radio station had broadcast the "students'" charges against Minashi without clearing the broadcast with the proper authorities. Muhammad Kho'ini, a religious leader with close ties to the embassy intruders, had been head of the radio/television authority until his resignation yesterday. Today, the Ministry of Health and Social

Welfare published an appeal to Kho'ini to withdraw his resignation and return to the radio station. It appears as though Bani Sadr is challenging the "students" and their supporters, such as Kho'ini, for control over the hostages, and that Bani Sadr is trying to establish his authority in Iran. In another test of Bani Sadr's power, Ayatollah Beheshti, a spokesman for the Revolutionary Council often described as Khomeini's "mouthpiece," said yesterday that the Revolutionary Council would not be dissolved until after the Majlis election on Mar. 7, which suggested that Bani Sadr would not be able to form a government until after the elections, and would remain subordinate to the Revolutionary Council. Today, Beheshti reversed himself and said Bani Sadr could form an interim government to rule until the elections, and that Bani Sadr's interim government could rule alone or in cooperation with the Revolutionary Council, which suggested that Bani Sadr had the authority to overrule the Revolutionary Council.

Colonel Agdasi, head of the Ardebil Gendarmerie, was wounded in the second attempt on his life in three days. Ardebil is in Azerbaijan.

Kyodo, the Japanese news agency, reported that the hostages would not be released until after the Majlis election.

FEBRUARY 7, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The State Department announced that the economic sanctions against Iran would be "held in abeyance" while diplomatic negotiations at the United Nations continued. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher said there was no Iranian-American arrangement imminent, but that the situation was "promising."

Revolutionary Council spokesman Habibi announced that Bani Sadr had been named head of the Council after the Council decided to rule the country directly rather than form an interim government to rule until the Majlis is formed. Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani said the Council decided to stop allowing the "students" at the embassy to use the state radio and television to announce their "spy" charges. Both announcements appeared to bolster Bani Sadr's position, the first because he may be able to control his clerical opposition inside the Council, and the second because the "students'" autonomy will be reduced. At the embassy, the intruders refuted Bani Sadr's charge that they were trying to form a "government within a government."

The Joint Staff of the Armed Forces denied news stories that a purge was underway in the military.

Tehran radio reported that the Kurdish areas were calm and that the fighting had stopped.

Oil Minister Muinfar denied that there was a shortage of kerosene, but did admit that there were some "distribution problems."

Morteza Movvahedizadah, director of the State Trading Agency, said Iran purchased 75,000 tons of rice from Pakistan and Thailand and 450 tons of eggs from an unnamed source, and appealed to the people not to hoard food.

Reuters reported that New Zealand closed its embassy in Tehran and withdrew its diplomatic personnel. The New Zealand embassy was robbed on

Feb. 5.

FEBRUARY 8, 1980 -- FRIDAY

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said the United States was monitoring increasingly active Soviet troop movements along the Afghan-Iranian and Soviet-Iranian borders.

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the government would use force if necessary to seize the American Embassy from the "students" if the embassy intruders refused to accept government authority over the negotiations with the United States. Khomeini's son Ahmad, another religious leader Mehdi Jamarani, and the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Jerusalem, Hilarion Capucci, visited the hostages at the embassy and said they were all healthy. Capucci had been in an Israeli jail for 3 years for smuggling arms for the PLO.

Iranian Defense Minister Mustafa Shamran said the United States was behind the unrest and government opposition in Azerbaijan, Kurdish areas, and among the Arabs of Khuzestan. Shamran said the United States was trying to overthrow the Islamic Republic. The Soviet radio which broadcasts into Iran said the United States was planning a coup d'etat with supporters of the Shah.

Tehran radio reported disturbances in the city of Gonbad-e Kavus, in the Turkoman area.

FEBRUARY 9, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Iran's Foreign Ministry tried to tone down Ghotbzadeh's statement of yesterday that the government would use force if necessary to expell the "students" from the American Embassy. A spokesman said the word "force" was an arbitrary interpretation by journalists.

The Soviet news agency Tass commented that the U.S. Government created the story about the Soviet troop maneuvers along the Iranian border in order to hide its own aggressive intentions.

Tehran radio said Gonbad was calm and that the fighting had stopped.

Bani Sadr met with the ambassador from Algeria and a visiting Algerian delegation. Algeria has been mentioned as a possible guardian for the hostages during the early meetings of the tribunal in Tehran.

The Iranian newspaper Bamdad announced that it would resume publication on Monday following a report from the Revolutionary Prosecutor-General that the "students" charges that Bamdad was a CIA front were false.

FEBRUARY 10, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he had been misquoted on a London television report as saying the government would use force against the "students" if necessary. Ghotbzadeh said any conflicts between the "students" and the government would be resolved through discussions.

Fighting resumed in Gonbad. Tehran radio said the Fedayin-e Kalk, the secular leftist guerrilla group, was behind the disturbances.

An oil pipeline was sabotaged near the city of Behloran, in Ilam province.

FEBRUARY 11, 1980 -- MONDAY

In an interview published in the Paris newspaper Le Monde, Bani Sadr said the release of the hostages did not depend upon the convening of the international commission, but that Iran wanted "self criticism" from the United States admitting complicity in the Shah's "crimes." Bani Sadr also said the United States must recognize Iran's right to extradite the Shah and to reclaim the wealth the Shah supposedly took from Iran. The Department of State said the United States would not admit guilt in the Shah's "crimes." Bani Sadr stated that the government may place a "representative of the Iranian state" in the embassy to guard the hostages, which appeared to be another challenge to the "students" over who will control the hostages. The intruders at the embassy issued a statement which rejected Bani Sadr's authority over the hostages, saying that they took orders only from Ayatollah Khomeini, and that the hostages would be released only after the Shah and his money were returned to Iran. Elsewhere in the interview, Bani Sadr said he told the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan, that he may change the management of the Iranian broadcasting agency, and hinted that Ghotbzadeh may be asked to resign as Foreign Minister.

Ayatollah Khomeini issued a statement to celebrate the first anniversary of his return to Iran in which he said that Iran will establish "ordinary relations" with the United States at some future date. The celebration at which the Khomeini statement was read included an armed forces parade, the first such mass gathering of the military since the revolution last year.

Yasir Arafat of the PLO arrived in Tehran to join the anniversary celebrations. The PLO has been mentioned as a possible mediator in the current negotiations over the release of the hostages and the formation of the international tribunal.

Tehran radio said that 1,000 Iraqi-based supporters of the Shah attacked towns near Kermanshah, but were stopped by the local police and the Revolutionary Guards. Another report said Iraqis had attacked oil installations and government buildings in Khuzestan province. The fighting continued on Gonbad in the northeast Turkoman area.

FEBRUARY 12, 1980 -- TUESDAY

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said the Department would not comment on progress in the hostage release negotiations currently underway

because such comments only increased speculation and "rumors." Carter's announcement immediately aroused suspicion that his rejection yesterday of Bani Sadr's appeal for a U.S. admission of "guilt" in supporting the Shah was a mistake, and that the Administration may be considering a "self criticism" that Bani Sadr requested.

In Iran, Bani Sadr tried to clarify an impression created in the Le Monde interview that Iran no longer demanded the extradition of the Shah. Bani Sadr told a French television interviewer that Iran had not renounced its claim for the extradition of the Shah and his wealth, but that the release of the hostages was an issue that could be resolved separately. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said in an interview with the BBC that the Shah must be returned before the hostages could be released, and a few hours later told another interviewer that the convening of the international commission and the hostage release did not depend upon the Shah's extradition. The intruders holding the hostages at the embassy also changed their stance somewhat, saying that they would accept a compromise solution (presumably the "package deal") if Khomeini approved the plan and told them to release the hostages. Previously, the "students" said they would not release the hostages until the Shah and his money were returned to Iran.

Fighting in the Turkoman areas of northeastern Iran continued. Tehran radio said the Revolutionary Guards were in control of the city of Gonbad-e Kavus, but other reports said Gonbad was still held by the Turkoman rebels.

FEBRUARY 13, 1980 — TUESDAY

President Carter said at a press conference that the United States accepted the creation of an international commission with a "carefully defined purpose" to investigate the Shah's regime. Carter pointed to recent "positive signs" in negotiations with Iranian officials through the United Nations that could lead to a resolution of the hostage crisis with Iran, but because of the delicate nature of the negotiations, he would not comment further on the issue. The Department of State repeated its statement of yesterday that it would have no further comments on Iran until the hostage negotiations were completed.

In Iran, President Bani Sadr told a French radio interview that Ayatollah Khomeini had accepted an "action plan" for the resolution of the hostage issue, but would not elaborate on the plan. The "students" at the embassy said they did not believe that Khomeini had agreed to any plan because he had not told them about it, and would not take any steps without informing the "students" and getting their approval first. Ayatollah Beheshti, Revolutionary Council spokesman, said the hostage problem could be settled by the time the Majlis elections were held. Later, Interior Minister Rafsanjani announced that the election had been postponed one week until Mar. 14.

Ali Khamenei, a Revolutionary Council member, told the 50 Americans visiting Iran that the international tribunal would be similar to the "Russell court" (named after Bertrand Russell) that had "tried" the United States for its involvement in Vietnam.

Tehran radio reported that the city of Gonbad was "largely under the control of the Revolutionary Guards." There were reports of disturbances in Kermanshah.

Several leading members of the Freedom Movement Party, headed by former Prime Minister Bazargan, quit in an apparent split over party policy.

FEBRUARY 14, 1980 — THURSDAY

The White House said the hostages might be released in a "couple of weeks." Bani Sadr told an Italian news agency that the hostages could be released in 48 hours. Ghotbzadeh said at the Rome airport that the international commission could begin its work in about one week, and later told another press conference that the hostages could be released in a matter of hours or months. Ghotbzadeh then said in a French radio interview that he doubted that the hostages would be released before the Majlis elections set for Mar. 14. Bani Sadr was quoted as saying in another interview that, if complications arose, the release could take 2 months. Depending on which source one chooses to believe, the international commission may be sponsored by the United Nations or may be independent, may be composed of three, five, or seven people, may meet in Tehran or another location, such as Geneva, Paris, or the U.N. headquarters (Panama has been suggested, according to some reports), and may include representatives of Third World countries (Algeria, Bangladesh, Mexico, and Pakistan have been mentioned) or of internationally known figures, such as Sean MacBride, French jurist Louis Pettiti, or Ramsey Clark. Once the commission is formed and begins its deliberations, the hostages may be placed in the custody of the Red Cross or a neutral nation, such as Switzerland, or may be moved to a third country, such as Algeria. The hostages may be released when the commission is formed, after it begins its inquiry, or after the commission reports its findings, or their release may be unrelated to the commission. The hostages may or may not appear as witnesses before the tribunal. In short, a great deal of confusion surrounds the commission, the hostages, and the timing of events, some of it generated by the need for secrecy and some of it apparently resulting from shortcomings in communication, misinterpretations by the press, and "wishful thinking" by the primary actors.

To add to the existing confusion, Revolutionary Council spokesman Ayatollah Beheshti said there was no agreement within the Revolutionary Council on the hostage-commission situation, and that Bani Sadr was "expressing his personal opinions" and not those of the Council in his statements about the negotiations. The "students" at the embassy were quoted as saying that they "refuse any negotiations with America because that can only be a compromise" which will not result in the Shah being returned to Iran. They also said that Bani Sadr has no jurisdiction over the hostages.

Iran's Defense Minister Shamran said the United States threatened Iran in three ways: by military invasion, but that the Iranian people would defeat any such attack; by economic sanctions, but the Iranian people will make sacrifices to cope with food and military spare parts shortages; and by subversion. Shamran blamed the disturbances among the Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, and Arabs on the United States. Meanwhile, Tehran reported sporadic fighting in the Kurdish areas.

Oil Minister Muinfar announced that gas shipments to the Soviet Union would be reduced to between 25% and 30% of the current level of 27.4 million cubic meters per day and that the price had been increased from 76 cents up to \$3.80 per cubic foot.

Director Nobari of Iran's central bank said the United States must release assets of \$6 billion frozen by President Carter on Nov. 14, before the hostages would be released.

FEBRUARY 15, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The State Department said the hostages could be released in "five to seven" days if all went well, but that it more likely would be a "couple of weeks" before they are set free.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said in Rome that the hostages would be released after the international commission reported its findings, and said that U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim would name the members of the commission on Saturday or Sunday. Later, Ghotbzadeh went on to Paris where he was met by Christian Bourquet and Bertran Valette, two French lawyers reportedly involved in the negotiations over the hostages and the commission.

In a speech in Tehran, President Bani Sadr repeated his remarks that the United States should "condemn" its past involvement with the Shah, "guarantee" that it would not interfere in Iranian affairs in the future, and not try to prevent the prosecution of the Shah. Bani Sadr admitted that holding the hostages was a violation of rights but said the United States violated Iran's rights by cooperating with the Shah. The president said Iran and the United States could re-establish relations if the United States recognized Iran's independence. Bani Sadr also said the Soviet presence in Afghanistan was a threat to Iran and, in another point in his speech, said the Kurdish Democratic Party's demands for full autonomy over Kurdish affairs was unacceptable.

Tehran radio reported that the Turkoman areas in the northeast were calm.

FEBRUARY 16, 1980 -- SATURDAY

In an interview, President Carter said the United States "regrets" any misunderstandings with Iran and looks forward to establishing "normal" relations with Iran in the future. Carter's statement could be interpreted as a response to Bani Sadr's appeal for an American confession of guilt in cooperation with the Shah.

It was reported in New York that the United Nations had delayed naming the members of the commission until Iran set a date for the release of the hostages.

An unconfirmed story from Panama said White House assistant Hamilton Jordan was involved in secret negotiations with Panamanian officials and representatives of the Shah for the Shah to admit guilt to the charges to be brought before the international commission. Supposedly, the Shah's statement would lead to the release of the hostages.

Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman Salami said the commission would arrive in Tehran in "three or four" days and that the commission might include Sean

MacBride as its chairman, Algerian U.N. delegate Muhammad Bedjaoui, former Bangladesh president Abu Said Choudhouri, French jurist Louis Pettiti, Syrian Foreign Affairs Advisor Adib Dawud, and former Venezuelan ambassador to the United States Andres Aguilar.

In Paris, Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the commission would begin its deliberations in Tehran but might move to Paris or elsewhere to hear evidence. Ghotbzadeh said the hostages might appear as witnesses and cautioned against "false hopes" of a quick release, adding two new conditions to be met before the hostages would be released: the United States must drop the economic sanctions against Iran and release Iranian bank accounts. The Foreign Minister told a French interviewer that Iran would withdraw its 10% interest in Eurodif, the uranium enrichment project.

President Bani Sadr told a Greek television interviewer that the hostages would be released after the commission reported its findings and after the United States met Iran's conditions: an admission of guilt, recognition of Iran's right to return the Shah and his wealth to Iran, and a promise not to interfere in Iran's affairs in the future. Bani Sadr also said the "students" should return to their classes and not interfere in the government's handling of the hostage problem. The President denied a story that he had sent an army unit to occupy the U.S. Embassy.

The delegation of 50 Americans invited to Iran by the "students"

FEBRUARY 17, 1980 -- SUNDAY

An unconfirmed report from Panama said the Shah would leave Contadora Island for an undisclosed country as soon as the hostages were released.

Iran's President Bani Sadr told a group of air force personnel sitting-in at Tehran University that if they did not stop their protest, they would be dismissed from the armed forces and put on trial. The airmen want Islamic councils created in all the armed forces branches and a "purge" of non-revolutionary officers.

Iran's Oil Minister Munifar said oil production would be held to 3.5 million barrels per day for the future.

FEBRUARY 18, 1980 -- MONDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim named the five-man commission that is to hear the charges against the Shah: Bedjaoui of Algeria, Pettiti of France, Aguilar of Venezuela, Dawud of Syria, and Hector Wilfred Jayewardene, a jurist from Sri Lanka. The five are to hold an organizational meeting in Geneva before proceeding to Tehran on Feb. 20. The U.N. commission will wait for a formal written acceptance from Iran before beginning its work.

In Tehran, Revolutionary Council spokesman Habibi said the commission is not necessarily connected to the release of the hostages, which will depend upon the United States meeting the conditions set by President Bani Sadr and not on the report of the commission. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he

doubted that the hostages would be released in 2 weeks, and said the commission was limited to 15 days of hearings. He repeated that the hostages may be called as witnesses before the commission.

The air force personnel ended their 7-day sit-in at Tehran University.

FEBRUARY 19, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The White House and Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh both denied that presidential aide Hamilton Jordan and Ghotbzadeh met in Paris to negotiate the release of the hostages. White House spokesman Jody Powell did say that Jordan had been involved in other phases of the negotiations.

There were two other unconfirmed stories, one in Iran that Presidential advisor Brzezinski had made a secret trip to Iraq to discuss an American-Iraqi alliance against Iran, and one in Moscow that the United States and Paraguay had reached an agreement that the Shah could move to Paraguay if Panama accepted Iran's extradition request.

Iranian President Bani Sadr announced that he, the Revolutionary Council, and Ayatollah Khomeini had approved the commission and that he had sent a telegram to Waldheim inviting the commission to Tehran to begin its investigation. In Vienna, Waldheim said that the hostages would be released 2 weeks after the commission began its meetings in Tehran, but Ghotbzadeh said that Iran had not agreed to release the hostages in two weeks. The Foreign Minister said that the hostages release and the commission's work were unrelated. Andres Aguilar, co-chairman of the commission, said that the commission would not release a report until Iran made a commitment to release the hostages. Meanwhile, commission members began arriving in Geneva enroute to Tehran, where they are expected to arrive on Thursday to begin their deliberations. It is not clear just what the commission will do in Tehran; hold open or closed hearings, accept testimony, gather documentary evidence, question witnesses, visit sites, publish its findings, issue a final report, act as a group or individually, or act as a U.N. body or independently. Another unanswered question is: What happens if the commission issues a final report that is unacceptable to Iran or the United States?

Khomeini issued a statement that Bani Sadr would "represent" the Ayatollah as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The appointment reopened speculation that Bani Sadr would send the army to take custody of the hostages. Khomeini also appointed six members to the quasi-judicial Constitutional Guardian Council, Ayatollahs Mahdavi-Kani, Rabbani-Shirazi, Safi, Rezvani, Jannati, and Sani. The Majlis, once elected, will appoint the other six members, whose duty it will be to ensure that laws passed by the Majlis do not violate Islamic laws or principles.

It was reported in Iran that army and Revolutionary Guards used tanks and F-4 "Phantom" jet fighters against Kurdish strongholds along the Sanadaj-Kamarian road.

Australia sold 450,000 tons of wheat to Iran, for delivery between March and July 1980.

FEBRUARY 20, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The White House issued a statement welcoming the appointment of the U.N.-sponsored commission which the White House said would "explore" U.S. grievances against Iran. Iranian President Bani Sadr's telegram to U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim accepting the commission called it a "court of inquiry" that would "investigate" U.S. intervention into Iran's internal affairs as well as the "crimes" of the Shah. Later, Waldheim issued a statement in which he said the commission would "undertake a fact finding mission" to hear Iranian grievances and to "allow an early solution to the crisis." The three different descriptions of the commission as an exploratory group, a fact finding mission, or a court of inquiry may reflect three different interpretations of what the commission is supposed to be and how it is supposed to conduct its business.

To compound the uncertainty over the commission, Revolutionary Council spokesman Habibi said the work of the commission was not linked to the release of the hostages. Aguilar and Bedjaoui, co-chairmen of the commission, said they expected to receive a commitment from Iran to release the hostages within one week after the commission begins its work in Tehran. Waldheim said there was no deadline for releasing the hostages, and added that the hostages would be "interviewed" by the commission. The "students" at the embassy said the commission was not competent to deal with the hostage situation and that they would oppose any attempts to raise the hostage question during the commission's sitting. So, there appears to be different interpretations of the connection, if any, between the hostages and the commission.

In addition, Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh announced that Iran needed more time to make arrangements for the commission and asked for a 3-day delay. Commission members, already at the airport in Geneva, postponed their trip to Tehran until the weekend. When asked if the commission's meetings would be open or closed, who would represent Iran before the commission, when the commission would begin, and other similar questions, Ghotbzadeh said such issues would be decided after the commission arrived in Tehran. Meanwhile, rumors continued to circulate in Tehran that the Iranian army and the International Red Cross would take custody of the hostages when the commission began its meetings.

Intruders at the embassy released more documents which they claimed proved that Victor Tomseth, one of three Americans held at the Foreign Ministry, was in contact with Forgan, the left-wing guerrilla group that reportedly has assassinated several Iranian religious leaders.

Iran prohibited foreign journalists from traveling in Khorasan, Sistan, and Baluchistan provinces.

FEBRUARY 21, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Members of the international commission visited the headquarters of the U.N. human rights group, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva to study documents relating to the Shah's reign in Iran. In Iran, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the commission would arrive in Tehran "early next week." Yesterday, Ghotbzadeh



said the commission would arrive over the weekend, but it was not known if the Foreign Minister's comment amounted to another postponement for the commission or if it was just an innocent slip of the tongue. Another news story speculated that the delay in the commission's arrival in Tehran was to give Bani Sadr time to prepare Iranian public opinion for the release of the hostages. Commission co-chairman Bedjaoui left Geneva for New York, according to one report, to discuss the commission's mandate with Waldheim, and, according to another report, to conduct some routine Algerian business at the U.N.

The "students" at the embassy said there would be no "clemency" for the hostages until the Shah and his assets were returned to Iran. The "students" apparently hardened their position after a statement issued by Khomeini calling for a national mobilization of all Iranians praised the "students" for their devotion to Islam and endorsed the demand for the return of the Shah and his wealth. Ghotbzadeh said that Iran had stated from the beginning of the negotiations over the commission that there would be no connection between the commission's work and the release of the hostages and that there should be no confusion in anyone's mind over the issue. Iran made no promises to release the hostages, Ghotbzadeh said. President Bani Sadr repeated his numerous earlier statements that Iran was determined to return the Shah and his wealth to Iran and put the Shah on trial, but the President did not mention any connection between the commission, the hostages, and the Shah's extradition.

Right wing fundamentalists clashed with members of the Mujahedin-e Kalk (the Islamic leftists) at a Mujahedin rally at Tehran University.

The Iranian Interior Minister issued a notification that all public rallies would need Ministry approval in the future.

Tehran radio reported that Switzerland had refused to give political asylum to the Shah.

FEBRUARY 22, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Commission members Aguilar, Jayawardene, and Dawud met with representatives of Pax Romana and Amnesty International, organizations involved in international human rights affairs. After meeting with Waldheim in New York, Bedjaoui said there were no problems or misunderstandings about the commission's work. It was announced that the commission would leave for Tehran on Saturday, Feb. 23.

Tehran radio and other sources reported clashes between members of the Mujahedin-e Kalk and right-wing Khomeini supporters in the cities of Shiraz, Tehran, Sari, Tabriz, Bushehr, Urmieh, and Ardebil. The Mujahedin are opposed to the Majlis elections scheduled for Mar. 14.

Doctors attending Khomeini said he would remain in the hospital for the near future. Khomeini had been scheduled to leave the hospital today.

FEBRUARY 23, 1980 -- SATURDAY

In a message issued from his hospital, Ayatollah Khomeini stated that the "representatives of the people" in the "Consultative Assembly" (presumably the Majlis) should decide on the release of the hostages and any "concessions they should obtain" for the release. The Majlis, or parliament, election is scheduled for Mar. 14, with a second round run-off election scheduled 3 weeks later. If the elections proceed as scheduled (the first round has been postponed once already, from Mar. 7 to 14), it is unlikely that the Majlis would meet before the middle of April at the earliest, and could take a week or two to get itself organized before addressing the question of the hostages, presuming the hostage problem was its first priority. The embassy intruders holding the hostages held a spontaneous celebration after hearing the Khomeini message. Khomeini also said President Bani Sadr and the Revolutionary Council should continue their efforts to return the Shah and his money to Iran, although the Ayatollah did not link the return of the Shah to the hostage release.

The U.N.-sponsored international commission arrived in Tehran. An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman said the commission would hold private, not public, hearings. Tehran radio issued a plea for all Iranians who had been tortured or injured by the Shah's regime to come to Tehran to appear before the commission.

An explosion ruptured the gas pipeline from Iran to the Soviet Union.

Khomeini appointed Ayatollah Beheshti to the post of President of the Supreme Court.

The Justice Minister of Panama said his office had not received a request from Iran for the extradition of the Shah, and that such a request, if made, was being held by the Panamanian Foreign Ministry.

There were reports in Iran that Bani Sadr would change some of the "portfolios" in his "cabinet," particularly Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh.

FEBRUARY 24, 1980 -- SUNDAY

President Carter said "progress is being made" in the "sensitive and delicate" negotiations with Iran for the release of the hostages, and cautioned against becoming pessimistic over Khomeini's statement that the hostages would not be released until the parliament meets in April. State Department spokesman said Khomeini's statement was subject to interpretation, suggesting that the Ayatollah's statement that the hostage problem would be resolved by the parliament might have been made for Iranian consumption rather than as a definitive last word.

An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman said the international commission would not see the hostages, but later changed the statement to say that the commission did not see the three Americans being held at the Foreign Ministry. The "students" at the embassy said the commission was not concerned with the hostages and would not see them. Bani Sadr said the commission members would be "able to see the hostages" if they wanted to. Revolutionary Council spokesman Habibi said the commission may take testimony from the hostages.



Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh denied that he would resign his post.

There were disturbances reported in Khorramabad in Luristan province. Supposedly, the Revolutionary Guards in the area called for reinforcements.

FEBRUARY 25, 1980 -- MONDAY

In a speech at the U.S. Embassy ending "mobilization week," Iranian President Bani Sadr called the "students" holding the hostages "young patriots," but cautioned them to obey the government. Bani Sadr did not mention the hostages or the international commission in his statement.

The international commission continued its meetings with Iranian jurists and human rights activists. Khomeini repeated his call for "invalids" crippled by the Shah's regime to travel to Tehran to appear before the commission. A commentary broadcast over Tehran radio said Iran's accepting the international commission proved that Iran upheld international law and that the seizure of the embassy was legal.

Admiral Majmud Alavi, commander of the Iranian navy since Admiral Madani resigned to run (unsuccessfully) for President, was arrested on charges that he was cooperating with the United States and that he had helped members of the Shah's regime escape from Iran.

Tehran radio said Iran would not withdraw its investment in Eurodif, the cooperative uranium enriching venture. (On Feb. 16, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said Iran would withdraw its 10% interest in Eurodif.)

FEBRUARY 26, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The international commission heard testimony from Iran's central bank director Nobari, who later told reporters that the Shah had embezzled \$7 billion from the country. The commission then interviewed 140 people who said they were "victims" of torture and brutality under the Shah's regime. Another 100 "victims" were waiting to see the commission at the U.N. building in Tehran when the commission ended its hearings for the day. The "Khomeini Welfare Committee," which is in charge of the witnesses, complained to the commission that future hearings should be held in the National Assembly building and made public. An unconfirmed report from Paris stated that the commission may end its Tehran investigation on Sunday, Mar. 2, and return to Geneva. When the commission arrived in Tehran on Feb. 23, it was expected to remain until Mar. 8.

The Revolutionary Council announced that it may allow certain American journalists to return to Iran if the Iranian embassy in Washington verifies that they are impartial.

Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani resigned as supervisor of the Interior Ministry to run for the Majlis. Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani was named to take Rafsanjani's place.

Unemployed workers and students demonstrated in Ahwaz and Bandar Abbas.

Columnists Evans and Novak reported in the Washington Post that there was no "gentleman's agreement" to free the hostages in exchange for the international commission meetings in Tehran, and that the Carter administration accepted the commission in the hope that the Iranians would reciprocate America's act of good faith by releasing the hostages.

FEBRUARY 27, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti, spokesman for the Revolutionary Council, said it would be 10 weeks before the Majlis could begin considering the hostage problem, and that there was no way to judge how long the Majlis would take to reach a decision. Beheshti also said Ayatollah Khomeini could decide the hostage issue himself.

The people holding the hostages at the embassy repeated their statement that the commission would not be allowed to visit the hostages. A spokesman for the international commission denied the story out of Paris that the commission would leave Iran on Mar. 2 or 3.

In an interview, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said there was no connection between the hostages and the commission or between the commission and Iran's attempts to extradite the Shah from Panama. Ghotbzadeh said the Shah may stand trial in Panama.

A group calling itself the "Association of Afghan Students in Iran" seized the Afghan embassy in Tehran to protest the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The group left the embassy after several hours.

FEBRUARY 28, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The international commission visited the Shah's palaces, the "martyrs" cemetery where people killed opposing the Shah are buried, and Evin prison. Commission member Pettiti complained that the commission had "more important work to do" than visit palaces of the Shah. Co-chairman Andres Aguilar of Venezuela left Tehran on a previously scheduled trip and is to return to Iran on Sunday. The commission met with a group of some 1,500 "victims" of the Shah and expressed sympathy for the injured and admiration for the revolution. Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he was in contact with the intruders at the embassy trying to arrange for the commission to visit the American hostages. The "students" issued a statement that no decision on the commission visit had been made. Ghotbzadeh said a commission visit with the hostages was on the "agenda."

Ayatollah Beheshti repeated his prediction that the Majlis would not take up the hostage issue, which Beheshti said was of "small importance," until May at the earliest. In Washington, the Administration remained silent on Khomeini's announcement that the Majlis would decide the fate of the hostages and the Beheshti statement that it would be May before the Majlis began its considerations, although Secretary of State Vance said the United States believes sending the commission to Tehran would lead to the "speedy release" of the hostages. Officials at the U.N. maintained that there was an

agreement to release the hostages once the commission began its work in Tehran.

FEBRUARY 29, 1980 -- FRIDAY

White House spokesman Jody Powell cautioned against believing everything that is reported from Iran and against being caught on an emotional roller coaster with wide swings between optimism and pessimism. Officials at the U.N. said patience was needed in pursuing a resolution to the Iran crisis.

Revolutionary Council member Rafsanjani was quoted by Tehran radio as saying the international commission was on its way to the American Embassy to meet the hostages. Later Tehran radio reported that negotiations between the Foreign Minister and the intruders at the embassy were still underway. The "students" at the embassy told the BBC that the commission would not meet with the hostages, and Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told the BBC that the commission would visit the embassy and the hostages shortly. Revolutionary Council spokesman Habibi told the BBC that the commission would visit the hostages "soon" to hear testimony on the "crimes" of the Shah and the United States. A spokesman for Ayatollah Khomeini later said the "students" had agreed to allow the commission to visit the embassy. By the end of the day, it was clear that the commission had not met with the hostages and that the predictable levels of confusion were continuing.

Iran's public prosecutor issued a statement saying that an attempted coup against Khomeini had been foiled. According to the prosecutor, an unidentified group had planned to seize the hospital compound where Khomeini is recuperating.

# BACKGROUND

MARCH 1, 1980 -- SATURDAY

While the international commission met with university professors to discuss human rights violations under the Shah's regime, negotiations continued between the commission and the foreign ministry and between the foreign ministry and the intruders at the embassy to arrange the commission's visit with the hostages. A Czech news agency reported that the "students" had approved the commission's visit, which would take place "today or tomorrow," while a French news agency reported that the "students" had not decided whether to allow the commission into the embassy to see the hostages. Another report said Ghotbzadeh was trying to get Khomeini's approval for a visit.

Tehran radio reported that two MiGs and two helicopters overflew Iran from Afghanistan on Feb. 23.

MARCH 2, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Revolutionary Council spokesman Hasan Habibi said the Revolutionary Council would decide "perhaps on Tuesday" if the international commission would be allowed to visit the hostages. Later, Habibi said there were "no obstacles" to a visit. A member of the international commission was quoted as saying that the commission would visit the embassy to see the hostages on Mar. 3.

"Students" at the embassy released documents they said proved that the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was involved in a counterfeiting scheme. Supposedly, the United States was going to use counterfeit money to bribe anti-revolutionary groups.

Ayatollah Khomeini left the hospital for a house in Tehran.

Revolutionary Guards in Kermanshah province asked for assistance in combatting "counterrevolutionaries" aided by the United States. Tehran radio reported that Kurdish saboteurs blew up a radio-television tower near Parvaz. The state broadcasting agency also reported that the United States, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia had agreed to jam Iran's Arabic language broadcasts and that the United States would launch a satellite for the jamming.

Iranian and Japanese officials reopened construction of the petrochemical plant near Bandar Khomeini (formerly Bandar Shah).

MARCH 3, 1980 -- MONDAY

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told the international commission that the Revolutionary Council approved the commission's meeting with the hostages

at the American Embassy. Revolutionary Council member Rafsanjani said over Tehran radio that the hostages had agreed to give testimony to the commission in a meeting that is to be arranged "soon." Rafsanjani also said he believed the commission's work would produce a satisfactory outcome. In an interview published by the German magazine Stern, President Bani Sadr said once the conditions for the extradition of the Shah were fulfilled, he, with the authority and power of the President, would take responsibility for the hostages.

"Students" at the embassy interviewed by Der Spiegel said the Shah and his money must be returned to Iran before the hostages could be released. But the "student" then added that the decision to release the hostages was up to the people of Iran, presumably meaning the Majlis, or to the Ayatollah Khomeini who represents the people.

The Foreign Ministry received a request from the prosecutor general of Iran to hand over one of the hostages being detained at the Ministry (presumably Victor Towse) for trial as a "spy" linked to the Forqan group accused of assassinating Iranian religious figures. Seven Forqan members were executed today.

Four of the five members of the supervisory council of Iranian radio and television resigned to allow the appointment of the three-person panel that is to replace them under the constitution. The fifth member who did not resign is Ayatollah Khomeini's personal appointee.

The Governor of Tabriz banned all outdoor public meetings until further notice. Political parties wishing to hold indoor meetings must get a permit.

Baghdad radio reported that the number of Arab attacks, assassinations, and bombings against Khomeini supporters in Khuzestan province had increased over the past two weeks.

MARCH 4, 1980 — TUESDAY

A statement by the "students" read over Tehran radio, after a meeting with two of the embassy intruders and Bani Sadr, Ghotbzadeh, Rafsanjani, and two other Revolutionary Council members, said that no agreement was reached on whether the commission would visit the hostages. The "students" said Ghotbzadeh had stated that the Revolutionary Council and Ayatollah Khomeini had agreed to allow the commission to see the hostages as part of the deal arranged through U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim. The "students" also quoted Ghotbzadeh as saying that the United States played no role in selecting the members of the commission. The "students" then outlined the proposal they offered to the Revolutionary Council: that the international commission could see "a number of the hostages as living evidence of crimes" of the Shah and the United States (presumably, the hostages would be witnesses before the commission); then the commission would submit its report to the United Nations; and, after the United Nations and Iran accepted the report, the commission would be invited to return to Iran to visit the hostages to check on their health. According to the "students," President Bani Sadr rejected the intruders' plan.

Revolutionary Council member Rafsanjani was reported by Reuters to have said that if the international commission agreed to take testimony from the

hostages, the Revolutionary Council would permit the commission to see the hostages. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, according to Reuters, said the commission would see the hostages without any conditions. The "students" then issued another statement that said a commission meeting with the hostages was contradictory to Khomeini's statement that the people (meaning the Majlis) would decide the fate of the hostages, but that the intruders at the embassy would cooperate with the commission by providing "evidence" which they said could be an interrogation of witnesses (which appeared to mean the hostages).

Finally, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the Revolutionary Council and Ayatollah Khomeini had approved a meeting between the commission and the hostages. At day's end, the commission had not met with the hostages and it was not known when or if it would.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh released a statement that said the prosecutor general's request to take custody of Victor Towse from the Foreign Ministry for an appearance at the trial of Forqan members would be passed on to Khomeini and the Revolutionary Council for a decision.

President Bani Sadr denied the story which appeared in Stern yesterday that he said he would use the power of the presidency to take custody of the hostages.

4,000 steel workers ended their 56-day strike for job security and higher wages. The Iranian government granted the workers' back pay and gave them all civil service status.

Tehran radio reported skirmishes between Iranian and Iraqi forces along the border near Kermanshah. There were also incidents between the Revolutionary Guards and Kurds in the city of Sardasht.

MARCH 5, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

Tehran radio again quoted Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh as saying that the commission would see all the hostages "in the near future." Ghotbzadeh repeated his previous statement that Iran did not make a written commitment to the United Nations to allow the visit. Ayatollah Beheshti stated that the Revolutionary Council was still discussing the possible visit with the hostages and that an announcement would be made after the Council decided where, when, and under what conditions the commission would see the hostages.

Associated Press reported that the Iranian government gave to the international commission documents which demonstrated that American officials and others were involved in questionable business practices, including "bribery and favoritism," with the Shah's government. Reportedly, the list includes former President Gerald Ford, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, former Vice President Spiro Agnew, former Congressman and Mayor of New York John Lindsey, and Chase Manhattan Bank President David Rockefeller. The documents have not been made public.

The lawyer representing Iran in Panama said Panama would extradite the Shah if the Iranian government promised there would be no death penalty. The lawyer said the Shah will be arrested "next week." Another report from Panama said the Shah rented a house in Panama City for one year.

The Tudeh Party (Communist) said it would take part in the Majlis election scheduled for Mar. 14.

MARCH 6, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Tehran radio broadcast a statement by the "students" in the American Embassy in which they announced that they would give custody of the hostages to the Revolutionary Council. The "students'" statement said they did not agree with the Iranian government accepting the international commission's demands to see the hostages because the commission was under U.S. influence. The Revolutionary Council may do with the hostages whatever it deems appropriate, according to the "students."

Prior to the Tehran radio broadcast of the "students'" statement, a French news agency reported that the international commission would leave Tehran today without seeing the hostages, but that the commission might return after the Majlis elections in mid-March. A few moments later, Reuters reported from Tehran that the commission had postponed its departure after assurances from Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh that the commission members might see the hostages after all. According to Reuters, Ghotbzadeh said the commission would remain in Tehran for "two or three" more days.

The White House and the State Department cautioned against optimism at the "students'" statement. Secretary Vance told reporters the United States would wait to see what developed.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh emerged from a Revolutionary Council meeting to say that the Council had accepted the "students'" decision, that the Council would take custody of the hostages, but added that the Council would form a committee to work out the details of the transfer of the hostages from the embassy to some other location. (In a follow-up announcement, the "students" stated that the hostages would leave the embassy, but that the "students" would remain because they still had "work to do" there.) Ghotbzadeh reaffirmed that the international commission would remain in Iran and would see the hostages, but could not say when.

President Bani Sadr told the French news agency that the commission would see the hostages, and added that the commission "should" ask for testimony on the "crimes" of the Shah and the United States. Bani Sadr's statement, albeit in translation, suggested that it was the commission's choice whether to treat the hostages as witnesses in its investigation, if and when the commission sees the hostages. Bani Sadr repeated his three conditions for "normalizing" relations with the United States: that the United States admit its guilt in supporting the Shah, that the United States promise not to interfere in Iranian affairs in the future, and that the United States should not oppose the extradition of the Shah and the return of the Shah's money. He added, however, that the normalization of relations between the United States and Iran had nothing to do with the release of the hostages.

Apparently, the "student" announcement to turn the hostages over to the Revolutionary Council surprised the U.S. Government, the Iranian government, and the Revolutionary Council. Bani Sadr met with Khomeini early in the morning, apparently to discuss the commission visit, and Khomeini's son Ahmad, a frequent contact with the embassy intruders, paid a visit to the

embassy before the late morning "student" announcement, supposedly to seek a commitment on a commission visit to the hostages. It was after Ahmad Khomeini's visit that Ghotbzadeh convinced the commission to postpone its departure for New York. Observers in New York and Tehran speculated that the "students" were told that Khomeini and the Revolutionary Council approved the commission visit, and rather than "lose face" by bowing to pressure and sacrificing their principles, the "students" decided to surrender the hostages to the Revolutionary Council.

Meanwhile, President Bani Sadr added another note of optimism when he told an interviewer that Ayatollah Khomeini's statement that the Majlis would decide the fate of the hostages was the current Iranian government policy, but might not be the policy in the future.

A crowd gathered at the embassy chanting slogans in praise of the "students" and telling the intruders not to surrender the hostages to the Revolutionary Council.

MARCH 7, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the Revolutionary Council would take custody of the hostages and the American Embassy tomorrow, Mar. 8. The intruders in the embassy had said that they would turn the hostages over to the Revolutionary Council, but that they would remain in the embassy. The "students" added that they wanted to meet with members of the Revolutionary Council before the hostage transfer and wanted access to the television station so they could present their views on the hostages to the Iranian people.

The Washington Post cited U.N. officials in New York as saying the Iranians expected some gesture from the United States when the Revolutionary Council took custody of the hostages, and another gesture, such as freeing Iranian assets in the United States, agreeing to supply spare parts, or announcing a willingness to re-establish relations with Iran, before the hostages could be released.

Commission member Louis Pettiti arrived in Paris for a short visit. Pettiti was expected to return to Tehran Sunday or Monday, when he said the commission would see the hostages.

Tehran radio announced that the "Supreme Council of the Ayatollah Khomeini's Secretariat" was being disbanded in order to centralize authority in the Government. In the future, the Secretariat would deal only with religious matters.

Central Bank Governor Nobari released "documents" which he described as "evidence" of the "crimes" of the Shah, which included, in Nobari's words, "aid to South African puppets," "bribes to Henry Kissinger," "gifts to American Congressmen," "gifts to Rockefeller," and "transfer of funds in favor of Gerald Ford." Nobari's statement was broadcast over the state radio.

Interior Minister Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani reported on the clash in Tehran between the Fedayin-e Kalk (Marxists) and religious fundamentalists which turned into a rock-throwing melee when the Revolutionary Guards tried to

restore order. Mahdavi Kani blamed the Marxists and the fundamentalists for causing trouble by trying to break up each other's rallies.

MARCH 8, 1980 — SATURDAY

The White House disclosed that the President might consider making an expression of concern to the Iranian Government for U.S. relations with the Shah's regime if the gesture would contribute to freeing the hostages, but the United States will not apologize for its past actions in Iran.

In Iran, the "students" retained custody of the hostages at the embassy and the international commission did not see the hostages. It was another day of confusion and conflicting stories. The day's events, in sequence, were as follows:

- Reuters broadcast a "student" statement that the hostages would be transferred to the Revolutionary Council at 5 p.m. Tehran time (8:30 EST) after the hostages had a medical check-up, had their pictures taken, and the Revolutionary Council produced a written order for the transfer.
- Reuters transmitted a second "student" statement that said Ghotbzadeh had lied about receiving Khomeini's approval for the transfer and the "students" wanted a different representative from the Revolutionary Council to take custody of the hostages. The "students" added that the "nation" would decide if the hostages should be transferred to the Revolutionary Council. (The "nation" apparently was represented by the mob, estimated at 10,000, outside the embassy who was chanting slogans opposing the transfer.)
- Ghotbzadeh told Tehran radio that Khomeini did not tell him directly that the transfer was approved but that Khomeini's approval was received indirectly. Ghotbzadeh said the Majlis would decide the fate of the hostages.
- Khomeini's office read a statement over Tehran radio which said Khomeini would remain silent on the controversy over approval for "delivering the hostages to the Revolutionary Council ... attributed to the Imam (Khomeini)."
- A Revolutionary Council spokesman said President Bani Sadr received Khomeini's approval during their meeting on Thursday.
- President Bani Sadr told Tehran radio that Ahmad Khomeini, the Ayatollah's son, had raised the issue of Khomeini's approval for the transfer. (Bani Sadr did not say Khomeini had approved the transfer, just that he, the President, did not raise the issues with the Ayatollah.)
- Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh then said Bani Sadr told the Revolutionary Council that Khomeini had approved the transfer of the hostages.

MARCH 9, 1980 — SUNDAY

The London Sunday Times reported that one of the hostages had tried to commit suicide for the second time and was being treated by doctors outside the embassy. There was no other confirmation of the report.

A statement from the intruders in the U.S. Embassy said that a meeting between the international commission and the hostages was now "impossible," and that the hostages were ready for delivery to the Revolutionary Council between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. today. In mid-morning, representatives of the Revolutionary Council, including Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, met with the "students" from the embassy. Following the meeting, Ghotbzadeh told the Iranian news agency Pars that the "students" had no intention of transferring the hostages to the Revolutionary Council, that they would not allow the international commission to see the hostages, and, in a contradiction of what he had just said, that the "students" wanted an eight hour advance notice before transferring the hostages to the Revolutionary Council so that, according to Ghotbzadeh, they could announce the transfer time over the radio and draw a crowd to stop the Revolutionary Council from taking custody of the hostages. Ghotbzadeh said the intruders in the embassy must make a decision on whether or not to transfer the hostages to the Revolutionary Council within the next 24 hours. The Revolutionary Council then went into another meeting.

AFP reported a "student" spokesman as saying that the transfer could take place whenever the Revolutionary Council wanted it, but that the "students" would remain in the embassy to continue their work on "documents". According to AFP, the "students" said the Revolutionary Council would be responsible for the lives of the hostages once the transfer was completed at the embassy, which implied that the Revolutionary Council would have to take the hostages past the crowd, estimated by AFP as 5,000, which opposed the transfer.

It could be assumed that the Revolutionary Council could use a show of force, if necessary, to remove the hostages from the embassy; the most obvious sources of such force would be the army or the Revolutionary Guards. In mid-afternoon, the Revolutionary Guards issued a statement that it would support Khomeini's position that the yet to be elected Majlis would decide the fate of the hostages, which appeared to say that the Revolutionary Guards would not assist the Revolutionary Council in taking the hostages past the hostile crowd at the embassy.

Another "student" statement reported in the evening by Reuters said the "students" were certain that the Majlis would decide to keep the hostages in Iran until the Shah and his money were returned to Iran.

Tehran radio reported late at night that the Revolutionary Council meeting, attended by Bani Sadr and Ahmad Khomeini, had ended and issued an announcement which said a decision on the transfer of the hostages would be made by noon, Monday, Mar. 10.

Meanwhile, Interior Minister Mahdavi Kani announced that the Majlis elections for Sanandaj in the Kurdish region had been suspended due to the unrest in the area.

MARCH 10, 1980 -- MONDAY

Following a morning meeting with the Revolutionary Council, Ayatollah Khomeini issued a message in which he said that the meeting with the hostages involved in the "crimes" of the Shah and the United States can take place if the commission "interrogates" the hostages. In the next sentence, Khomeini said the commission can meet the hostages after it announces in Tehran its findings about the "crimes" of the Shah and the United States. Despite the "catch-22" nature of the Ayatollah's statement, that the international commission can see the hostages only after it publishes a report acceptable to Iran, but that it must "interrogate" the hostages before it publishes its report, it appeared that Khomeini meant the commission should interrogate some of the hostages in order to write its report, and that after the report is issued, the commission will see the remainder of the hostages. Clearly, Khomeini wants the commission's report to be favorable to his revolutionary government and unfavorable to the Shah and the United States, and he wants the report issued in Tehran, not Geneva or New York.

Immediately after Khomeini's statement was broadcast, the "students" issued a statement that they would keep the hostages and would not transfer custody to the Revolutionary Council.

BBC correspondent Alex Brody reported from Tehran on the condition of the hostages from what he was able to learn from talking to the 400 "students" controlling the embassy. Brody said the hostages were divided into three groups; first, the 20 or so "innocent" clerks and Marines who live together in the visa section of the embassy in relative freedom to move about, read, and listen to the radio; second, "low" officials who live in groups of two or three with limited freedom; and third, 8 "senior" officials who are considered "spies" and are kept isolated from one another with no freedom of movement. Presumably, it is the 8 "spies" that Khomeini wants interrogated by the international commission.

Following Khomeini's announcement and the "students" decision to keep the hostages, the international commission met with President Beni Sadr and Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, and the Revolutionary Council held another set of meetings. In the evening, Ghotbzadeh announced that the commission had decided to return to New York tomorrow to consult with U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim, despite the Foreign Minister's appeal for the commission to remain in Tehran for "2 or 3" more days. Tehran radio later broadcast a report from the Revolutionary Council that the Council had decided to leave the hostages in the custody of the intruders at the U.S. Embassy.

The White House stated that U.S. actions toward Iran were "under review," and that Iran had failed to keep its promises that the international commission would visit (not interrogate) all (not some) of the hostages. There was speculation in Washington that the United States would implement the economic sanctions against Iran, held in abeyance since Feb. 7.

Waldheim in New York said the commission would not issue a report at this time and that after "consultations" at the U.N. might return to Tehran if the Iranian Government furnished "clarifications." Officials at the U.N. repeated their previous contention that Iran agreed in writing to transfer the hostages from the "students" to the Government and to allow the commission to see all the hostages.

The "students" at the embassy and other Iranian student groups called for

a mass march in Tehran to demonstrate support for Khomeini and for the "students" holding the hostages. The Interior Ministry reminded the organizers of the march that such demonstrations were illegal without a permit from the Ministry. It was the third day in a row that the Interior Ministry issued a warning against unauthorized demonstrations but the Ministry has done nothing to stop or control the demonstrations outside the embassy.

A group of "rebels" attacked a Revolutionary Guard post in northwestern Iran and took hostage several Revolutionary Guardsmen, including the commander of the post. Another report from Tehran radio said the Governor of Khoy was being held hostage by Kurdish dissidents.

MARCH 11, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The international commission left Tehran at 8 a.m. for U.N. headquarters in New York.

State Department and White House spokesmen said the Government remained hopeful, despite the apparent failure of the commission. Secretary Vance announced that he would go to New York to consult with Waldheim and the commission members on Mar. 12. News reports from Washington, citing official sources, said the United States was not considering any military action, such as a naval blockade of Iran, but would "wait it out."

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said the commission's work was "suspended," not terminated, and that the commission may return to Iran after further negotiations with the Iranian government. Commission member Louis Pettiti told reporters the commission did not fail, that the "door is still open" for the commission to play a role in the release of the hostages. Pettiti said the release would depend on the outcome of the elections in Iran, scheduled to begin Friday. Pettiti also hinted that since Khomeini's illness, his son Ahmad had been speaking for the Ayatollah and that some of the statements attributed to Khomeini should be "viewed critically." According to Pettiti, doctors who had visited the hostages reported their physical health to be good but their psychological condition "left something to be desired." Pettiti did not say how he knew of the doctor's reports. AFP reported that an unnamed member of the Revolutionary Council had visited all 50 hostages yesterday.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh tried to convince the commission to remain in Tehran "two or three" more days to work out some arrangement to see the hostages. Ghotbzadeh was quoted as saying: "With a little more patience, they (the commission) would have accomplished the rest of their mandate." He said the commission would return to Iran "as soon as the situation is right." According to a Washington Post story, Ghotbzadeh's last minute appeal to the commission to stay in Tehran involved a proposal for the commission to meet with the Revolutionary Council, which would issue a condemnation of the United States to be endorsed by the commission. The commission would then meet with Ayatollah Khomeini, who would approve the condemnation and approve the commission's visit to the hostages. The commission, according to the Post, called Waldheim for his advice on the proposal, who in turn called Vance. The Administration rejected any commission endorsement of the condemnation, but approved the commission's remaining in Tehran for a couple more days. The commission decided not to

wait, but to return to New York.

The "students" from the embassy appeared at the Hilton hotel in Tehran minutes before the commission left for the airport to give the commission members several boxes of documents the "students" claim related to State Department intervention in Iranian affairs, American "espionage" organizations in Iran, and 103 CIA "agents" operating in Iran. The commission members refused to accept the documents, but the "students" followed the commission to the airport and tried to force the boxes into the commission's car. Apparently, the documents were left at the Tehran airport.

President Bani Sadr told an audience of bazaar merchants that the hostages were a secondary problem to the larger problems of the Iranian economy. Bani Sadr said the government would take steps in the near future to solve some of the country's economic woes, and mentioned specifically inflation and shortages in meat, bread, other food items, gasoline, and kerosene. The President said the political instability in Iran contributed to the economic problems. In another interview with the Paris newspaper *Le Monde*, Bani Sadr was quoted as saying he "deplored" the way the "students" obstructed the commission's work and that the "students" were, at times, influenced by "pro-Soviet circles." Bani Sadr criticized the Revolutionary Council for its "weakness and indecision." The President said Khomeini had approved the package deal worked out between the Iranian government and the United Nations. The commission's report, which he said would be approved by the U.N. Security Council, would be used to pressure the Panamanian government into extraditing the Shah. Bani Sadr added that the hostages would be released in mid-May at the earliest.

Juan Materno Vasquez, the Panamanian lawyer representing Iran, said the "irrefutable" evidence against the Shah would convince Panama to extradite the Shah and that the Iranian government was willing to promise Panama that the Shah would not be executed. Vasquez said the Shah would be arrested in the next few days and extradited to Iran by the end of April.

NBC news reported that the United States imported 7.3 million barrels of Iranian oil in January 1980, despite the Nov. 12 Presidential ban on oil imports from Iran.

MARCH 12, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Secretary of State Vance said he was "counseling patience" after meeting with U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim and the five members of the commission that just returned from their 17-day visit to Iran. Andres Aguilar of Venezuela, a co-chairman of the commission, said the commission was not a failure and that it would continue its work, although no one would offer any more details of what the commission or the U.N. would do next. While in Tehran, the commission did see the three Americans, Bruce Laingen, Victor Tomseth, and Michael Holland, all being held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry.

In Iran, Ayatollah Beheshti, the "secretary" of the Revolutionary Council and the head of the Islamic Republican Party, told a press conference that the hostages would be released when the Shah and his money were returned to Iran, and when the "conditions" for a trial of the Shah and the United States were fulfilled. Beheshti said a majority of the Revolutionary Council supported his view. In a separate interview, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh

agreed with Beheshti that a majority of the Revolutionary Council favored the Shah-and-his-money in exchange for the hostages, but that he, Ghotbzadeh, was among the minority that believed some other arrangement could be made for releasing the hostages. Ghotbzadeh said the "students" at the embassy were also divided over the terms of release for the hostages.

*Le Monde* correspondent Eric Rouleau reported that the "students" at the embassy were "jubilant" over having stopped a "plot" hatched by Iranian moderates to give back the hostages and re-establish relations with the United States. Rouleau quoted President Bani Sadr as saying that some of the "students" were under Soviet influence, particularly through the Tudeh Party (the Iranian communist party), and that the "students" failed to realize the effect their refusal to release the hostages would have on Third World public opinion. Bani Sadr said the "package deal" with Waldheim called for the commission to issue a report favorable to Iran which would be used to encourage the Security Council to pass a resolution demanding the Shah's extradition. According to Rouleau's interpretation, Khomeini violated the package deal by adding conditions, such as saying the commission could see only some of the hostages and then only for interrogation and asking the commission to issue its statement while in Tehran before seeing the hostages, that, in Rouleau's words, "blackmailed" the commission.

The contest for control of the Majlis in Friday's election appeared to be between a religious, conservative bloc, led by Beheshti's Islamic Republican Party which follows Khomeini, and a more liberal, secular bloc led by Bani Sadr. A third group of parties, less well defined and disorganized, is composed of the Tudeh Party, the Marxist guerrillas (*Pedeyi-e Kalg*), the Islamic guerrillas (*Mujahidin-e Kalg*), several of the ethnic groups, such as the Marxist Kurdish National Party or the Kurdish Democratic Party, and the "students" both inside and outside the embassy who may be Khomeini followers or who may be leftists. Analysts in Tehran doubt if any one bloc will win a majority in the Majlis, which suggests that the fate of the hostages may depend upon a bloc with a plurality being able to convince other parties or blocs either to release the hostages, which is Bani Sadr's approach, or to hold to the "students" demand for the return of the Shah in exchange for the hostages.

A report from Panama said the Shah would be admitted to a Panama City hospital to have his spleen removed. The Shah's condition was described as "serious."

Kurds in the city of Sanandaj began a general strike and threatened a hunger strike if the Interior Minister did not rescind his suspension of the Majlis election in the city.

The Oil Ministry denied the NBC news report that Iranian oil was still being delivered to the United States.

MARCH 13, 1980 -- THURSDAY

President Bani Sadr told the Washington Post that U.S. congressional hearings into United States involvement with the Shah could speed up the release of the hostages. Such hearings had been proposed by Congressman George Hansen during his first visit to Tehran in November 1979, and Hansen's suggestion had been approved by then acting foreign minister Bani Sadr. Bani



Sadr also told the Post that he personally favored an Iranian promise that the Shah would not be executed if Panama agreed to extradite the Shah to Iran.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said in a French radio interview that the international commission was wrong to leave Tehran because their departure left the impression that the "students" in the embassy had "won the battle." Iranian public opinion was turning against the intruders in the embassy, Ghotbzadeh said, and the "students" were becoming "more and more isolated."

Interior Minister Mahdavi Kani said the Majlis elections in Kurdish areas may be postponed because of unrest and the threat of violence.

AFP, the French news agency, reported that the Soviet-Iranian talks on gas deliveries had broken down because the Soviets refused to pay the higher prices demanded by Iran.

A Revolutionary Guard post in the town of Kamyaran in Kermanshah province was attacked. Iran radio blamed the Iraqis. In the past few days, relations between Iraq and Iran have deteriorated even further. Both countries withdrew their ambassadors, and Iraq reduced its embassy to legation status under a charge d'affaires.

MARCH 14, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The State Department rejected Bani Sadr's suggestion that a congressional investigation of American activities in Iran would speed up the hostages' release. A Department spokesman said the United States is hopeful that a new arrangement can be found to allow the international commission to return to Tehran.

Iranians voted for the 270-member Majlis. Pars news agency (Iranian), Reuters, the BBC, and Tehran radio all reported irregularities in the voting, citing examples of election officials telling people how to vote, pre-written ballots given to illiterates, and polling station attendants referring people to the Islamic Republican party (Khomeini's party) lists. Interior Minister Mahdavi Kani cancelled the elections in Saggez, Baneh, Marivan, and a few other cities in the northern Kurdish areas because of unrest. Five Revolutionary Guards were killed while trying to take people to polling places in Qorveh, near the Kurdish city of Sanandaj. In Sanandaj, the general strike and hunger strike continued to protest the Interior Minister's order cancelling the election.

Revolutionary Council member Muhammad Bahravar said the Majlis would begin its first session around May 21, but Interior Minister Mahdavi Kani said the Majlis could meet immediately if two-thirds of the candidates received a majority on the first ballot.

A bomb destroyed the Bamdad newspaper office in Tehran. Last week, a bomb destroyed the Bamdad branch office in Isfahan, and last month Bamdad closed down for two weeks after the "students" at the embassy accused Bamdad of being pro-American.

Four Kurdish groups signed an agreement for political and military

cooperation in their struggle for autonomy, the Kurdish Nationalist Party (Marxist), the Fedayin-e Kalq (Marxist), the Kurdish Democratic Party, and the group of Sunni Kurds led by Shaykh Izzadin Husayni.

London Now magazine published an interview with Bani Sadr in which the president said he would "take charge" soon, and that Khomeini would be less active politically in the future. The magazine speculated that Khomeini stopped the commission's visit to the hostages to humiliate Bani Sadr and reassert the Ayatollah's power.

In another interview with Tokyo's Mainichi Shimbun, Bani Sadr explained "Islamic economics" as a system that will give power to the producers and distribute nature's goods evenly to everyone. The president was quoted as saying that capitalism and socialism failed because they allowed a few to concentrate power, control goods, and create shortages.

Ayatollah Tabatabai Qomi, a "Marja" or one of the five senior Ayatollahs (the Maraje), said at a press conference that the constitution was invalid because it contained anti-Islamic articles, such as the election of a single religious leader for the country, and that the vote approving the constitution was fraudulent. Tabatabai Qomi said he warned Khomeini about the constitutional failings, but was misquoted and ignored. The Marja also said Bani Sadr's "Islamic economics" was not Islamic because it allowed a few people to retain power and did not provide for the common people. Tabatabai Qomi said: "I am unaware that he (Bani Sadr) has done anything outstanding so far." Tabatabai Qomi called the embassy seizure and the hostages an "obscure political matter."

The Shah was admitted to the hospital in Panama City.

MARCH 15, 1980 -- SATURDAY

In early returns in the Majlis election, about 25 candidates, all from Khomeini's IRP, won election to the parliament. In constituencies where no candidate receives a majority, the top two finishers will hold a run-off election in about three weeks. There were some 3,000 candidates for the 270 Majlis seats.

The Kurdish Democratic Party announced that the general strike and other protests would continue against the Interior Ministry, cancelling the elections in many Kurdish cities. The KDP candidate won a seat from Mahabad, despite the Interior Ministry banning the party.

Arab sources reported a series of attacks against government offices, radio and television stations, and a power station in Khuzestan province.

MARCH 16, 1980 -- SUNDAY

President Bani Sadr said Ayatollah Khomeini would increase the President's powers and responsibilities after the Iranian new year (Now Ruz, Mar. 20). Bani Sadr said all the complaints about fraudulent elections would be investigated, and in those cases where fraud was proven would be voided. If



fraud is too widespread, the whole election will be declared null and a new election held.

Darush Foruhar, the National Front party leader, former labor minister in the Bazargan government, and currently acting as a government negotiator with the Kurds, announced that he would resign his just-won seat in the Majlis as a protest against election irregularities. At day's end, 54 Majlis seats had been won, at least half of which were Islamic Republic party candidates. Counting ballots is expected to continue through Monday and the results for the 270-seat parliament are expected Thursday, Mar. 20.

Reports from Panama stated that the team of American doctors were in conflict with the Panamanian doctors over who would perform surgery on the Shah. Eventually, the Shah's spleen operation was postponed and the Shah returned to Contadora Island. Another story from Panama, unconfirmed, said the Shah might come to the United States for the operation.

In the city of Andimeshk, near Ahwaz, a crowd of 4,000 unemployed surrounded the railway station to stop a group of government officials from leaving the city. Later, a mob attacked the market in Andimeshk, destroying shops and stalls.

The London Sunday Times reported that Ayatollah Khomeini signed an agreement last year with Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to give the PLO \$2 for every barrel of oil Iran exported. The PLO official in Tehran denied the story, adding that if it were true, the PLO would be rich. Iran is exporting 3 million barrels per day.

MARCH 17, 1980 -- MONDAY

In an interview with Algerian radio and television, President Bani Sadr said that if the United States agreed to extradite the Shah, to the recovery of the Shah's wealth, and to a trial of the Shah for his "crimes," and agreed not to interfere in Iranian affairs, the hostages could be "freed immediately." Bani Sadr did not mention the other condition named previously, that the United States apologize for its involvement with the Shah. Now the hostages could be "freed immediately" when they are in the hands of the "students" at the embassy who defied Bani Sadr's and the Revolutionary Council's authority during the international commission's visit was not apparent.

The head of the vote processing center for Tehran said the Majlis election results for the 30 seats to represent the capital would not be known until mid-April. Voters had to write in 30 names from among the 433 candidates. Thus far, 50 of the 2,140 polling stations have been validated.

Khalid al-Hassan of the PLO denied the London Sunday Times story of yesterday that the PLO was receiving \$2 per barrel of exported oil from Iran in exchange for "operational services" which, according to the Times story, included assassinating opponents of the Islamic revolution.

MARCH 18, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Ayatollah Khalkhali, head of the Islamic court system of Iran, said the "spies" in the American Embassy should be tried and the rest of the hostages released. Khalkhali did not believe the Shah would be exchanged for the hostages and would not be returned to Iran for trial. In Khalkhali's words, the Shah should be "assassinated" and he repeated his earlier statement that he had sent out an assassination team to kill the Shah.

The International Court of Justice convened in the Hague to hear American arguments on the Court's earlier decision against Iran for the seizure of the hostages. The Court had set a deadline of Feb. 13 for Iran to release the hostages. Iran refused to appear at the Court's session.

In a report broadcast over Panamanian television, it was stated that former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and head of Chase Manhattan Bank David Rockefeller had tried to arrange for the surgery on the Shah last week. According to the report, Kissinger and Rockefeller attempted to convince Panamanian authorities to allow Houston heart specialist Michael DeBakey to operate on the Shah in violation of Panamanian medical rules.

The Oil Ministry announced that gas deliveries through the Iran-to-Soviet-Union pipeline had been stopped after the price negotiations broke down yesterday. Iran asked for \$164.50 per 1,000 cubic meters while the Soviets offered \$112.60 per 1,000 cubic meters.

MARCH 19, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Robert B. Owens, a State Department legal advisor, described to the International Court of Justice the "criminal" conditions under which the hostages in the embassy in Tehran are living, citing affidavits from the 13 hostages released on Nov. 20, 1979.

The Washington Post reported from Tehran that the Revolutionary Council member who visited all 50 hostages during the international commission's stay in Tehran was Ezzatollah Sahabi, who told the Post that the hostages were "in good health," that the "spies" among the hostages were kept in the chancellery basement in "solitary confinement," that another group of hostages were kept on the ground and second floor of the chancellery, and that a third group who "cooperated" with the "student" captors lived in the houses and bungalows in the embassy compound in relative comfort.

The Iranian Ambassador to Kuwait, Ali Shams Ardakani, who had recently met with Khomeini, told a Kuwaiti newspaper that the hostage issue would not be addressed by the new Majlis until May 15, at the earliest.

Iran's Prosecutor General Ali Qudusi said his office would begin processing "lesser" criminals as fast as possible to free them by the time the Iranian new year ("Now Ruz") begins at 2:41 p.m. Tehran time on Mar. 20. Yesterday, Ayatollah Khomeini declared a general amnesty for all political and criminal prisoners, except murderers and torturers. Khomeini's amnesty message carried the ironic injunction to the people of Iran to "refrain from vengeance" and to "adopt forgiveness and clemency" toward the prisoners to be amnestied.

The government announced that it would form a commission to investigate

the charges of irregularities in the Majlis elections.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he favored a boycott of the Olympic games as a protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but that Iran would attend the Olympics and would not cooperate with the boycott because it was initiated by the United States and Iran did not want the world to believe that Iran followed the United States in international matters.

MARCH 20, 1980 -- THURSDAY

State Department legal advisor Robert Owen told the International Court of Justice that the hostages could be held "indefinitely," that no one knows if they will be held "for a month or for a year or for a decade." Owen was presenting the American arguments in the Court's final day of public testimony, claiming that Iran violated international law by seizing and holding the hostages and that Iran should be ordered to release the hostages, surrender the embassy, and pay damages to the United States. The case was brought before the Court by the United States on Nov. 29, 1979, and the Court issued an interim order on Dec. 15, 1979, that Iran should release the hostages by Feb. 15, 1980. The Court will now deliberate in private and will issue its final verdict, probably in a couple of months. If the Court rules against Iran, the United Nations could take action against Iran, presumably through economic and political sanctions.

United Nations Secretary-General Waldheim told the press in Washington that the United States should not use force against Iran, and predicted that the hostages would be released after the Iranian parliament meets. (The parliament is expected to meet in late April or early May.) Waldheim said the international commission may return to Iran when the Iranian "political situation" clears.

The Paris magazine *Afrique-Asie* published an interview with one of the "students" in the embassy in Tehran in which the "student" said the embassy was seized because the United States controlled the decisionmaking process in Iran. According to the "student," the United States downgraded Iranian agriculture and built up Iranian industry in order to suit American interests and keep Iran dependent upon the United States. U.S. arms sales to Iran, the "student" said, were to encircle the Soviet Union and were not for Iran's defense. If the United States attacked Iran, other Islamic nations would come to Iran's defense, the "student" said. According to the "student," Panama is a U.S. satellite and the U.S. can order Panama to turn the Shah over to Iran.

In his New Year's Day speech to the nation, Ayatollah Khomeini said the United States did not attack Iran because God put fear into the hearts of the Americans.

Defense Minister Mustafa Ali Shamran told an interviewer that Iran expected the United States to come to Iran's defense if Iran were attacked by the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet Union would come to Iran's defense if the United States attacked. Shamran also said the Iranian army was at 75% of its pre-revolution strength of 400,000 men, and that 25% of the aircraft were airworthy.

Tehran radio reported that the Soviet Union was arming Baluchi tribesmen

in Afghanistan to strengthen the Soviet invasion route toward the Persian Gulf oil fields.

The Iranian government sent troops to the Kurdish city of Sanandaj to replace the police. The government also cancelled the results of the elections in several Kurdish cities because armed Kurds intimidated the voters.

MARCH 21, 1980 -- FRIDAY

It was reported in Washington that Presidential aide Hamilton Jordan went to Panama yesterday to mediate the dispute between the team of American doctors and Panamanian medical authorities over who would operate on the Shah. The Shah left Paitilla hospital for Contadora island on Mar. 16, and the doctors returned to the United States the same day. It was also reported that the American doctors had advised the State Department that the staff and facilities at Paitilla were inadequate for the Shah's operation and that the Shah should be brought to the United States, or to the Gorgas hospital in the American controlled sector of the Canal Zone, for treatment.

Revolutionary Council member Sadiq Tabatabai told a West German newspaper that the new Iranian parliament would meet in two to three weeks and would take up the hostage problem as its first business. Tabatabai was quoted as saying that the hostages could be released by the parliament in four to five weeks. Tabatabai condemned the "student" seizure of the embassy as counterproductive in the fight against imperialism.

In his New Year's speech read by his son, Ayatollah Khomeini said the fight against Communism was the same as the fight against the United States and the West. Khomeini said Iran would export its revolution to other Islamic countries and condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Ayatollah appealed to the people to support the army and to government workers, university professors, and the press to keep in touch with the people.

In his New Year's Day speech, President Bani Sadr said the profits of the nationalized industries belonged to the people. The President hoped that next year Iran would become self-sufficient in food production, and said the people could control inflation by refusing to pay high prices and by not raising prices of goods and services. The revolts in the Turkoman areas and in Azerbaijan province had been stopped, and the Kurds should realize that their fight for sovereignty would not be fruitful. Bani Sadr said the Soviets should leave Afghanistan and that the unrest in Khuzestan province was caused by Iraqi subversion under the direction of the United States. The President said Iran had made a mistake in breaking the tie between the dollar and the rial because the dollar had increased in value and the rial had decreased, which increased Iran's inflation. The President also said Iran would become the center of a worldwide revolt against oppression, both Western and Eastern.

Neither Khomeini nor Bani Sadr mentioned the hostages in their speeches.

MARCH 22, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh issued a strong warning about the prospect of the Shah leaving Panama, which Iran would interpret as an attempt to avoid extradition. Ghotbzadeh told a news agency that if the Shah left Panama, it would have a devastating effect on Iran and would prolong efforts to resolve the hostage crisis. (Ghotbzadeh implied that he held Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller, not the U.S. Government, responsible for the plan to help the Shah leave Panama.)

It was reported in Panama that two Iranian magistrates were en route to Panama to present Iran's case for extraditing the Shah. Panamanian authorities had set a Mar. 24 deadline, 60 days after the initial demand was made. Three French attorneys were also involved in preparing the 350-page document to be presented to the Panamanian Foreign Ministry. The Iranian delegation included Jurist Irajeh Rezai and Tehran's Acting Attorney General Patahi.

Moscow radio broadcast in Persian accounts of anti-Iran "hysteria" in the United States, and gave extended coverage to reports of military actions contemplated against Iran.

Presidential envoy Hamilton Jordan met with General Torrijos in secret talks reportedly to discuss the Shah's plans for surgery.

MARCH 23, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The Shah left Panama for Egypt, presumably to undergo surgery on his spleen and to establish residence at the invitation of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. The departure came despite efforts by the U.S. and Iranian governments to prevent it. U.S. envoy Hamilton Jordan left Panama within hours of the Shah, having failed to persuade the Panamanian authorities or the Shah himself to make alternative arrangements, including having surgery performed in Panama. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh also made an eleventh hour attempt to keep the Shah in Panama by offering to take custody of the 50 hostages in Tehran away from the militants in exchange for U.S. actions to arrest the Shah and return him to Panama, where extradition proceedings were to continue. This last minute "deal" has generally been described in the American press as a bluff; it appeared unlikely that Ghotbzadeh would have been able to carry out Iran's part.

Revolutionary Council spokesman Habibi said that the extradition of the Shah and the problem of the hostages is now one question.

An attorney representing Iran in Panama said that the Shah's departure does not affect the extradition request and that plans to present the case for extradition on Mar. 24 would proceed.

In an interview with an Arab weekly, President Bani Sadr said that Iran hoped to clear the Persian Gulf of any American presence and referred to the United Arab Emirates as appendages of the United States. The comments on the UAE were in reference to an ongoing dispute over the status of three islands in the Gulf, Abu Musa, and the Tunbs. Bani Sadr said that Iran would never return the islands to the United Arab Emirates.

MARCH 24, 1980 -- MONDAY

The Shah arrived in Egypt and entered a Cairo military hospital. President al-Sadat said the Shah would remain in Egypt "permanently."

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said that one of the options available to the Shah prior to his flight to Egypt was to return to the United States for medical treatment.

According to press reports in the United States, Presidential aide Hamilton Jordan flew to Houston on Thursday, Mar. 20, to see Dr. Michael DeBakey, and then to Panama to try to arrange a compromise with Panamanian medical authorities to allow DeBakey to perform surgery on the Shah. On Friday, Mar. 21, Presidential aide Lloyd Cutler flew to Contadora Island to present the compromise solution to the Shah, who rejected it, and announced that he would go to Egypt. Cutler tried again on Saturday, Mar. 22, to convince the Shah to remain in Panama, to no avail. Other press reports from Panama stated that Iranian authorities, presumably Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, had contacted Panamanian authorities Saturday noon, offering to take custody of the hostages if Panama would hold the Shah. Panama gave Iran until noon Sunday, Mar. 23, to take custody of the hostages from the "students" at the embassy, according to the reports. On Sunday, Mar. 23, Ghotbzadeh told Panama that the hostages were still at the embassy, and, reportedly, spoke with Hamilton Jordan to request more time, but Jordan could not persuade the Shah to remain in Panama, and Ghotbzadeh could not convince the Panamanian authorities to arrest the Shah. Neither the White House nor the Panamanian government would confirm the sequence of events reported in the press.

Tehran radio said Jordan's trip to Panama was to help arrange the Shah's flight to Egypt. News sources in Panama said Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller were involved in the arrangements, although spokesmen for both Kissinger and Rockefeller denied any involvement. Another report from Panama, one echoed by Tehran, was that the U.S. Government was trying to prevent the Shah from going to Egypt, where he would be more free to disclose bribery and corruption scandals implicating American Government officials. Moscow radio picked up a story from the American press that the plane chartered to fly the Shah to Egypt had some connection with the CIA.

Today, three Iranian officials and their Panamanian lawyer filed the extradition request with the Panamanian Foreign Ministry, despite the Shah's having left Panama yesterday, to prevent the Shah from returning to Panama, according to Iranian sources.

In Rome, Ayatollah Khalkhali, head of the Islamic court and recently elected member of the Majlis, said the hostages would be tried after the Majlis is formed. Those found guilty would be sent to prison, and the innocent released.

"Students" at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran said the Shah's flight to Egypt did not change their demands for the Shah's return to Iran before they will release the hostages.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said that if the Shah returned to Panama within 24 hours, the Government of Iran would take custody of the hostages.

The Iranian government called upon Iranians to demonstrate in front of the U.S. Embassy tomorrow to protest the Shah's arrival in Egypt.

MARCH 25, 1980 -- TUESDAY

News sources in Washington reported that the Administration was considering reviving economic sanctions against Iran. The sanctions have been held in abeyance since early February when the international commission was being formed. The reports also suggested that the Administration was considering setting a "deadline" for the release of the hostages.

The Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post reported that Hamilton Jordan and Lloyd Cutler, two White House aides, had reached an "understanding" with the Shah during his stay at Lackland Air Force Base in December 1979 on U.S. assistance for the Shah's medical treatment, communications, security, transportation, schooling for his children, and other issues, which some of the Shah's aides now feel the United States has not honored. Other contradictory reports said the "understanding" was not a formal commitment and that the Shah was satisfied with U.S. actions on his behalf thus far. A story in a Cairo newspaper said one reason the Shah left Panama and did not return to the United States for his spleen operation was that the Shah believed the CIA was trying to kill him.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told the Canadian Broadcasting Company that the government had no plans to try the hostages and that Ayatollah Khomeini's statement of yesterday was his own opinion and not government policy. In another interview Ghotbzadeh said most of the Shah's wealth was in European banks controlled by David Rockefeller.

President Bani Sadr told a Paris-based Arabic magazine that the hostage situation created problems for Iran with the U.S.S.R. and the United States and that the "students" and the soon-to-be-formed parliament should realize this and not try the hostages.

Le Monde correspondent Eric Rouleau reported that Panamanian "strong man" General Omar Torrijos initiated the telephone contact with Iranian authorities on Mar. 22, Saturday afternoon (early Sunday in Tehran), to offer to keep the Shah in Panama and not allow him to leave for Egypt if the Iranian government would take custody of the hostages from the intruders in the embassy. (Yesterday, it was reported that Ghotbzadeh had initiated the deal.) According to Rouleau, Ghotbzadeh spoke to Khomeini but the Ayatollah said he would not "meddle" in the affair and while he did not oppose the hostages' transfer from the "students" to the government, he would do nothing to facilitate the transfer. Supposedly, Ghotbzadeh, Bani Sadr, and others were trying to work out a transfer and asked for more time, but Torrijos refused and allowed the Shah to fly to Egypt. Ghotbzadeh told Rouleau that Iran gave "firm promises" not to execute the Shah if Panama would honor Iran's extradition request. Ghotbzadeh did not believe, according to Rouleau, that the U.S. Government was behind the Torrijos deal, but Ghotbzadeh did believe that "elements" in the United States were willing to sacrifice the hostages for the sake of U.S. dignity. Rouleau also quoted Ghotbzadeh as saying that the Republican Party, led by Kissinger and Rockefeller, wanted the Shah to leave Panama to keep the U.S.-Iran crisis alive in order to defeat President Carter in the election.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the Soviet Union had agreed in principle to a series of meetings among Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, China, and the Soviet Union to discuss the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Afghan neutrality, and Afghanistan's right to form its own government.

MARCH 26, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee "directed" the Secretary of State to produce all "relevant" information on any commitments or understandings agreed upon by the U.S. Government and the Shah during the Shah's stay at Lackland Air Force Base in December 1979. White House spokesman Powell confirmed that "assurances" had been given to the Shah on medical treatment, his children's education, security, and other matters.

Dr. Michael DeBakey, a team of assistants, and medical equipment arrived in Cairo on a chartered plane. The Middle East News Agency (MENA), the Egyptian state news agency, reported that the Shah would have his spleen removed on Saturday, Mar. 29.

Ayatollah Muhammad Husayn Beheshti, secretary of the Revolutionary Council and head of the Islamic Republic Party, said Iran would "demand harsher conditions" for the release of the hostages, and called for Iran to break diplomatic relations with the United States. Beheshti said the government had not decided whether it would seek the Shah's extradition from Egypt. Iran would need a new policy, the Ayatollah said, since Panama had failed to take advantage of the opportunity to "change the status quo."

A Tehran radio commentary said the Shah went to Egypt to join a "Zionist-imperialist plot" that was trying to eliminate the Palestinians and to stop the Islamic revolution from spreading across the Middle East.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told reporters after a Revolutionary Council meeting that the commission to investigate the irregularities in the Mar. 14 Majlis election would take about one month to complete its work and file a report. Ghotbzadeh said the run-off election scheduled for Apr. 4 would be postponed until the commission finished its investigation. The commission began its work yesterday, Mar. 25. The Revolutionary Council is not considering taking custody of the hostages from the "students" at the embassy, the Foreign Minister said.

Tehran radio quoted Kurdish Democratic Party leader Abd al-Rahman Qasemlu as saying that the Kurds would not surrender their arms, as ordered by the government, until there was democracy in Iran, until the Kurds had autonomy over their area, and until there was "law and order" in Iran.

Baghdad radio reported that Kurds attacked three police posts near Urmiah, and that two oil pipelines near Ahwaz had been blown up and were on fire.

MARCH 27, 1980 -- THURSDAY

During a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Vance agreed to give the Committee the Department's notes on the "assurances" given to the Shah during his stay at Lackland Air Force Base in December. Vance also said the Administration was reviewing the options available for dealing with Iran, and that the "military" option had not been ruled out. The review will be completed in one week. After the hearing, Senators Church and Javits said the Committee would consider compiling a "white paper" on U.S.-Iran relations over the past 25 years.

AFP (French news agency) transmitted a report of an interview with Ezzatollah Sahabi, the Revolutionary Council member who visited the hostages in early March during the international commission's visit to Tehran. According to AFP, Sahabi said the hostages receive no current news, are in good health, read books and "old magazines," exercise, play table tennis and cards, are allowed to send and receive mail, and some are allowed to telephone their families. Sahabi said the hostages under investigation are kept isolated except for occasional opportunities to mix with the other hostages. Sahabi did not say how many hostages he saw, but said he saw and spoke with all the hostages in the embassy. Sahabi told AFP that he opposed transferring custody of the hostages from the "students" to the Iranian government because the transfer would cause "diplomatic problems." Sahabi opposed placing the hostages on trial and favored a "diplomatic solution."

Adib Dawud, the Syrian member of the international commission, told news sources that the Shah's transfer from Panama to Egypt would have "adverse effects" on releasing the hostages and would set back the commission's activities.

MENA (Egyptian news agency) reported the Shah's condition was "critical," but a later MENA report said his health was improving. The medical team, headed by DeBaKey, refused to talk to reporters.

AFP reported that the French lawyers who prepared the extradition papers for Panama were now preparing extradition papers for Egypt.

Reuters reported that 20 people were killed in clashes between government forces and Kurds near the Kurdish city of Qalatan. Tehran radio reported that the governor of West Azerbaijan had been replaced after two days of clashes between government forces and Azerbaijanis.

A Tass (Soviet news agency) story denied Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh's claim yesterday that the U.S.S.R. had agreed to negotiations on the future of Afghanistan. Soviet radio broadcasts in Parsi said the Soviet Union was not a threat to Iran in an apparent attempt to counter recent statements by Khomeini, Bani Sadr, and Ghotbzadeh that said the Soviets were as much a threat to Iran as to the United States.

MARCH 28, 1980 — FRIDAY

American and Egyptian doctors removed the Shah's spleen.

In an interview published in Nihon Keizai Shimbun of Tokyo, President Bani Sadr said keeping the hostages in Iran "hampers foreign policy," which he said was to serve as the "wellspring" of a worldwide Islamic revolution. Iran will continue its efforts to extradite the Shah and reclaim his wealth.

Bani Sadr listed among the "problems" with the United States the shortage of spare parts for military equipment and the absence of training for military personnel, the slowdown in the Iranian industry built and supplied by Americans, the shortage of food imported from the United States, and the declining value of the Rial since Iran severed the tie to the dollar. Bani Sadr said the food shortage problem could be solved this year if Iran has a good harvest.

Former Irish Foreign Minister Sean MacBride returned to Tehran at the invitation of President Bani Sadr, reportedly to work out a new scheme to free the hostages. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said MacBride was the guest of the President and not the Revolutionary Council and that he and the Council were not involved in the discussions with MacBride.

Moscow radio reported that the United States was preparing a naval blockade and other "military actions" against Iran. The Soviet state radio said the United States could have resolved the crisis by meeting the "just demands" of Iran to extradite the Shah and return his wealth, but that Washington wanted to keep the crisis alive as an excuse to seize the oil fields of the Persian Gulf region.

Iran's Foreign Minister repeated his statement of two days ago that the Soviet Union had agreed to a series of bilateral talks to discuss Afghan neutrality and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Yesterday, the Soviets denied any such agreement.

MARCH 29, 1980 — SATURDAY

Pars, the Iranian news agency, released a letter purportedly sent by President Carter to Ayatollah Khomeini in which Carter said "my government has inherited a very sensitive international situation" which made "all of us commit mistakes in the past." According to Pars, Carter said in the letter that part of the American "genius" was to "recognize its mistakes" and "even condemn them." Carter told Khomeini that the United States was "ready to establish ... an investigative commission in America" that would seek a "peaceful solution to the crisis." The President said in the Pars version of the letter that the occupation of the U.S. Embassy was a "natural reaction of Iranian youths," although the President suggested that there was "evidence to doubt the true motives" of the intruders. The Shah was admitted to the United States in October 1979 on "humanitarian grounds," according to the letter, and the United States did not "interfere" in the Shah's decision to leave Panama for Egypt. "We turned down the idea of his (the Shah's) return to the United States," Carter supposedly told Khomeini, and "we turned down the idea that he should receive treatment in American hospitals and by American doctors." As soon as the Iranian government assumed "responsibility for the hostages," the United States and Iran could "adopt a logical and friendly policy" to solve Iranian-U.S. problems. The Pars version of the letter said the President would accept a joint commission to investigate mutual problems.

White House press secretary Jody Powell said neither the President nor any other Administration official sent a letter to Khomeini or to any other Iranian official.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh responded to the White House denial by

saying that he had seen the letter and that the denial could only harm U.S. credibility.

Reuters quoted a Swiss embassy official in Tehran as saying that the Swiss had not delivered the letter as the Pars story claimed.

[Note: It was difficult to judge the authenticity of the letter from the Pars version as published by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, since it apparently had been translated from English to Parsi and back to English again. One story from Tehran said the letter delivered by the Swiss was in French. Other stories from Tehran said both Khomeini and President Bani Sadr had received letters from Carter. Ghotbzadeh was quoted as saying Pars was wrong to release the letter because it was a private diplomatic communication not intended to be made public. If the letter is authentic, it contained what could be construed as the "apology" for past U.S. support for the Shah, the recognition of Iranian independence, and the promise to treat Iran as an equal among nations demanded by Bani Sadr as partial conditions for the release of the hostages. The letter's suggestions for an American investigative commission or for an Iranian-American joint commission coincide with current reports that Bani Sadr and Ghotbzadeh are trying to arrange either another visit by the U.N. commission or revive the MacBride tribunal idea. The reference in the letter to the Iranian government taking custody of the hostages from the "students" at the embassy also fits with reports from Tehran that Bani Sadr, Ghotbzadeh, and other secular leaders are trying to get the hostages away from the "students." It is possible that the release of the letter through Pars is part of the internal Iranian power struggle in which the secular forces (Bani Sadr, Ghotbzadeh, etc.) are trying to arrange a diplomatic resolution of the hostage problem, while the clerical forces (Khomeini, Beheshti, etc.) are willing to leave the "students" in control as a means of blocking the secularists. Supposedly, Ahmad Khomeini, the Ayatollah's son and a clerical faction supporter, gave the letter to Pars.]

Another possibility that would explain the White House denial is that the "letter" may be a collection of several messages, oral and written, passed to the Iranian government, most probably to Bani Sadr, rather than a single communication; again, it may be conjectured that Ahmad Khomeini would have domestic political reasons for collecting the substance of several communications into one "letter" for release now.

Parts of the "letter" reflect U.S. policy and other parts do not. The United States has maintained that Soviet-inspired Marxists are as much involved in the embassy seizure as Islamic "students," which is suggested in the letter's phrase doubting the true motives of the intruders. Having the Iranian government take custody of the hostages would answer the U.S. Government's complaint that it cannot negotiate with the "students." The "letter" contained in its last line a warning about the common "real enemies" of Iran and the United States, a view that fits with the shared Iran-U.S. perception of the Soviet threat in Afghanistan. But, the "letter" contains what may be construed as an apology, and the Administration has said it would never apologize to Iran for supporting the Shah, and the "letter" says the United States did not invite the Shah to return to the United States, although some Administration officials have said that the option of returning to the United States was open to the Shah.]

Meanwhile, there were reports in Washington that the Administration was considering tightening diplomatic contacts with Iran by calling for a further reduction in the Iranian embassy staff.

The Shah was reported in "very satisfactory" condition after his surgery Friday night. Reuters reported that Egyptian students in Cairo and Assiut clashed with police during demonstrations against the Shah's presence in Egypt. The Egyptian People's Assembly discussed granting the Shah permanent asylum, reportedly without opposition in the parliament.

Revolutionary Council secretary Ayatollah Beheshti said the Shah's flight to Egypt would complicate the hostages situation and make extradition more difficult. Beheshti said the hostages should be tried.

"Students" at the embassy said Iranian Christian "priests" would conduct Easter services for the hostages on Apr. 6.

A Tehran newspaper printed a story that an Iranian Baluchi had strangled his sister because she was pregnant by one of the Marine guard hostages at the embassy. The Iranian killed his sister to uphold the family honor, then turned himself over to the police and demanded that the hostage be "executed."

The BBC and Tehran radio reported a series of clashes between Iranian and Iraqi military units and Kurdish attacks against Iranian military units near Urmieh and Nagadeh.

In an interview published in the Washington Post, President Carter said he tried to convince the Shah to remain in Panama and not go to Egypt because he tried to convince the Shah to remain in Panama and not go to Egypt because he was concerned how the Shah's presence might affect Egyptian President al-Sadat. The President said the "terrorists" created obstacles for the Iranian government which made negotiations with Iran difficult.

MARCH 30, 1980 — SUNDAY

White House spokesman Powell repeated the denial of yesterday that the President did not send a letter to any Iranian officials. Press reports citing White House sources suggested that some message, not necessarily the letter published in Tehran, was sent to Iran, but the reports were not confirmed. One news report speculated that French lawyer Christian Bourguet, acting on behalf of the Iranian extradition request, met Hamilton Jordan in Panama or Europe and received a message or messages to transmit to Tehran and that Iranian officials created a fake letter to signal the United States what the Iranians expected from Washington in future messages.

Swiss Foreign Ministry officials confirmed that the Charge d'Affairs in Tehran had delivered a message from the United States to Iranian President Bani Sadr on Wednesday, Mar. 26.

Bani Sadr said that both he and Khomeini had received messages from the Swiss Charge (the Swiss said only one message) and that his message from President Carter said the United States might have to resort to "pressure" to force Iran to surrender the hostages. Bani Sadr said he would consider how the hostage situation affected "hegemony" against Iran and how resolving the hostage crisis would "serve mankind" before he replied to Carter. Bani Sadr announced that he would make a statement on the subject of the hostages on Tuesday, Apr. 1.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said President Bani Sadr received a second message from President Carter at 11 a.m. Tehran time today, delivered by the Swiss ambassador in Tehran. Ghotbzadeh told a press conference that the United States denied sending the letters because of internal politics in the United States. Ghotbzadeh said the first letter should not have been published by Pars without first warning the United States. He said the original letter was in French, delivered by the Swiss Charge to him on Wednesday, Mar. 26, that the Revolutionary Council discussed the letter on Thursday, Mar. 27, and that he, Ghotbzadeh, translated the letter into Farsi and delivered it to Khomeini on Friday, Mar. 28.

Ahmad Khomeini, the Ayatollah's son, said Ghotbzadeh translated the letter from French to Farsi and delivered the letter to the Ayatollah on Friday, Mar. 28, and that a separate message from President Carter was sent to President Bani Sadr. Ahmad Khomeini said the Ayatollah's letter was conciliatory but the letter to Bani Sadr was "rude" and threatening. The younger Khomeini said he expected the United States to deny sending the letters because it was a tradition in the United States to keep such messages secret and not publish them.

Other news sources in Tehran said Bani Sadr received a second message from the United States today, which threatened diplomatic and economic action if the United States did not receive a favorable reply to its first letter by Monday, Mar. 31. Supposedly, the second U.S. message anticipated the Iranian government taking custody of the hostages from the "students" in the embassy.

Former Irish Foreign Minister Sean MacBride told Reuters that the Revolutionary Council approved his plan to convene an international "war crimes" tribunal to "pass sentence" on the Shah, and that once the United States approved the plan, a "phased release" of the hostages would begin with all the hostages released before the tribunal began its sessions. The United States, for its part of the bargain, would release Iran's frozen assets. Reuters said MacBride was leaving Tehran for London tomorrow, Apr. 1, to complete the negotiations with the United States.

Tehran radio broadcast one news report that White House press secretary Jody Powell had reversed the earlier denial of the letter and confirmed that President Carter had sent the letter to Ayatollah Khomeini.

There were more clashes between the Iranian army and "rebels" in Azerbaijan reported by Iranian state news agencies.

MARCH 31, 1980 -- MONDAY

It was reported in Washington that President Carter delayed his "deadline" for announcing the "new steps" to be taken to deal with the hostage crisis until Tuesday, Apr. 1, at which time the President is expected to institute tight economic sanctions against Iran. The economic sanctions are in retaliation for Iran's failure to transfer the hostages from the "students" at the embassy to the Iranian government, according to the news sources, which was supposed to occur at 3 a.m. EDT (11:30 a.m. Tehran time) today. Some press reports said the transfer did not take place because the "letters" between Carter and Khomeini and Bani Sadr were published, thus exposing the Iranian government's secret negotiations with the United States, which caused

the Iranians to "lose face" and cancel the transfer. Another news source cited "Administration sources" as saying that Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh had "contrived" the conciliatory letters to sway the Revolutionary Council into agreeing to the transfer. Reportedly, once the hostages were transferred from the "students" to the government, the U.N.-sponsored international commission would be revived, sent back to Tehran to complete its investigation, issue its report, and the hostages would be released. The "Administration sources" were also quoted as saying that Western European and Japanese allies would support the economic sanctions, but other sources reporting from Europe said the allies would not cooperate with the sanctions.

In Iran, Bani Sadr met with the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers (the provisional cabinet) for 3 hours, with the "Security Committee" for 5 hours, with three representatives of the "students" from the embassy, and with Ayatollah Khomeini, all on the subject of the hostage transfer. Bani Sadr reportedly gave Khomeini three options: allow the government military forces to storm the embassy and take custody of the hostages by force; call for the hostages to be transferred to the government outside the embassy, leaving the "students" in control of the embassy; or send the government forces into the embassy to share custody of the hostages with the "students."

The controversy over the "letters" continued. The BBC reported that one Carter letter "demanded" that the Iranian government take custody of the hostages and "threatened" to institute economic sanctions and to expel Iranian diplomats from the United States if the transfer did not take place. A spokesman for Bani Sadr denied news stories that the Carter letter was an "ultimatum" threatening to expel Iranian diplomats. Bani Sadr said the second Carter letter mentioned Iranian "promises" to take custody of the hostages, "promises" which the Iranian President denied having made. Tehran radio broadcast reports that White House spokesman Jody Powell confirmed that President Carter sent the letters, and reported the Swiss confirmation that the Swiss Charge had delivered them.

Congressman George Hansen repeated his call for a congressional inquiry into Iranian-U.S. relations. Hansen made the same appeal during his first visit to Tehran in November 1979.

The U.S. Supreme Court declined to grant a stay against the Immigration and Naturalization Service deportations of Iranian students in the United States on expired or faulty visas. The Confederation of Iranian Students is appealing to the Supreme Court to stop the deportations.

APRIL 1, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini said, in a speech read to a rally in Tehran, that the fate of the hostages was in the hands of the Majlis. Khomeini said the "flattery", "subtleties", "deceptions", "confessions of crimes", "excuses for errors committed in the past", and threats of economic sanctions, naval blockades, or military occupation contained in President Carter's letters would have no effect on him.

President Bani Sadr told the rally that the Revolutionary Council had decided that "If America issues an official statement, that until such time when the Majlis is formed and the proper decision is taken that American will



refrain from resorting to any propaganda or making any claim or saying anything or making any provocation, then the Revolutionary Council agrees to take the hostages under its care and custody."

[Note: The commission to investigate voting irregularities in the first Majlis election is expected to issue its report about Apr. 25, after which the second round of the Majlis election should take place. Then, if that election is certified, the Majlis could be formed, which could be mid-May at the earliest. Bani Sadr's statement could be interpreted two ways; either the hostages would remain at the embassy under control of the "students" until mid-May, or the hostages will be transferred to government control now, to be held by the government until mid-May.]

The "students" at the embassy issued a statement which said they would keep the hostages and would follow Khomeini's statement to wait for the Majlis to decide what to do with the hostages. The "students" rejected Bani Sadr's statement that the hostages would be turned over to the Revolutionary Council after the Majlis is formed.

At a 7:30 a.m. press conference, President Carter confirmed that Iran had been notified previously that if the hostages were not transferred from the "students" to the Iranian government, the United States was "considering additional sanctions against Iran." The President considered Iranian President Bani Sadr's statement earlier today "a positive step" toward the transfer, so additional sanctions would not be appropriate now. In response to questions, President Carter said he had no assurances from Iran when the transfer would take place, or if it would take place. The President said the economic sanctions option remains open. The President avoided answering a question about his readiness to respond to Bani Sadr's demand for promises not to provoke or propagandize against Iran.

In Iran, President Bani Sadr said Carter's statement at the morning press conference did not meet his demands for a declaration promising not to provoke Iran, and not to use propaganda against it.

Unconfirmed press reports from Washington and Tehran shed some light on some aspects of the hostage transfer-economic sanctions affair, but left other aspects confused. AFP reported from Tehran that President Carter had sent the assurances demanded by Bani Sadr and also that the "students" at the embassy had agreed to the transfer, despite their denial, and were working out the details with Bani Sadr's office. The Washington Post reported that Iran had "assured" President Carter that the hostage transfer would take place, and sources in Tehran said the transfer would be made Wednesday, Apr. 2. Other news sources said the Carter message sent through the Swiss on Tuesday, Mar. 25, warned Bani Sadr to complete the transfer by Monday, Mar. 31, or the United States would take action which included full economic sanctions and pressure on U.S. allies to comply with the sanctions, closing the Iranian embassy and consulates in the United States and expelling all Iranian diplomats, and cataloging all U.S. financial claims against Iran as a first step toward confiscation of Iran's assets held in the United States.

Meanwhile, in Tehran, Ayatollah Musavi Khoini, the cleric closest to the "students" and head of an organization called the "Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's Policy," said in an interview that by holding the hostages the "students" were "defeating" United States "colonialism" in the Middle East and "uniting" all the people in the region for a "confrontation" with the United States. Khoini said the "students" were following Ayatollah Khomeini's "line" in demanding the return of the Shah and his money for the

release of the hostages, and were not following Bani Sadr's "line" in seeking compromises with the United States. Khoini said the hostages would be tried as spies if the Shah and his money were not returned, but did not say when the trial would be held. The "students" will abide by the Majlis decision on the fate of the hostages, Khoini said, but it was "unthinkable" that the Majlis would agree with Bani Sadr to release the hostages. The Ayatollah also said the Fedayin-e Kalq (Marxist guerrillas) and the Mujahidin-e Kalq (Islamic guerrillas) were linked to the United States and that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was caused by "America's crimes."

APRIL 2, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The apparent sequence of the day's events were as follows: first, Iranian President Bani Sadr repeated his statement of yesterday that the United States must offer assurances that it will not provoke Iran before the Revolutionary Council can take custody of the hostages. Bani Sadr told reporters that the Carter messages of Mar. 25 and Mar. 31 were "apologetic" rather than "threatening." News sources in Iran said Bani Sadr sent a message through U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim to Secretary of State Vance that Iran was waiting for a "satisfactory" message from the United States.

White House press secretary Powell said the United States "will be restrained in our words and actions" toward Iran as long as "real progress is made in resolving the crisis and bringing our people home." Powell confirmed that President Carter had sent another message today to the Iranian Government, but gave no details of what the message said.

Then, Bani Sadr said in Tehran that President Carter's latest message offered the "no provocation-no-propaganda" assurances that the Iranian President had sought.

The White House responded to Bani Sadr's comments by saying that the latest Carter message did not give assurances to Bani Sadr, but only repeated what the White House understood to be Bani Sadr's demands for a statement.

A "student" spokesman told UPI that the "students" would not oppose a Revolutionary Council order to transfer custody of the hostages to the Council. Another "student" told AP that the "students" would not transfer the hostages to the Revolutionary Council.

Meanwhile, in Washington, Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner David Crosland told the Senate Judiciary Committee that of the 56,694 Iranian students in the United States canvassed by INS, 6,906 were found to be in violation of their visas, of whom 1,067 had chosen to leave the country voluntarily and 19 had been deported.

In Iran, fighting continued between the Revolutionary Guards and Kurds near Urumiyeh, Nagadeh, and Mahabad. Pars news agency reported that an Iranian religious group claimed credit for yesterday's grenade attack which wounded Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz.

APRIL 3, 1980 -- THURSDAY



— AFP, the French news agency, reported that Ayatollah Khalkhali, head of the Islamic Court, went to the embassy to inform the crowd that the hostages would not leave the embassy today, but that the affair would be clarified by tomorrow. AFP then contacted the "students" inside the embassy who said they knew nothing about Khalkhali's statement but that they were waiting for the Revolutionary Council representative (other than Ghotbzadeh) to appear to take custody of the hostages.

— Reuters reported a statement from Khomeini's office that the Ayatollah would not give any specific orders to the "students" or to the Revolutionary Council concerning the transfer of the hostages. Reuters also reported that the intruders in the embassy were reluctant to allow the commission to see the hostages because the "students" feared that the commission would delay its report if the hostages were in "unsatisfactory condition."

— As the time for the transfer (5 p.m.) passed, the Revolutionary Council was in an emergency session and student and university groups were reading resolutions over Tehran radio which supported the intruders in the embassy and said the crowd outside the embassy would "prevent" the Revolutionary Council from taking custody of the hostages.

— The Revolutionary Council then read a statement over Tehran radio which said that Bani Sadr had asked Khomeini to approve the commission meeting with the hostages (but did not say if Khomeini approved the meeting or not), that the "students" told Ayatollah Rafsanjani on Wednesday, Mar. 5, that they would transfer the hostages to the custody of the Revolutionary Council (which means the Revolutionary Council knew of the transfer plan a full day before it was announced on Thursday, Mar. 6), and that the "students" would keep the hostages and allow the international commission to visit them in the embassy.

— Ghotbzadeh told AFP that the commission would see the hostages in the embassy and that transferring the hostages to the Revolutionary Council was now a "possibility" rather than a probability. Ghotbzadeh then added that if the "students" resisted the hostage-commission meeting, the Revolutionary Council would take the hostages out of the embassy.

Aside from all the accusations of who was or was not lying — Bani Sadr, Ahmad Khomeini, Ghotbzadeh — the day produced three noteworthy events. First, Khomeini's "silence" contributed to the confusion, rather than allay it as one would expect a national leader to try to do. Second, Ghotbzadeh's threat to "take" the hostages and the mob's threat to "prevent" the transfer appeared to set the stage for a confrontation that could be dangerous. And, third, the "students" reluctance to allow the commission to see the hostages in an "unsatisfactory condition" raised questions about the health and wellbeing of the hostages.

Presidential press secretary Jody Powell said the "American position (was) clearly stated" in the messages sent to Iran. Powell said the Iranian government would have to consider the "full implications" of the American position in making its decision on the hostage transfer, but would not elaborate on what he meant by "full implications." Powell was responding to news from Tehran that the Revolutionary Council was seeking "clarifications" on the United States' position, but it was not clear what "clarifications" were sought or if the President actually had pledged to halt all comments on the hostages until the Majlis addresses the hostage issue in May or June. Powell did verify that the President had sent another message to Iran today.

Earlier, Iranian President Bani Sadr told ABC news that: "Carter has sent a reply in which he has undertaken that the United States Government will not take any measures against Iran until such time as the Majlis is convened and a proper decision is made by it with regard to the hostages." (Bani Sadr was referring to the Carter message of Wednesday, Apr. 2.) Bani Sadr told ABC the transfer would take place, but not without Khomeini's approval. Reuters reported that Bani Sadr was satisfied that the United States had met the conditions the Iranian president had set for the transfer of the hostages. But AFP, the French news agency, reported that Bani Sadr wanted an additional American pledge that the United States would not take revenge against Iran after the hostages were released. Bani Sadr also said that Carter's pledge of no new economic sanctions was not enough.

Tehran newspaper Kayhan reported that Revolutionary Council members Mahdavi Kani and Sahabi said that the government would take control of the hostages from the "students" on Saturday, Apr. 5. Mahdavi Kani added that the hostages would remain at the embassy and the "students" would leave. Later, Mahdavi Kani read a statement over Tehran radio denying the Kayhan report. The Ayatollah then said that the Revolutionary Council would make a decision on the hostage transfer after the United States accepted the conditions posed by the Revolutionary Council.

Hassan Habibi, another Revolutionary Council member, said the Carter statement pledging no new economic sanctions was not enough, that the Revolutionary Council needed a "public statement" from the United States. Habibi said the Revolutionary Council would meet tonight to decide the issue of the hostage transfer.

While the Revolutionary Council was meeting, representatives of the intruders at the embassy told AFP and Reuters that they would obey an order from the Revolutionary Council to transfer custody of the hostages unless Khomeini vetoed the plan, and added that the "students" thought Khomeini "would be silent" on the hostage transfer issue.

After the night meeting of the Revolutionary Council, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told reporters the Revolutionary Council needed "clarifications" of the American position. (Powell's statement referred to Ghotbzadeh's call for "clarifications." Ghotbzadeh said the United States wanted the hostages transferred to government custody to allow neutral observers to visit the hostages. The Foreign Minister believed the Revolutionary Council would reach a final decision by Sunday, Apr. 6. One report from Tehran said the Revolutionary Council meeting was a hectic shouting match, that three of the more conservative clerics did not attend (Ayatollahs Mussavi Ardabili, Muhammad Beheshti, and Hojatalsalam Javad Bahonar), and that the more worldly secular forces of Bani Sadr, Ghotbzadeh, and Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani could not convince the others of the need for a decision on the hostage transfer issue.

Tehran radio reported that Sean MacBride's plan for a U.N.-sponsored court to try the Shah was being considered by the Revolutionary Council. The Shah would not have to be extradited from Egypt, would not have to be present at the trial, and the hostages could be released when the court convened, according to Tehran radio.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman rejected the statement by a PLO official that the three islands in the Strait of Hormuz, under Iranian control since 1972, should revert to Arab sovereignty.

"Rebels" bombed a water pipeline near Ahwaz and shot up a hotel in Kermanshah, according to Tehran radio.

APRIL 4, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Iranian President Bani Sadr, in an Iranian radio station broadcast, said that Iran "can never make the United States kneel by keeping the hostages."

However, other reports from Tehran said that the conservative clerical forces opposed any concessions to the United States, such as transferring custody of the hostages from the intruders at the embassy to the government. Khomeini supporters who believed the "students" should keep the hostages refused to attend the Revolutionary Council meetings yesterday, and rejected any further discussions on the subject, thus forcing Bani Sadr and other more liberal secular government members to drop the transfer scheme and resign themselves to leaving the hostages and the "students" at the embassy. Revolutionary Council member Hojatalislam Muhammad Ali Khamenei said in his Friday sermon that the fate of the hostages should be left to the Majlis, and that if the United States imposed economic sanctions on Iran, "all the oil taps can be turned off." Khamenei said Iran, with the help of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Iraq, "can deprive them (the United States and Europe) of Persian Gulf oil" for their "sophisticated technology." Hashimi Rafsanjani, the former Interior Minister who resigned to run for the Majlis, said after a meeting with Ayatollah Khomeini that the Majlis would decide if the hostages were to be freed or stand trial.

Kurds battled Revolutionary Guards near Kamyaran, in west Azerbaijan province.

Hilarion Capucci, the Bishop of Jerusalem, who is associated with the PLO, arrived in Tehran to take part in Easter services for the hostages.

APRIL 5, 1980 -- SATURDAY

White House press secretary Powell said the President intended to apply political and economic sanctions against Iran if the hostages are not transferred to government custody.

American clergymen Jack Bremer, Nelson Thompson, both Methodists, and Darrell Rupiper, Roman Catholic, arrived in Tehran to join Greek Catholic Bishop Capucci and two unnamed Iranian Christian "priests" to conduct Easter

services for the hostages. Capucci spent two hours at the embassy talking to the intruders, but did not see the hostages.

A five-man "crisis commission" composed of Capucci, Swiss Ambassador Erik Lang, Papal Nuncio Annibale Bugnini, and two lawyers, Christian Bourguet of France and Hector Villalon of Argentina, was reported to be negotiating with the Iranian government and the "students" at the embassy for the transfer of the hostages. (Bourguet represented Iran in the extradition proceedings in Panama, and Villalon has been mentioned in the press as Hamilton Jordan's contact in Paris. According to some unconfirmed press accounts, Villalon carried the Carter "letters" to Tehran, and one source said Villalon actually wrote the letters, based on his conversations with Jordan.) Supposedly, the "crisis commission" has a "secret proposal" for transferring the hostages in the next 48 hours, before the United States implements economic and political sanctions.

In Dublin, Sean MacBride said Bani Sadr "agreed in principle" to the U.N. Security Council forming a tribunal to try the Shah in exchange for the United States freeing Iran's assets. MacBride said the proposal had been relayed to Secretary of State Vance, but did not say how Vance responded. Bani Sadr confirmed that the Revolutionary Council approved the MacBride plan and added that he hoped MacBride could convince the United States to approve it. After the Revolutionary Council discusses the plan further and it is approved by Khomeini and the "Iranian people" Bani Sadr said that he will ask MacBride to take the proposal to the U.S. Government and to the United Nations "in a week or two." It is not known how Bani Sadr intends to get the approval of the "Iranian people."

The Islamic Republic Party newspaper said the "hostages should remain in the hands of the students" until the to-be-elected Majlis can decide their fate. The IRP is led by Beheshti, Khamenei, Rafsanjani, Habibi, and other "hard-line" religious leaders who oppose Bani Sadr's attempts to release the hostages.

President Bani Sadr told Le Monde that if Khomeini approves the transfer, the "students" at the embassy would obey. Then Bani Sadr said, "otherwise, I would call on the people to decide." As in the case of the MacBride tribunal idea, Bani Sadr appears to be hinting that he and his secular supporters may try to sidestep Khomeini and the IRP clerics by "going to the people," but just how he would accomplish this bit of political footwork is not clear.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said that the Revolutionary Council would meet on Apr. 6 to discuss the hostage problem. The Foreign Minister rejected the PLO statement that the Strait of Hormuz islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs were Arab.

Ayatollah Khalkhali told a Beirut newspaper that Iraq was giving arms to Iranian "rebels" with the intention of dividing Iran into several small states. Khalkhali told UPI that the hostages would be tried as spies in two months if the Shah were not returned to Iran. The Ayatollah said the Shah was responsible for the deaths of 300,000 Iranians during his reign.

Tehran radio reported that a pumping station between Naft Shah and the Kermanshah refinery was hit by rockets and set afire and that the gas pipeline to the Abadan refinery was also sabotaged. Both refineries were still operating but at reduced levels.

APRIL 6, 1980 — SUNDAY

American clergymen Bremer, Thompson, and Ruppier, Palestinian Bishop Capucci, Papal Nuncio Annibale Bugnini, and two Iranian Christian clergymen conducted Easter services for the hostages. Afterward, the Americans reported that the hostages appeared to be in good health, mentally and physically.

The Revolutionary Council made a decision on the hostage transfer question, but it was not clear what the decision was. One report said the Council decided to take custody of the hostages. Another report said the Council decided to leave the hostages in the custody of the students, and still another report said the Council decided to wait for Khomeini's decision. In any event, it appeared that Khomeini would have the final word on the custody of the hostages and would announce his decision on Monday, Apr. 7.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told the newspaper "Islamic Republic," the newspaper of the IRP, that the United States had furnished the "assurances" that the Iranian government had asked for, and criticized the "hard liners" for not releasing the hostages to the government.

Tehran radio reported that President Bani Sadr approved the MacBride plan for a tribunal to try the Shah.

Fighting between Revolutionary Guards and "rebels" in Luristan province continued for the second day. Tehran radio reported a clash between Iranian and Iraqi forces near Bushgan. The state radio also reported that Iraqi officials had killed 90 Iranian "mujahidun" (religious freedom fighters) in Iraq.

The Iranian national oil company announced that it would stop gas shipments to the Soviet Union because the Soviets had refused to pay higher prices.

APRIL 7, 1980 — MONDAY

Khomeini's office in Qom issued a statement in the Ayatollah's name which said the "position of the Imam has not changed" on the transfer of the hostages from the "students" to the government, and that the "hostages and the embassy will remain ... in the hands of the ... students until the formation of the (Majlis) and the decision on their fate by the ... nation." But in Tehran, Ayatollah Khomeini, a member of the Revolutionary Council close to the intruders at the embassy, said Khomeini only expressed his opinion that the hostages should remain with the "students" and that the Revolutionary Council could make any decision it wanted to on the transfer.

President Carter announced that the United States was breaking diplomatic relations with Iran, was implementing an economic embargo against Iran, was beginning an inventory of Iranian assets frozen in the United States (about \$8 billion) and an inventory of U.S. financial claims against Iran to be paid by the Iranian assets, and was cancelling all entry visas for Iranians. The President ordered the Iranian embassy in Washington and Iran's five

consulates closed and Iran's 35 diplomats and 209 military students in the United States out of the country by midnight, Tuesday, Apr. 8. The economic embargo will not include food and medicine, although the President said he anticipated few if any food shipments to Iran in the future. The President added that the United States demanded the "prompt release" of the hostages or the United States "will take other action." Neither White House officials nor the President would define "prompt" or "other action." (Note: Most observers believed the President's action was largely symbolic. There has been little direct diplomatic contact recently; most such contact has been through third parties. U.S.-Iranian trade has dwindled since November 1979; U.S. exports to Iran for the month of February 1980 were about \$2 million compared to \$100 million per month during the Shah's reign. Despite the exemption for food and medicine, there have been few U.S. food shipments to Iran since the embassy seizure because U.S. longshoremen refused to load ships bound for Iran and because the freeze on assets made payment difficult. In the meantime, Iran has purchased food from other sources -- rice from Thailand and Pakistan in December and February and wheat from Australia in February. Cancelling Iranian visas may have an effect on the 150,000 Iranians now holding U.S. visas, according to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, but not on the 50,000 Iranian students currently in the United States. The visa cancellation probably will not concern the Iranian government. The inventory of Iranian assets and claims against those assets may take months, or possibly years to process.)

American clergymen Bremer, Ruppier, and Thompson said they did not see Thomas Aherm, Malcolm Kalp, William Daugherty, or Michael Metrinko at the embassy during the Easter service. Those four, plus four others, are believed to be the so-called "spies" held in isolation by the "students" at the embassy.

The five-man "crisis commission" announced it would stay in Tehran for a few more days to seek "compromises" in the hostage transfer issue.

Iran placed its armed forces on alert against Iraq. Both countries withdrew their diplomatic personnel and exchanged charges of instigating border skirmishes. Iran blamed Iraq for the oil field sabotage of the past few days. According to Iranian news sources, 1,300 Iranian residents of Iraq had been expelled from Iraq yesterday and more refugees were on the way. Iran said the Iraqis were acting on orders from the United States.

APRIL 8, 1980 — TUESDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini reacted to the U.S. diplomatic break and embargo by saying it was a "good omen" for Iran and proved that the United States had no hope of regaining its dominating position in Iran. "Students" at the embassy told a West German radio station that they were pleased by President Carter's actions because it would stop the diplomatic efforts to win release of the hostages and would force Iran to defend itself against the United States. President Bani Sadr said Iran could tolerate the effects of the economic sanctions, that Carter's actions were in the best interests of Iran because Iran now has the opportunity to break free of the United States. Bani Sadr said he expects more American action against Iran in the future. The Revolutionary Council "welcomed" the U.S. sanctions. Iran threatened to stop oil shipments to any country that supports or cooperates with the U.S. sanctions.

The Kuwait newspaper "Arab Times" reported that all Persian Gulf states placed their armed forces on alert in anticipation of an American bombing attack against Iranian oil fields. The Kuwaiti government denied the report.

Tass, the Soviet news agency, editorialized that President Carter lacked "patience and restraint." Moscow radio said the United States was preparing a naval blockade.

Japanese government officials were quoted as saying that Japan would "assess" the situation in the wake of the U.S. economic sanctions. Japanese trade officials said the U.S. sanctions may affect Japanese-Iranian trade. Japanese oil executives doubted that the American actions were serious, but expressed concern that Iran would be driven into the arms of the Soviet Union. Japanese oil interests said they did not want to antagonize Iran, which supplies about 530,000 barrels of oil per day, about 10% of Japanese needs.

Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock said he "agreed absolutely" with President Carter's actions, but also said Australia would not break diplomatic relations with Iran.

Italy announced that shipments to Iran of new helicopters and spare parts would be stopped. The Italians said their action followed "pressure" by the United States.

King Hassan of Morocco expressed sympathy for the United States' dilemma, but said the U.S. reactions were "fragmentary" and demonstrated that the United States had little "freedom of action."

The West German cabinet scheduled a meeting to discuss the German reaction and called for a meeting of the European Community. A West German trade federation official was optimistic, and said Germany would respond "positively" to the American call for cooperation.

East German news sources predicted that U.S. allies would not cooperate with the economic sanctions and would not break diplomatic relations with Iran.

A Yugoslavian newspaper editorialized that the U.S. moves were "dangerous" and could lead to war. The paper called the situation "worrying" but not "hopeless."

Prime Minister Thatcher of the United Kingdom was quoted as saying that she doubted if the House of Commons would pass legislation imposing trade and banking sanctions against Iran in line with the American request.

State news agencies in China and Vietnam reported the sanctions without editorial comment.

U.S. Ambassadors presented to their host governments lists of actions requested by the United States, including stopping all trade with Iran, halting all financial and banking arrangements with Iran, and reducing or ending diplomatic ties with Iran.

Meanwhile in Iran, the National Front, the opposition political party active since the 1950s, called for the Revolutionary Council to disband and for a "government of national unity" to be formed.

Tehran radio reported more skirmishes along the Iraqi border, at Kermanshah, Nagadeh, near Ahwaz, and at the border post of Bad Qaysi.

APRIL 9, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

The London Daily Telegraph reported that the British government held little enthusiasm for supporting the U.S. sanctions, and that Britain would wait for the reaction of the European Community.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said he would consult with Canada's allies about "possible further action" against Iran. Trudeau praised President Carter for his "restraint" and criticized Iran for "defying international law."

Thailand announced that it was "unlikely" that it would sell the 100,000 tons of rice on order to Iran, but said the reason was the uncertain rice crop. Since November 1979, Thailand has sold 200,000 tons of rice to Iran.

Foreign Minister Saburo Okita expressed Japan's "grave concern" over the U.S.-Iran developments, and said Japan would carefully study the measures it could take.

After cabinet meetings held to discuss cooperating with the U.S. requests, the Government of West Germany said it would not break diplomatic relations with Iran.

The Government of Denmark said it was "hesitant" to break relations with Iran.

An Italian official said it was a mistake to break relations with Iran, because the Iranians would turn to the Soviet Union.

It was expected that the European Community Foreign Ministers meeting scheduled for Apr. 10 would discuss a coordinated response to the American diplomatic and economic sanctions, and that the 21-nation Council of Europe would address the problem at its meeting in Lisbon due to begin on Thursday.

Algeria assumed responsibility for Iranian interests in Washington, and Switzerland will represent the United States in Tehran.

Secretary of State Vance briefed about 20 ambassadors in Washington on the United States actions and the hoped-for response from their governments.

In Iran, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told Jeune Afrique that the hostages would not be tried and that the Majlis would decide their fate. Ghotbzadeh also said Iran would try to overthrow the Government of Iraq.

"Students" at the embassy said the hostages would be killed if the United States attempted any military action against Iran.

Iran's Finance Minister Reza Salimi said the U.S. economic sanctions would not hurt Iran.

There were more reports of border fighting between Iraq and Iran. Iranian

refugees fleeing or being expelled from Iraq reached 5,000, according to Iranian sources. Reuters reported that Iran and Iraq exchanged intermittent artillery fire for 4-1/2 hours and that Iraqi helicopters joined the battle to attack Iranian positions with machinegun fire near Qasr-e Shirin. Unidentified "armed groups" attacked police posts near the village of Band and Urumiyeh in northern Iran, according to Tehran radio.

Tehran television broadcast an "interview" with two of the hostages at the embassy in which they said the United States was involved in "espionage" against Iran, and demonstrated what was purported to be electronic wiring and devices used in spying. The State Department said the interview was staged and discounted the broadcast.

APRIL 10, 1980 -- THURSDAY

President Carter told a Washington audience of newspaper editors that the United States was "disappointed" at the response of U.S. allies to the call for economic and diplomatic sanctions against Iran. The President said that the United States did not ask its allies for an oil boycott of Iran.

European Community foreign ministers, meeting in Lisbon prior to the Council of Europe meeting, issued a statement calling upon Iran to release the hostages, and said that they would send their ambassadors to the Government of Iran to "demand" that the hostages be released. Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Japan said that they would follow the EC decision. The EC ministers called the communique a preliminary response and said that they would review the situation. Several EC countries recalled their ambassadors from Iran for consultations. Norway (not an EC member) recalled its ambassador permanently and closed its embassy. New Zealand Prime Minister Robert Muldoon said that his nation would not break diplomatic relations with Iran and that New Zealand's trade with Iran, mostly lamb, would not be affected by the economic sanctions. Japan's Foreign Minister Okita said that it would be "very difficult" for Japan to take the steps requested by the United States, and other Japanese government sources said that Japan would hold its trade with Iran to present levels and would not extend new credit to Iran. The ruling Social Democrat Party of West Germany issued a statement saying it had "reservations" about following the U.S. economic sanctions.

Iran announced that it would not take part in the Moscow Olympics.

Iran reported that the border with Iraq was quiet until mid-day, but new clashes between Iranian and Iraqi forces broke out in the afternoon. Tass, the Soviet news agency, accused Iraq of fomenting trouble with its "anti-Iranian campaign," and said the United States was ready to assist the Iraqis in the conflict with Iran. Apparently, the Soviet Union has taken the Iranian side against Iraq, a somewhat unorthodox posture since the Soviets in the past considered Iraq one of their closest allies in the Middle East. The Iraqis have not given much public attention to the border incidents with Iran, while the Iranians have focussed on the so-called Iraqi threat. The Iranians say that the United States and Iraq are cooperating in the attacks. The "student" threat to kill the hostages if the United States moves militarily against Iran included Iraqi military action, which the "students" say is coordinated by the United States.

APRIL 11, 1980 -- FRIDAY

White House press secretary Powell told reporters that the next steps for the United States would be economic and political, and not necessarily military. In recent days, the President and other White House spokesmen have hinted, or allowed reporters to believe, that the next step would be a naval blockade of Iran.

West German Chancellor Schmidt said Germany would not contribute to the "agitation" by "striking poses of strength" and warned against reckless steps which might endanger cooperation with the East. Schmidt said the West should try to understand Soviet interests in the crisis and that he was opposed to military action or economic boycotts aimed at Soviet interests which might violate western treaty arrangements with the Soviet Union.

Turkey's Prime Minister Demirel said the Iraqi-Iranian tensions and the U.S. sanctions against Iran created a "grave situation" in the whole region.

The Argentine Foreign Ministry denied a story in an Argentine newspaper that it would break relations with Iran, but did say that the Argentine ambassador in Tehran had been recalled for consultations.

Japanese Foreign Minister Okita said the impression that Japan would not cooperate with the United States was "false," and that Japan would take steps in concert with the European Community. The Japanese ambassador to Tehran has been recalled to Tokyo for talks.

In the Soviet Union, Pravda said the United States was "bluffing" in its threats to resort to military action. An article in Izvestia said the United States should apologize to Iran and should not be concerned about its "honor." Tass cited that Carter and Brzezinski speeches to the newspaper editors as threats that the United States would take military action against Iran.

West German Foreign Minister Genscher, apparently speaking for the European Community foreign ministers after their meeting in Lisbon, said they were not considering a diplomatic break with Iran because diplomatic contacts were needed to work for the release of the hostages. The EC members would wait for the reports of their ambassadors in Tehran before deciding on what if any economic actions they would take. Genscher said the EC probably would meet again in the near future to discuss its course of action. Other reports from Lisbon said Genscher had urged strong support for the United States during the EC meeting, in contrast to the impression left by Chancellor Schmidt.

In an interview with the Italian newspaper L'Espresso, Bani Sadr said he had done all he could to solve the hostage issue and that he did not want to be involved in the hostage affair anymore.

In Tehran, Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh met with the EC ambassadors and the ambassadors of Australia, New Zealand, and Japan to urge them to tell their governments not to join the U.S. economic sanctions. Ghotbzadeh also said he hoped that the Red Cross and the hostages' families could visit the hostages and that weekly religious services could be held in the embassy.

Bani Sadr told the "unity day" gathering at Tehran University that the

Iranian army would not stop with halting Iraqi aggression, but would carry the battle into Iraq. Bani Sadr said at one point that Iraq "dances to the U.S. tune," implying that Iraq was acting under orders from the United States, and at another point that Iraq was a "red fascist" state, implying that Iraq was dominated by the Soviet Union. Iranian ambassador to Moscow Muhammad Mukri was quoted as saying that Iran expected the Soviet Union to stop arms deliveries to Iraq.

A report from Baghdad said there was a major explosion at the Karg Island oil terminal, but Iranian oil ministry sources denied the story. Baghdad also reported that seven oil pipelines near Ahwaz had been sabotaged and that a television station had been destroyed. Tehran radio said the Iranian 81st armored division was involved in an 8-hour battle with Iraqi artillery and armored units near Bavaysi. Tehran radio also reported that Iraqi "security agents" were sneaking into Iran disguised as refugees from Iraq. Khomeini issued a statement that Iraq was expelling the Iranians from Iraq on orders from the United States.

APRIL 12, 1980 — SATURDAY

President Carter told foreign journalists that the United States had set "a specific date" for allied cooperation with the U.S. diplomatic and economic sanctions against Iran. It was believed the deadline was the first part of May. When asked what the United States would do if the hostages were harmed, the President answered that the United States' response "might very well involve military means." Asked how long the United States would wait before taking more action, the President answered that it would not be a "matter of many weeks or certainly not a matter of months." Other Administration sources said the United States did not ask its allies to break diplomatic relations with Iran, only to reduce their diplomatic representation in Tehran.

The United States announced that Iranians in the United States as tourists, temporary visitors, or on business would not have their visas renewed when they expired. The 56,000 students will not have to leave until their studies are complete.

Iran's President Bani Sadr told ambassadors from the European Community and Japan that neutral observers, such as the Red Cross, could visit the hostages. Foreign Ministers Ghotbzadeh met with ambassadors from Spain, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Austria, and Switzerland.

The Interior Ministry announced that the Revolutionary Council set May 2 for the second stage of the Majlis elections.

An Iraqi newspaper reported that the Government of Iraq was encouraging Arabs in Khuzestan province (which the Iraqis and most Arabs call Arabistan province) to revolt against the Iranian government. It was the first "official" announcement of Iraqi support for the 2 million Arabs in the oil-rich area of Iran. Iraq called up its military reservists.

APRIL 13, 1980 — SUNDAY

Reports from Britain said the government was "puzzled" by President Carter's statement that he had set a "deadline" for allied cooperation with the economic and diplomatic sanctions. British government sources said they would act according to their own laws and their own interests, and pointed out that the Thatcher government was an early and strong supporter of U.S. sanctions against Iran. West German Chancellor Schmidt said some of the U.S. requests for cooperation could be met, but others could not. Schmidt cited the German constitutional ban against military action outside NATO in response to questions as to whether Germany would support U.S. military actions. West German Foreign Minister Genscher said an argument among Western alliance members over the sanctions could only help the Soviet Union. Genscher said Germany would not break diplomatic relations and added that his country would wait for a European Community decision on what course to follow since Germany was bound to EC rules. The Federation of German Industry said it would cooperate with sanctions if the West German government supported the United States. Unconfirmed news reports said Turkey would not cooperate with the economic sanctions. South Korea denied that its ambassador was recalled from Tehran in support of the U.S. sanctions, but said the ambassador was scheduled to be promoted to Vice Minister of the Foreign Ministry.

"Students" at the embassy announced that Red Cross representatives, accompanied by a representative of the Red Lion and Sun (the Iranian equivalent of the Red Cross), Iranian Health Minister Musa Zargar, and Ayatollah Khomeini would visit the hostages on Monday, Apr. 14. The Revolutionary Council announced that it had approved the visit.

Iran announced that no new American journalists would be allowed to enter Iran, and that American journalists already in Iran would be allowed to stay.

President Bani Sadr announced that Iran would go to the Olympics if the Soviet Union withdrew, or announced that it would withdraw, from Afghanistan.

The Iranian navy began maneuvers in the Persian Gulf. The naval base at Bushehr was placed on full alert.

Iranian news reported four clashes between Kurds and Revolutionary Guards in the northern part of the country.

APRIL 14, 1980 — MONDAY

The Red Cross delegation spent 10 hours in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran visiting the American hostages, but would not say how many hostages they saw. The delegation was composed of Harold Schmid de Grueneck, the Red Cross representative in Tehran; a Swiss national, Dr. Bernard Liebeskind, who flew in from Geneva for the visit; Dr. Mansur Shamsa of the Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society; Musa Zargar, the Iranian Minister of Health; and Ayatollah Muhammad Ali Khomeini. The Japanese ambassador in Tehran asked President Bani Sadr to see the hostages.

British Prime Minister Thatcher was quoted as saying that Britain would do "everything possible to help the United States" free the hostages, but that Britain could act only within the rules of the European Community. The London Financial Times reported that Britain would not impose economic sanctions unless the United Nations Security Council endorsed such action (a

Security Council resolution calling for sanctions was vetoed by the Soviet Union on Jan. 13). The Financial Times also reported that West Germany was ready to impose economic sanctions. Austrian Foreign Minister Pahr said his government was considering how to respond to the U.S. request without violating Austrian neutrality. Portuguese Prime Minister SaCarneiro said Portugal was examining the sanctions proposal and would do everything possible to help the United States secure the release of the hostages. Japanese steel industry officials announced that negotiations for new contracts for steel deliveries to Iran after July would be postponed. Australia reduced its diplomatic staff in Tehran, recalled its trade mission, and announced that a new ambassador would not be named until the hostages were released. Ambassadors from Italy, Denmark, Britain, and the Netherlands left Tehran to return home for consultations.

South Africa's Foreign Minister Botha said his country had nothing to do with the Transkei invitation to grant political asylum to the Shah. South Africa granted independence to the former Xhosa tribal homeland of Transkei in 1976; no other nation recognizes Transkei as an independent country.

Iranian Oil Minister Muinfar denied reports that Iran's oil production had dropped to 300,000 barrels per day, saying production would remain at the 3 million barrels per day level, of which 1 million barrels per day is for Iran's domestic use. Muinfar repeated the threat to stop oil shipments to any nation cooperating with the U.S. economic and diplomatic sanctions.

Tehran radio reported more fighting between Kurds and Revolutionary Guards in west Azerbaijan province and an Iraqi attack on a border post near Sustan. Turkey complained to Iran of Iranian planes and helicopters violating Turkish air space and bombing a Turkish border post. The number of Iranian refugees from Iraq reached 20,000.

Newsweek magazine reported that the U.S. Treasury increased its estimate of Iranian assets frozen in the United States from \$8 billion to \$9 billion.

APRIL 15, 1980 -- TUESDAY

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said the United States would reassess its position on Iran "at a time certain" to consider what actions beyond the economic and diplomatic sanctions the United States must take to secure the release of the hostages. News sources in Washington reported that the "time certain" deadline was mid-May, at which time it was expected that the United States would institute a naval quarantine or naval blockade of Iran.

The Washington Post reported that the mid-May deadline for military action was established in the late March exchanges with Iran concerning the transfer of the hostages from the "students" to the Iranian government. On Mar. 25, according to the Post, the U.S. Government told Iran and U.S. allies that if the Government of Iran did not take custody of the hostages by Mar. 31, the United States would institute economic and diplomatic sanctions against Iran. Reportedly, the Carter Administration set mid-May as the deadline for a next step, which would be a naval quarantine or naval blockade of Iran, if the Iranian government did not respond to the economic and diplomatic sanctions levied on Mar. 31. Mid-May was selected as the deadline, according to the Post, because it was expected that the Majlis would have convened by then,

but the election subsequently was postponed until May 2.

The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Anba reported that the United States would begin a "military seige" of Iran within the "next few days." PLO spokesman Abu Mayzar said the PLO would fight with Iran to stop an American invasion of Iran.

Sweden's Prime Minister Ola Ullsten said his country would extend "spiritual cooperation" to the U.S. requests for economic and diplomatic sanctions, but would not take any further steps that might endanger Sweden's neutrality. Turkey announced that it would not cooperate with the U.S. sanctions against Iran.

Iran's Foreign Minister Sadeq Ghotbzadeh sent a telegram to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim complaining of Iraqi attacks against Iran and of Iraqi treatment of Kurds and Shia Muslims in Iraq. Tehran radio broadcast a statement by the "Islamic Revolutionary Army for the Liberation of Iraq" stating that the group was going to overthrow the Baath regime in Iraq and establish an Islamic republic based on the Iranian model of Ayatollah Khomeini. Baghdad radio stated that Iranian planes bombed 40 Kurdish villages in the northern part of Iraq. Tehran radio said the Kurdish areas were calm. The "Steadfastness Front" of Algeria, Syria, South Yemen, Libya, and the PLO asked Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to mediate the Iraqi-Iranian dispute. The Government of Turkey denied reports that Iranian planes and helicopters had bombed Turkish border areas yesterday, but did say Iran violated Turkey's air space in what the Turks called a "mistake."

APRIL 16, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The White House announced it was considering additional economic steps against Iran, including a cut-off of food and medical supplies, and said no military action was contemplated until the mid-May "reassessment" of efforts to resolve the crisis. The Administration spokesman disputed the Boston Globe story about U.S. intentions to impose a naval blockade against Iran in May, describing it as "inaccurate."

The Washington Post reported signs of the impact of the trade disruption in Iran, including long lines at supermarkets and butcher shops and hoarding of basic commodities. The Iranian government's growing concern about shortages was reflected in a directive to government ministries to curtail the use of computers and to implement manual systems instead.

Iran's Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Mohammed Hadi Shademehr told the official news agency Pars that Iran was watching the border with the Soviet Union, where troop maneuvers occurred recently. He said there was no indication that the Soviets were planning to violate Iran's territorial integrity. (On Apr. 14, National Security Council Advisor Brzezinski had made allusion to the recent Soviet troop movement in the Caucasus region.)

Revolutionary Council member Beheshti, a leading member of the hardline IRP, said the Majlis might not debate the hostage issue until June or July.

In Hamadan, three Iranians accused of cooperating with the CIA, participating in the establishment of the state of Israel, and supporting the



"illegal government of Shahpur Bakhtiar," were sentenced to death.

Azerbaijan, the scene of recent clashes, was reported relatively calm. Skirmishes occurred at several points along the Iraqi border.

The Tehran evening daily Kayhan carried a frontpage story about the tension between Iran and Iraq, reporting Iraq's three conditions for ending the war as: (1) Iran's withdrawal from the three islands (Tunbs and Abu Musa) in dispute, (2) the return of parts of the Shatt al-Arab to pre-1975 status, and (3) official recognition of the Arabism of Khuzestan. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh responded with Iran's three conditions: (1) destruction of the "Israeli-backed regime of Saddam Husayn," (2) Iraq's cooperation with the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist states, and (3) the release of political prisoners in Iraq.

THURSDAY -- APRIL 17, 1980

President Carter announced the imposition of new economic measures against Iran, and warned that if these fail, "the only next step available that I can see would be some form of military action." The new economic sanctions include: (1) a prohibition on all financial transactions between American citizens and Iran; (2) a ban on all imports from Iran to the United States; (3) a prohibition on travel by Americans to Iran, except for journalists; (4) a change in the status of military equipment on order by Iran, impounded last November, enabling such items to be sold or used by the U.S.; and (5) a request to Congress for authority to use the seized Iranian assets for claims and reparations.

Portugal became the first major U.S. ally to ban all its trade with Iran. The Washington Post reported from London that other European allies are likely to join in some form of economic sanctions when the foreign ministers meet on Apr. 21.

Iran's President Bani Sadr said that the U.S. broke a secret agreement with Iran that would have transferred the hostages to a hospital in exchange for Iran's right to question the Shah in Panama. Bani Sadr, in an interview in a Tehran daily newspaper, said it was the Shah's flight to Egypt, allegedly with the encouragement of Henry Kissinger, that violated the secret deal.

Commander Shademehr of the Iranian Army met with Ayatollah Khomeini to report on the state of the military along the Iraqi border. According to the Iranian domestic radio, he said that Iran "had no desire to open fire on our coreligionists," but was strong enough to repel any attacks from Iraq.

Soviet news agency Tass denied claims of a Soviet military buildup along Iran's border and said that the main source of the "provocative fabrication" was National Security Adviser Brzezinski.

Iran's Commander of the Navy Tabataba'i inspected naval units at Bandar Abbas and discounted the military threat posed by the United States because of the revolutionary morale of the Iranian nation. He said that if there is a conflict, it will serve the interests of the revolution.

The Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party reported that several dozen Iranian

soldiers and Revolutionary Guardsmen were killed in an attack against the Kurds in western Azarbaijan.

The Turkish newspaper Hurriyet reported that the railroad linking Turkey and Iran was destroyed by fighting between the Revolutionary Guards and the Kurds, and that this was causing a back-up of Iran-bound goods in the Turkish province of Van. (Turkey had earlier indicated it would not support an economic embargo of Iran.)

The British Ambassador was the first of the EC envoys to return to Tehran after being recalled to consult with his government about retaliatory actions.

APRIL 18, 1980 -- FRIDAY

In a press conference, President Carter said he had received reports that Khomeini would not release the hostages until after the U.S. Presidential elections in November 1980. The President did not elaborate. President Carter repeated his earlier statements that he would not apologize to Iran for U.S. relations with the Shah.

Japanese government ministries began preparations for export control orders on goods bound for Iran in anticipation of a European Community trade ban. The EC is scheduled to meet in Luxembourg on Apr. 21. French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet said it was possible that the EC would impose sanctions against Iran in response to the U.S. appeal. Danish Prime Minister Anker Joergensen said his nation favored sanctions, but feared that the sanctions could make the hostage situation worse.

Sadeq Ghotbzadeh, Iran's Foreign Minister, arrived in Paris on a "private" visit. The Iranian Foreign Ministry denied that Ghotbzadeh was in Paris.

Ayatollah Khalkhali told al-Hawadith, the London-published Arabic newspaper, that the hostages would be tried in two months. "Spies" would be imprisoned and the innocent hostages released, Khalkhali said. The Ayatollah also said that his followers were trying to get into Egypt to assassinate the Shah.

Baghdad radio said the hostage issue was a "farce" created by Iran and the United States, that the two nations were going to re-establish relations to work against Iraq.

Fighting between the Kurds and the Iranian army was reported near Sanandaj, Mahabad, and Saggez. The 28th division of the Iranian army was dispatched to the area, ostensibly to fortify the border with Iraq, but townspeople in Sanandaj staged a sit-down strike on the roads from the airport to keep the army out of the city, because the townspeople feared the army was sent to fight Kurds, not Iraqis. Other Iranian army units in the Kurdish area commandeered vehicles to move fresh troops toward beleaguered Iranian army outposts.

Students occupied universities in Tehran, Shiraz, Babolsar, Kerman, and Tabriz, and several clashes were reported between Islamic fundamentalist students and "leftist" students. Apparently, a speech by Ayatollah Rafsanjani at Tabriz University on Apr. 15 triggered the seizures and the



clashes when Rafsanjani called for a "purge" of all students and faculty who leaned toward the "east and the west." The Revolutionary Council issued a statement that all universities would be closed after the June 4 examinations so that all the "centers of conspiracies and centers of differences of opinion" could be closed and "revolutionary" programs could be instituted at the universities.

Asahi of Japan published an interview with President Bani Sadr in which the president said that the United States had reneged on the "deal" with the United Nations commission by allowing the Shah to leave Panama. According to Bani Sadr, the commission was supposed to visit the hostages and submit a "secret" report to the Government of Iran describing the hostages' conditions and any steps the Iranian government should take to improve conditions. At the same time, according to Bani Sadr, Panama was to accept the Iranian extradition request, arrest the Shah, and permit the Shah to be questioned in Panama. Bani Sadr said the deal fell through because the United States, in the person of Henry Kissinger, "sent" the Shah to Egypt. At any rate, Bani Sadr told Asahi, the hostages were not important to the United States, but were only an excuse to stop the Islamic revolution.

APRIL 19, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Reuters reported that Khomeini's office in Tehran denied that the Ayatollah said the hostages would not be released until after the U.S. Presidential elections in November.

Barbara and Kenneth Timm, parents of hostage Kevin Hermening, arrived in Tehran in an attempt to see their son.

Iran embargoed oil shipments to Portugal in response to Portuguese support for the U.S. economic sanctions. It was reported from Turkey that the United States and Turkey had reached an "understanding" that Turkish trade with Iran was of "special" importance to Turkey and could continue despite the U.S. sanctions.

The Japanese Ministry for International Trade and Industry (MITI) told Japanese steel, auto, and trading companies not to sign new contracts for exports to Iran. Exports destined for the joint Iranian-Japanese petrochemical complex were excluded from the ban. After conferring with 12 Japanese oil refining and shipping companies, MITI announced that Japan would reject the Iranian oil price increase of \$2.50 per barrel (up to \$35.00 per barrel) in spite of the Iranian threat to suspend oil shipments if the price was not accepted. Japan's Foreign Minister Okita left to attend the EC meeting in Luxembourg on Apr. 21.

News reports from India said Iran was trying to buy eggs, meat, cooking oil, rice, soap, machinery, diesel engines, chemicals, textiles, and electrical equipment.

Fighting continued between the Kurds and the Iranian army. The people of Sanandaj continued their sit-down blockade of the roads from the airport, trapping the Iranian army reinforcements.

There were reports of more fighting among students at several universities in Iran, particularly at Shiraz where some 300 students were injured. The

Revolutionary Council issued an order closing all universities for two days to allow for the "dismantling" of the "centers" of conspiracies." People staged marches in support of the Islamic fundamentalist students in Kerman, Qom, and Mashhad.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh left Paris after meeting with Bourguet and Villalon, the two lawyers allegedly involved in previous negotiations with Panama and the United States. Ghotbzadeh said he was on a "good will mission."

APRIL 20, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Tehran radio reported that the Muslim Brotherhood, a conservative Islamic reformist movement headquartered in Cairo and active in several other Middle Eastern countries, had been asked by the U.S. State Department to mediate between Iran and the United States. The Iranian state radio said the Muslim Brotherhood had agreed to the mediation effort, with the approval of the Egyptian government, providing President Carter released Iranian assets, ended military and economic sanctions, and agreed to the Shah's extradition to Iran.

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told Reuters that he tried to convince Iranian leaders to allow families to visit the hostages. He said no release date had been set, and that President Carter's statement that Khomeini would not release the hostages until after the American Presidential elections was only Carter's opinion. Ghotbzadeh was optimistic that European nations would not join the U.S. economic sanctions against Iran. The Foreign Minister also said Iran was reconsidering the presence of American journalists and may expel them.

Tehran radio reported the Pentagon had announced that a naval blockade of Iran would begin in the near future and that the United States was already planting mines along Iran's southern borders.

Oil Minister Muinfar said Iran would stop oil shipments to Japan on Apr. 21, Monday, if the Japanese did not accept the \$2.50 per barrel increase in price. Muinfar also said that a United States blockade of Iran would mean the start of World War III.

The Iranian army's 28th division left the Sanandaj airport after being blocked for four days by Kurdish townspeople barricading the roads, and began moving toward the Kurdish city of Saggez where it was ambushed by Kurdish guerrillas. British news sources reported that Saggez was under artillery fire all night, and that fighting was going on in the cities of Paveh and Javanrud. Tehran radio said Saggez was calm. Kurds captured an Iranian army company near Nowsud.

President Bani Sadr called for an end to all gatherings at universities, and the Revolutionary Council ordered all universities evacuated. Islamic fundamentalist students seized Isfahan university. After clashes between fundamentalists and "leftist" students, in which 200 were arrested, students left Shiraz university. Other Islamic students, acting with the encouragement of the Islamic Republic Party, attacked "anti-revolutionary" and "anti-Islamic" students barricaded in the drama school of Tehran university. At Mashhad, 350 students were injured during a similar attack.

The "Islamic Societies" of the fundamentalist students issued a call for a march on universities on Apr. 21.

APRIL 21, 1980 — MONDAY

Mrs. Barbara Timm visited her son, Kevin Hermening, in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran for 45 minutes. President Carter commented that he would not "punish" the Timms for defying the ban against Americans traveling to Iran.

Mustagbal, the Paris Arabic language magazine, reported that Ayatollah Khomeini would hold a meeting with the "students" at the embassy and would announce that the hostages would be released soon. The report was not confirmed by any other news sources.

European Community Foreign Ministers met in Luxembourg to discuss cooperating with the U.S. economic and diplomatic sanctions against Iran. British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington offered a "compromise" plan calling for an EC boycott of Iranian oil, a ban on military sales to Iran, and a reduction in diplomatic representation in Tehran. Britain offered to share its North Sea oil with its EC partners. Japanese Foreign Minister Okita conferred with EC Ministers and announced that Japan would adopt a policy similar to the EC policy. Preliminary reports from Luxembourg suggested that France and Italy were hesitant to accept the British plan, and that West Germany and Ireland, each of which receives about 10% of its oil from Iran, would accept the British plan if Britain and other oil producers agreed to share oil supplies to replace the Iranian loss. Japan will be the first oil importer affected; Iran announced an oil embargo against Japan following Japan's refusal to pay an additional \$2.50 per barrel for Iranian crude oil. According to reports, the Japanese approached the United States and Mexico to increase oil shipments to Japan to replace the Iranian oil, and asked the International Energy Agency to consider implementing the oil sharing plan. Japan was importing about 530,000 barrels per day from Iran, about 10% of Japan's oil consumption.

Australia announced a trade ban on Iran, except food and medicine. Australia and Portugal are the only countries to follow the U.S. lead in economic sanctions against Iran.

The London Financial Times reported that Iran was discussing oil sales to eastern European states as alternative markets for its oil if the western European states follow the U.S. oil boycott appeal. According to the Times, Bulgaria offered to buy Japan's share of the Iranian production, and the U.S.S.R. offered to trade oil field equipment and spare parts to Iran in exchange for resuming the flow of Iranian gas through the Iran-Soviet pipeline. Iran stopped gas shipments to the Soviet Union last week after the Soviets rejected an Iranian price increase.

Ayatollah Khomeini said in a speech that Iranian universities needed a "fundamental change" to get rid of "western training" and introduce "Islamic teaching." Khomeini said the current disturbances in the universities were caused by students who supported the West and communism, which was the fault of the universities for not teaching Islamic thinking. His remarks appeared to inspire more violence on university campuses across Iran; students calling themselves the Hezbollah (Partisans of God) shut down the school system in Jahrom, near Shiraz, closed the university in Tabriz, and began an attack

against 3,000 "leftists" barricaded inside Tehran university. In Tehran, fighting between the Hezbollah and the "leftists" left 11 dead, hundreds injured, and spread outside the university to the city streets. President Bani Sadr appealed to all people to evacuate the university areas and sent the Revolutionary Guards to break up the mobs.

The Iranian army shelled the northern Kurdish city of Saggez, and there was sporadic fighting in other Kurdish areas. Iranian and Iraqi border posts exchanged fire along the boundary.

The second round of elections for the Iranian parliament were rescheduled from May 2 to May 9.

APRIL 22, 1980 — TUESDAY

European Community Foreign Ministers, meeting in Luxembourg, agreed to reduce their diplomatic representation with Iran, suspend arms sales to Iran, require visas for Iranians traveling in Europe, and discourage purchasing Iranian oil at prices above the OPEC standard of \$32.50 per barrel (Iran is asking \$35.50). The EC statement said that "unless very real decisive progress" is made toward the release of the hostages, the EC will embargo all exports to Iran on May 17.

Sweden's Foreign Minister Ullsten said the Swedish ambassador in Tehran might be recalled for consultations, but Sweden would not institute economic sanctions against Iran. Denmark recalled its ambassador from Tehran, as did Britain and Norway. Australia revoked all trade incentives with Iran.

Iran's Finance Minister announced the signing of a trade agreement with the Soviet Union, which included industrial goods and food. The Finance Minister said that the U.S. sanctions would not harm Iran now that Iran opened more trade with the U.S.S.R. Iran repeated its plea to India to increase trade.

Moscow radio reported in Farsi that the United States navy was moving to blockade Iranian ports and harbors on May 1, and that the United States was taking other military measures which could lead to war.

Fighting between the Islamic students and "leftists" continued in several Iranian universities. About 200 were killed at Tehran University, where "anti-revolutionary" student organization offices were ransacked. President Bani Sadr led a march to the university grounds after the fighting subsided and proclaimed that the "cultural revolution" was a success. Five were killed at Ahwaz university when a crowd of townspeople marched to the university to drive the "anti-revolutionaries" off campus. A crowd of 10,000 seized the university in Gilan from the students; five were reported killed in the confrontation. One was killed at Sistan university. In Shiraz, classes resumed after the townspeople seized the university yesterday. Hundreds of students were injured in the university clashes across Iran, and hospitals called for additional doctors.

Heavy fighting between the Kurds and the Iranian army was reported.

Ayatollah Khomeini issued a statement that Ayatollah Bagir al-Sadr, head of Iraqi Shiites, had been killed by the Iraqi authorities three days ago.

Al-Sadr "disappeared" about three weeks ago, and was reported under arrest, in hiding, dead, or in exile, and his fate has become another major issue between Iraq and Iran. Khomeini's statement on al-Sadr included an appeal to Iraqis to overthrow the government of Saddam Husayn, who Khomeini claims is an American "client."

APRIL 24, 1980 — THURSDAY

Reports from Tokyo said Iran was withdrawing its bank deposits from Japanese and most European banks and placing its money in "neutral" banks in Switzerland and Austria. Iran feared, according to the Tokyo reports, that Japan and European nations would freeze Iranian assets as part of the economic sanctions. Turkey announced that it would not change its relations with Iran, including its trading relations, and that Turkey would not assist any other countries in sending goods to Iran through Turkey. Norway said it would break all economic relations with Iran on May 17 if the hostages were not released by then.

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said it was regrettable that the European nations were cooperating with the U.S. economic and diplomatic sanctions, but that Iran would never surrender to "force and pressure." The hostages would be released when the United States met Iran's demands, the Foreign Minister repeated. Ghotbzadeh then said that if the United States mined the Persian Gulf waters around Iran, Iran would not allow any oil to leave the Persian Gulf: "We will close the Persian Gulf at any price and by any means."

Fighting between the Kurds and the Iranian army continued in the north; 80 were reported killed and 300 injured. An oil pipeline in Kermanshah was sabotaged, and there was other fighting reported in Khuzestan Province where 600 were arrested by Revolutionary Guards.

APRIL 25, 1980 — FRIDAY

At 1 a.m. Washington time, the White House issued a statement that a military operation aimed at rescuing the hostages had been attempted and had been cancelled because of "equipment failure." After the operation was cancelled, a ground collision between two aircraft resulted in the deaths of eight and injuries to others. The White House said remaining participants in the operation had been evacuated from Iran.

At 7 a.m., President Carter told a news conference that he took full responsibility for the rescue operation, which he said was launched for humanitarian reasons.

At noon, Secretary of Defense Brown held a press conference in Washington in which he said the rescue attempt represented the "best course of action for getting our hostages out of Iran expeditiously." Brown said no one should doubt American resolve to secure the release of the hostages. Secretary Brown said the operation involved eight RH-53 helicopters, specially adapted for the operation, six C-130 cargo and refueling aircraft, about 90 men for the rescue attempt, and about 90 men in air and ground crews. Two

helicopters failed enroute from the aircraft carrier Nimitz in the Arabian sea to the landing site near Tabas; one force-landed and its crew was rescued, and the other returned to the Nimitz. Another helicopter malfunctioned during a refueling operation and, with five helicopters remaining, the operation commander cancelled the mission. One helicopter collided with a C-130 during the withdrawal. Eight men died in the collision and fire, and several others were injured. The remaining men withdrew in the five C-130s, leaving six helicopters and one C-130 behind at Tabas. Secretary Brown would not say where the C-130s refueled before or after the mission. Brown said other countries were informed of the operation after the evacuation was completed.

It appeared as though the Iranian government learned of the rescue attempt from the White House announcement, but one report from Tehran said government officials heard of the incident from travelers in the area of Tabas, in east-central Iran, south of the Dasht-e Kavir desert. The Iranian Army Chief of Staff Muhammad Shadmehr said he did not know of the incident and that his staff was trying to locate the wreckage at the same time an Iranian Air Force senior officer was telling the press that the collision occurred while the American planes were trying to elude Iranian Air Force fighters and that Iranian army elements were in pursuit of "300 Marines and CIA agents" left behind by the fleeing Americans. A spokesman for Prime Minister Tabatabai said Iranian planes engaged the American planes in combat, shot down one American plane, killing 8 and wounding 20, and that the attacking force was composed of Americans and Europeans. Revolutionary Council member Ayatollah Bohonar said between 600 and 700 Americans took part in the raid, many of whom were left behind when the attack was discovered.

A "student" spokesman said nothing had been done to the hostages because the story of the U.S. military rescue attempt was "all lies." The "student" repeated the earlier warning that the hostages would be killed if the United States attempted any military action against Iran. Later, another "student" said a decision would be made later on what to do with the hostages. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the American rescue attempt was "an act of war," and cautioned the "students" at the embassy not to react as "nervously" as the Americans did. Ghotbzadeh added that oil company workers were prepared "to pour oil on the sea and light it... to set the whole area on fire if the United States tried to launch an aggression" against Iran.

Iranian President Bani Sadr said the rescue incident was connected to the recent unrest in the universities. Central Bank Director Nobari said the American effort was "an act of war." Iran's ambassador in Paris said the lives of the hostages were in danger because of the rescue attempt. An official of the Iran Civil Aviation Authority said the American planes could not have entered Iranian air space without being detected. The governor of Khorosan province said all forces in the area were on full alert looking for "U.S. Marines" trying to escape across the desert. The Mobilization Board called up the militia in Khorosan and asked citizens in the region to stop fleeing "Marines."

British Prime Minister Thatcher sent a telegram to President Carter praising his courage for the rescue attempt, and a Conservative Party spokesman said the party supported the U.S. attempt. West German Chancellor Schmidt cautioned against criticizing the United States. The German opposition party, The Christian Democratic Union, applauded the U.S. attempt and called for support for the United States. Australian Foreign Minister Peacock said the rescue attempt was "understandable," and added that he hoped the hostages were not imperiled by it. NATO Secretary-General Lunns said the

attempt "complicates" the hostage issue. Italy's Foreign Minister said his nation opposed the use of force. Sweden's Foreign Minister said the United States used force because the Iranian government was unable to resolve the crisis, and added that the situation was "explosive." Japan's Foreign Minister Okita said he would ask the United States to use "self restraint" and not attempt any more military actions. AFP quoted an official of the European Community as saying the EC adopted the economic sanctions in an attempt to dissuade the United States from using force.

In Paris, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko condemned the U.S. action. Tass called the rescue attempt a "defiance of international law," a "provocation against the sovereignty of Iran," and a "pretext for a hegemonistic policy," and said that President Carter launched the attack in a "vain attempt to show himself as a strong leader" in his bid for re-election. Bulgarian state news sources called the rescue an "irresponsible action," and an "act of war," and Czechoslovakian radio said the attempt "endangered world peace." Hungary, Yugoslavia, East Germany, and Poland repeated the early White House statement without editorial comment.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister "deplored" the action as a violation of international law. India and China reported the story without editorial comment, but the Government of India said later it could not condone the "military adventure." The Voice of Palestine clandestine radio from Lebanon said the "Palestine Revolution" stands by Iran against American aggression. An Israeli government spokesman said Israel had no knowledge of the operation and no connection with the events, but Israeli Prime Minister Begin later told reporters he knew of the rescue attempt "from the outset." Egypt's President al-Sadat said the United States should not be discouraged from taking further action. Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti news sources reported the events without editorial comment. Algeria, Libya, and Syria condemned the United States for aggression against Iran. Premier Castro sent Ayatollah Khomeini a message stating Cuba's "solidarity" with Iran. Chilean radio commented that the American "desperate gesture" meant a failure of American prestige and President Carter's re-election bid.

Foreign news sources offered a confusing array of reports on the American military rescue attempt. Various reports said the planes and helicopters entered Iran from Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt, Bahrain, Israeli bases in the Sinai, Oman, and West Germany, and left Iran by way of Bahrain, Jordan, and Egypt. The Governments of Pakistan, Bahrain, and Turkey denied any involvement in the American rescue attempt. President al-Sadat of Egypt repeated his earlier statement that he had promised any assistance necessary to the United States to help rescue the hostages, but would not directly confirm or deny that Egyptian bases had been used. One Israeli source said the planes left from Cairo West airport, refueled at Bahrain, and flew into Iran, and returned to Cairo West after the attempt was cancelled. Another Israeli report said the planes flew to Bahrain from Qina, on the upper Nile. Sources in Greece said the Greek government gave permission for the planes to overfly Greece enroute from West Germany to Egypt, and from Amman, Jordan, to Germany on the return flight. One Japanese news agency said one American plane was shot down. Budapest radio said the Americans were dressed in Iranian army uniforms. Tass reported that the Americans were a "super secret task force trained in the use of chemical weapons."

APRIL 26, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The "students" at the embassy issued a statement that the hostages were to be moved from the embassy in Tehran to several other Iranian cities in order to foil any more American rescue attempts. If there is another attempt, said the embassy intruders, the hostages will be killed. The "students" said the American attack was assisted by "mercenaries" in Iran. Later, the "students" said the hostages had been moved to new locations, and President Bani Sadr confirmed the report.

President Bani Sadr said the bodies of the Americans killed in the rescue attempt would be returned to the United States. Bani Sadr said Iran repudiated the Soviet Union treaty of 1921 (the treaty allowed the Soviets to intervene if Iran were threatened) and that any Soviet action in Iran would be considered aggression. Bani Sadr said the rescue was part of a larger scheme to place the Shah back on the Iranian throne. The Iranian president said there were no negotiations underway with the United States, that Iran was waiting for the United States to comply with the U.N. commission requirements for the release of the hostages. Iranian Gendarmerie Commander Zahir-Mezhad said the rescue attempt was not the first such act, and that the United States had tried other similar operations in the past. Zahir-Mezhad said the United States was behind the student disturbances of the past week.

Tehran radio reported that Iranian Air Force planes bombed and strafed the six helicopters and two C-130s (Iranian sources report two planes, not one, left at Babat-e Khan, the landing site near Tabas) because the aircraft were booby-trapped. According to Iranian news agencies, two Iranian soldiers were killed when a "black box" exploded as they removed it from a helicopter. Iranian radio reported that Iranian helicopter crewmen shot and killed three Revolutionary Guards mistaken for "U.S. Marines."

Japan's Prime Minister Ohira said he would ask the United States to refrain from military action in the future, and added that Japan would continue the economic sanctions promised at Luxembourg last Tuesday. West German Foreign Minister Genscher appealed for a peaceful solution to the hostage crisis. The Turkish Council of Ministers issued a statement that the hostage problem should be settled through peaceful, not military, means.

Arab League General Secretary Shadli Klibi issued a statement that the American military act was dangerous and a risk to peace in the region. Iraq condemned the U.S. rescue attempt. Yasir Arafat of the PLO denounced the United States for the action. A Kuwait cabinet minister said the United States "violated international law" by using force to free the hostages. The Libyan Foreign Secretary called for the overthrow of al-Sadat for allowing the United States to use Egyptian bases for the raid, called for the expulsion of the United States from the United Nations, and called for the U.N. headquarters to be removed from New York. The Government of Bahrain denied that the American planes had refueled on the island. The "Islamic Liberation Front" demonstrated against the Bahraini government and a riot ensued when police were called to break up the demonstration. One Bahrain newspaper said the United States was the "laughing stock" of the world because of the "disaster" at Tabas. The Government of Pakistan repeated its denial that U.S. planes used Pakistani air bases, and called the U.S. rescue a violation of Iranian sovereignty. The Government of Vietnam condemned the United States for the raid.

An official source in Yugoslavia said there was "no justification" for the U.S. action. Albania denounced the "aggression" against Iran. Tass pointed out the paradox between the American military action and the European

Community-Japanese agreement to impose economic and diplomatic sanctions in the hope the United States would not use force to resolve the hostage issue.

The Washington Post reported that the C-130 aircraft flew from Egypt down the Red Sea, around the Arabian Peninsula over the Gulf of Aden to Oman, where they refueled before flying on to Iran. U.S. Defense Department sources refused to confirm or deny the Post story. The Government of Oman denied that the planes had stopped in Oman. The Iranian ambassador to Kuwait said Oman "would not go unpunished" for its role in the attack. An Iranian army spokesman said the planes entered Iranian air space at 3 a.m. Iranian time and that a passerby spotted the fire at 9 a.m. and reported it to the police. The army spokesman said the raid was part of a larger invasion of Iran. Bani Sadr said the planes and helicopters entered Iran through a gap in the radar coverage of the country, that the planes came from Oman, and that the helicopters flew over Pakistani air space. A Cairo magazine reported that 40 Iranian air cadets, until recently in training in the United States, took part in the raid. A Kuwaiti newspaper reported that the United States called off the raid when the Soviet Union discovered the planes and warned the United States that Soviet troops would intervene in Iran unless the U.S. force withdrew. The Portuguese Foreign Ministry said it had no prior knowledge of the raid, but an Azores military commander answered "no comment" when asked if the American planes had refueled at Lages air base enroute to Iran.

APRIL 27, 1980 — SUNDAY

It was reported that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had resigned because he opposed the attempted rescue of the hostages. Vance offered his letter of resignation on Monday, Apr. 21, but the President held the letter until after the rescue attempt was completed.

Reports from Luxembourg, where the European Community heads of state are meeting, suggested that the EC would reaffirm its support for the economic and diplomatic sanctions adopted by the EC Foreign Ministers on Apr. 22, in spite of the U.S. military attempt to rescue the hostages. It was also reported that the EC leaders would convey to President Carter their opposition to any further military actions against Iran, and may call for a summit meeting with the President.

President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing said France would "continue its efforts in solidarity with the United States to obtain the release of the hostages." Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said Germany was "determined to continue at the side of the United States to look for a solution to the hostage issue," and sent a telegram of sympathy for the deaths of the Americans involved in the raid to the President of the United States. Japanese Prime Minister Ohira repeated his statement that he would ask the United States to pursue peaceful means to secure the hostages' release. Sweden's ambassador in Tehran appealed to President Bani Sadr to release the hostages.

The Government of Saudi Arabia issued a statement that said it views the rescue attempt "with the greatest concern and much regret" and that the "use of force [was] beyond the acceptable limits of international behavior" and a threat to regional security and stability. The Saudis appeal for "self restraint." Kuwait's Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs denounced the U.S. operation as a violation of international practice. A Kuwaiti newspaper

editorial urged Iran to release the hostages. A Bahraini newspaper criticized the U.S. action as a threat to peace and said the "economic blockade" was enough. Tehran radio reported that the demonstrations continued against the Bahrain government's alleged cooperation with the American force. The Government of Oman again denied that the U.S. aircraft had refueled in Oman.

China said the rescue attempt was a violation of Iran's sovereignty, and "not helpful" in seeking a solution to the hostage problem. Costa Rica urged Iran and the United States to find a peaceful solution to the issue to avoid a "threat of war." The Foreign Ministry of Nepal said it opposed Iran's holding the hostages and opposed the U.S. military action.

Tass said the Pentagon was trying to "white wash" the failure and that President Carter was threatening to try another raid. Tass said President Carter was hypocritical because he urged a peaceful solution to the problem at the same time he was planning the military operation. East German head of state Honecker said the United States was trying to overthrow the Iranian government.

In Iran, the bodies of the Americans killed in the raid (U.S. Defense Department said eight were killed, Iran said it found nine bodies) were flown to Tehran airport and taken by ambulance to the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. Ayatollah Khomeini, the Islamic court judge who passed execution sentences on some 300 Iranians, supervised the transfer and claimed that another 20 American dead were still at Rabat-e Khan, the refueling site. Khomeini held a press conference at the embassy where he displayed weapons and other equipment and the bodies. White House Press Secretary Powell called the Khomeini display a "new low in moral depravity." Apparently, Khomeini was acting in defiance of President Bani Sadr's intention to move the bodies to a hospital, morgue, or to some other location, but not the U.S. Embassy.

"Students" at the embassy announced that the hostages had been moved to Tabriz, Qom, and other sites in Iran. One "student" spokesman said the United States planned the rescue attempt to fail so that the "students" would kill the hostages. According to the spokesman, the United States wanted the hostages killed by the "students" to prevent damaging testimony from appearing at a trial.

Iranian Army Chief of Staff Shadmehr said the Americans wanted to establish a permanent base in Iran as well as rescue the hostages. President Bani Sadr said the purpose of the raid was not to free the hostages but to cause the "downfall of the revolutionary regime." Bani Sadr said the hostage crisis could be solved if the United States agreed not to interfere in Iranian affairs. Bani Sadr said Iran would not "turn toward Moscow" as a result of the American raid. Ayatollah Khomeini sent a message to Bani Sadr saying that international groups, such as the European Community, the Islamic Conference, and the Non-Aligned Nations, should be invited to Iran to "observe the evidence of the United States' crimes." Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, on a visit to Syria and Lebanon, repeated his statement of yesterday that Iran would "set the Gulf on fire" and added that Iran would mine the Persian Gulf if the United States did not abandon the use of force.

The Government of Jordan denied that American planes used Jordanian air fields before or after the raid on Iran, and denied that American casualties were treated at an Amman hospital. Israeli sources reported that the refueling operation was carried out at Masirah Island, off the southeast coast of Oman, and that U.S. command posts for the rescue attempt were

located on Bahrain, the carrier Nimitz, and aboard a plane that was based at Ismir, Turkey.

APRIL 28, 1980 -- MONDAY

The "students" at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran appealed to the people of Yazd, Isfahan, and Najafabad to help defend the hostages transferred from Tehran to those cities. Other "students" in Tabriz said some hostages were being held in the U.S. consulate in that city. Yesterday, the "students" said the hostages had been transferred to Qom and Tabriz and were being protected by Revolutionary Guards. Except for the "students'" statements, there is no other confirmation that the hostages have been relocated to the cities named by the "students," or if the Revolutionary Guards are guarding the hostages at the new sites, or if the appearance of the Guards means the government now has some control over the hostages. The embassy intruders reported that "counter-revolutionaries" had attacked the Tehran embassy three times during the night, each time firing at the embassy from automobiles. The "students" said they returned the fire and repulsed the attackers.

The bodies of the Americans killed in the aircraft collision were moved from the American Embassy to the Medical-Legal Institute, ostensibly at the order of the Revolutionary Council. President Bani Sadr asked Archbishop Capucci to take possession of the bodies to return them to the families in the United States. Bani Sadr was reported as saying he did not want to give the remains directly to the U.S. Government. Another report suggested that the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Swiss embassy, and the Papal Legation would take custody of the remains to transfer them to the United States. Capucci left Rome for Tehran. Iranian newspapers reported that the bodies were to be given to the United States in exchange for the Iranian assets frozen since last November.

Three bombs exploded in Tehran and a fourth was defused by Tehran police. One report said a "hobby-trapped" car exploded and killed two people in the southern part of the city, and another bomb was thrown into a movie theater.

Iran expelled an NBC television reporter.

In Paris, former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar denied any involvement in the rescue attempt and denied that he knew of the rescue before it happened.

Iran's Foreign Minister said at a Beirut press conference that he hoped the hostages issue could be settled peacefully, and repeated his warning that Iran would mine the Persian Gulf if the United States tried any more military actions.

President Bani Sadr replied to Ayatollah Khomeini's letter of yesterday stating that he had invited the Islamic Conference Secretariat, the Non-Aligned Nations, the European Community, Japan, liberation movements, international unions, and political parties from several countries to come to Iran to view the "evidence" of "America's crime."

The European Community heads of state meeting in Luxembourg issued a communique reaffirming their "solidarity with the United States" and reaffirming the decision to cooperate with the economic and diplomatic

sanctions made by the EC foreign ministers on Apr. 22. Japan announced that it would delay the withdrawal of some of its diplomats from Tehran until after Prime Minister Ohira's trip to the United States. Japan had agreed to the diplomatic withdrawal in cooperation with the EC sanctions. Most West German political parties issued statements agreeing with the need for solidarity with the United States. Austrian press editorials were critical of the U.S. rescue attempt, suggesting that the failure caused a loss of confidence in the United States and a loss of American prestige. Austrian Chancellor Kreisky was quoted as saying that he condemned the seizure of the hostages and also condemned the attempted rescue.

The Government of Oman again denied that the American planes had used Omani bases during the rescue attempt. The United Arab Emirates denounced the rescue attempt as "aggression against Iran" and said the action was not helpful in solving the hostage issue. Benmin Ribao, the Chinese government newspaper, said it "regretted" the U.S. action as a "rash move" that will only complicate the hostage issue, and added that Iran should abide by the norms of diplomatic behavior and release the hostages.

A Yugoslavian government spokesman said the United States acted against the U.N. charter. Soviet radio commented that the United States was using subversive tactics to overthrow the Iranian government and that a second military strike was in the planning stage. Moscow radio continued to say that the hostage rescue was a ruse to cover an invasion of Iran. Another Moscow radio broadcast said that American "saboteurs" had been arrested in Kerman, Iran, that more than eight Americans were killed in the raid, and that the Defense Department was trying to hide the full extent of the "fiasco" from the American people.

APRIL 29, 1980 -- TUESDAY

President Carter said in a press conference that Secretary of State Vance resigned because he disagreed with the timing of the rescue attempt, preferring to wait for further diplomatic moves. The President praised the men involved in the attempt and refused to give more details of the planned rescue. The President said the raid was attempted at this time because of weather and climatic conditions and because the apparent "fragmentation" of Iran created a new danger to the hostages.

Archbishop Capucci said upon his arrival in Tehran that he would escort the remains of the eight Americans to Switzerland, where they would be transferred to the International Red Cross for delivery to their families in the United States. Capucci said he undertook the mission for religious reasons. It was not clear when Capucci and the bodies would leave Iran, as some members of the Revolutionary Council reportedly claimed they had to approve the transfer first.

Tehran radio reported that a government investigation revealed that the U.S. force had intended to use gas to immobilize people, take over the radio and television stations, the airport, and other key installations, and then surrender the city to an Iranian armed force led by former Prime Minister Bakhtiar which would enter Iran from a hiding place in Iraq. Tehran radio said part of the Iraqi-U.S.-Bakhtiar plot included causing the university riots of last week and the Kurdish insurrection of the past few days. Tehran radio blamed the bombings of yesterday on Bakhtiar. There were two more bomb



explosions today, at a library in Khorramshahr and at a government office in Dezfol. Iran's Foreign Minister survived an assassination attempt while enroute to see the Amir of Kuwait. One Kuwaiti policeman was wounded in the machinegun attack on Ghotbzadeh's motorcade. Ghotbzadeh went on to Qatar after his meeting with the Amir.

Tehran radio reported that an Iranian plane was intercepted and fired upon by two U.S. planes over the Gulf of Oman, but that the two U.S. planes fled after other Iranian air force planes appeared. U.S. Defense Department sources said the two U.S. planes approached an Iranian C-130 cargo craft to "look it over" but left without firing a shot and without seeing any other aircraft.

President Bani Sadr was quoted by the Italian leftist newspaper Il Manifesto as saying that Iran needed a "cultural revolution" to prevent further U.S. "penetration" and subversion, that Iran must "close arbitrary centers of power" (an apparent reference to the "students" at the embassy), and that Iran must "end the cult of personalities." The "cult of personalities" could be applied to Ayatollah Khomeini. Il Manifesto reported that Bani Sadr said the American rescue effort of Apr. 24 and 25 was aimed at the overthrow of the Iranian government.

Bani Sadr has called an international conference for May 10 and 11 to allow the world community to see the evidence of the "American aggression" against Iran and to "create a defensive front" against imperialism. The President invited U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim to send a delegation to the conference and to "investigate" the U.S. actions.

Defense Minister Shamran said the United States was behind the oil field sabotage, the Iraqi border skirmishes, and was training an Iranian army in exile in Iraq. Ayatollah Khomeini said the American "invasion" force numbered 3,000 men in 40 airplanes and that documents and maps found at the crash site proved the United States was trying to overthrow the government.

APRIL 30, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

"Students" holding the U.S. Embassy in Tehran said the three foreign service officers being held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry would remain where they were, and that other hostages from the embassy had been moved to Shiraz and Jahrom. A spokesman for the militants in the embassy told a Tokyo newspaper that they would continue to use the embassy as their headquarters and that some of the hostages would remain in Tehran. The "students" said the hostages would be held until a trial begins.

Ayatollah Beheshti, Revolutionary Council member and head of the Islamic Republic Party, said the Revolutionary Council and Ayatollah Khomeini would have to approve the transfer of the bodies of the eight Americans killed in the rescue attempt. Archbishop Capucci and Papal Nuncio Annibal Bugnini visited the American remains and blessed the bodies.

Three gunmen, identified as Iranian Arabs, seized the Iranian embassy in London with 20 hostages. The gunmen said they would release the hostages in return for the release of 91 Arabs held in Iranian jails. AFP, the French news agency, reported that a French journalist overheard one of the conversations between London police and the gunmen in which the gunmen

offered to exchange their hostages for the 53 Americans held in Tehran, but that story was not confirmed from any other source. Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, on a visit to the United Arab Emirates, said Iran would never give in to the demands and said the London embassy seizure was a violation of international law.

President Bani Sadr asked the European Parliament to send representatives to a conference in Tehran on May 10-12 to look into the "crimes" that the U.S. has committed against Iran. (Earlier, it was reported that Bani Sadr, under instructions from the Ayatollah, had invited the PLO and other liberation groups to the conference.) The president also requested a special meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement to examine U.S. "maneuvers" against Iran and said that the rescue mission had had broader objectives than those stated.

Internal disorders continued in several locations in Iran: Tehran radio reported that an F-4 chased an unidentified flying object over the capital in the early morning hours; the radio also reported artillery fire from Iraq against oil wells in Naft-el-Shah; Baghdad radio reported that 900 Arabs were arrested in Ahwaz for resisting the Khomeini regime and that Revolutionary Guards were attacked in Nowbahar; 12 Guardsmen were killed in fighting in Sanandaj; the BBC reported a ceasefire in Kurdistan.

Tehran radio reported that Hungary has offered to complete the Japanese petroleum project at Bandar-Khomeini. Japanese Trade Ministry officials said that a price for Iranian oil is still being negotiated and denied knowledge of a report that Romania has offered to sell Iranian oil to Japan at \$35 per barrel.

The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Siyasah said the Soviet Union had offered Iran radar equipment in exchange for the U.S. equipment left at Tabas, where the rescue mission was abandoned.

Four German journalists were arrested on Monday and released the following day; no reason for the detention was given.

British Prime Minister Thatcher says that her government and the EC oppose mining as a measure against Iran.

MAY 1, 1980 — THURSDAY

Iran's president Bani Sadr said he would prefer to see the hostages being held in the Iranian embassy in London die rather than submit to blackmail and release the Arab prisoners held in jail. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told a London television interviewer that Iran would not submit to the demands of the terrorists in London and that he saw no comparison between the London seizure and the Iranian seizure of the American Embassy and hostages in Tehran. Ghotbzadeh said Iraq, in collaboration with Israel and the United States, was behind the London seizure. Iran's ambassador to the United Nations Mansour Farhang said in an American television broadcast that it was inconsistent to hold the American hostages in Tehran while condemning the holding of Iranian hostages in London. Farhang also said that it was wrong to seize the American Embassy in the first place and to continue to hold the hostages, and that it was wrong for Ayatollah Kalkhali to display the bodies of the Americans killed in the rescue attempt. Tehran radio stated that the London embassy seizure was a joint CIA and British intelligence operation.

There were reports of more attacks against the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, which Tehran radio said was the work of American forces and "counterrevolutionaries." One Revolutionary Guard was wounded in one of the attacks. AFP reported that Revolutionary Guards had surrounded the British embassy in Tehran to protect it from an attack by the United States and Iraq.

The cease-fire between the Iranian government and the Kurds in northern Iran broke down and heavy fighting was reported from the Sanandaj area.

Three more bombs were defused by Tehran police. Ayatollah Khomeini said the bombs were planted by Americans. There was serious fighting between left and right groups in two places in Tehran; several casualties were reported.

Asiaweek, published in Hong Kong, said Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh knew about the rescue attempt of the American hostages. According to Asiaweek, Hamilton Jordan, White House chief of staff, told "lawyers," who in turn told Ghotbzadeh during the latter's trip to Paris.

Reports from Australia said the Australian government opposed using food as a weapon against Iran. The U.S. Government asked the Australians to embargo food shipments to Iran.

Iran sent four Iraqi crew members back to Iraq after their plane was forced to land in Iran two days ago.

MAY 2, 1980 — FRIDAY

Archbishop Capucci said in Tehran that the bodies of the eight Americans killed in the rescue attempt would be taken to Zurich on Sunday, May 4, to be

transferred to the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Iranian commander of the 77th Army in Khorosan province said his troops found another American body in the wreckage of the C-130 near Babat-e Khan, and that the body had been sent to Tehran. The "students" at the American Embassy in Tehran said "some" hostages had been transferred to the city of Mashhad. According to the "students," the American hostages are located in Tehran (at the embassy and at the Foreign Ministry) and in Mashhad, Shiraz, Ahwaz, Najafabad, Jahrom, Tabriz, and Yazd.

The Baltimore Sun reported that Senator Henry Jackson said President Carter had ruled out blockading or mining Iranian ports as a means to secure the release of the hostages. The White House denied the story, saying "all options are open." Senator Jackson's office said the Senator had the impression that President Carter had ruled out mining and blockade, but did not have direct knowledge that the President actually had done so.

The siege at the Iranian embassy in London continued, although a BBC employee was set free by the three "Arab Iranian" gunmen. Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh appealed to Iranians demonstrating in front of the embassy to end their hunger strike and cooperate with the British officials. The gunmen holding the embassy asked for the Ambassadors of Algeria, Jordan, and Iraq to act as mediators with the British and Iranian governments, but Iran rejected the offer because the Iranians claim the Iraqi ambassador was behind the London seizure, and said it would deal only with the British. The Algerian ambassador in London agreed to the gunmen's request. The Iraqi Baath party denied the Iranian claim that Iraq was behind the London seizure. Two Arabs were executed in Ahwaz for leading the demonstrations at the university, but it was not known if the two were among the 91 Arabs the gunmen want released in exchange for the Iranian embassy officials in London.

An article in the Paris daily Le Monde said a "witch hunt atmosphere" pervades Iran as the government, the Revolutionary Guards, and the clergy search for "accomplices" to the American rescue attempt. According to Le Monde, Kurds, supporters of former Prime Minister Bakhtiar, "CIA agents," Iraqis, leftists, rightists, and supporters of the Shah are being sought by the authorities.

A commentary in Pravda said the American rescue attempt was a cover for a coup d'etat against the Iranian government, led by the Americans but with the assistance of "several thousand" supporters of the Shah. Pravda cited Ayatollah Kalkhali's "investigation" of the wreckage as the source for information that the "Delta Group" intended to use nerve gas to seize the center of Tehran, the airport, and to kidnap Ayatollah Khomeini. A similar article in Izvestia added that the C-130s flew from Egyptian airport, over Saudi Arabia, to Masirah Island, Oman, and then to a Pakistani air base, and then into Iran. Tass "noted" the "possibility of a close connection" between the rescue attempt and the seizure of the Iranian embassy in London.

Tehran radio reported that the northern, predominantly Kurdish city of Sanandaj was isolated, and that the Revolutionary Guards controlled the center of the city and that the "counterrevolutionaries" were out of fuel and ammunition. Tehran radio also said two Revolutionary Guards were killed by Iraqi artillery fire across the border.

MAY 3, 1980 — SATURDAY



Iranian Defense Minister Shamran said the release of the American hostages would depend upon "an international court" condemning U.S. policy in Iran. Shamran said the rescue attempt was part of a plan to overthrow the Iranian regime and was linked to disturbances in the Kurdish areas and the Iraqi border skirmishes. The Defense Minister alleged that the United States and the Soviet Union were "cooperating" in seizing Afghanistan and Iran.

Gunmen continued to hold the Iranian embassy in London. Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the families of the Iranians held in London had agreed that they would prefer to see the hostages die rather than submit to the gunmen's demands. Ghotbzadeh repeated his statement that Iraq was behind the London embassy seizure, and added that the weapons used by the gunmen were smuggled into Britain in Iraqi diplomatic pouches. Ghotbzadeh and Foreign Ministry spokesman Salami said Iran would accept the Algerian ambassador in London as a mediator in the crisis, but later another Foreign Ministry spokesman said Iran would not accept the Algerian. The terrorists in the London embassy said that if one of the Iraqi, Algerian, or Jordanian ambassadors was unavailable to mediate, they would accept the Syria, Libya, or Kuwaiti ambassador as a substitute. They also asked that a Red Cross representative be added to the list of mediators. If the British cannot resolve the crisis, Ghotbzadeh said, Iran will "take the initiative and act accordingly."

Reports from Beirut and the French news agency AFP said Ayatollah Shariat-Madari and 15 of his followers had been arrested in Qum, but a spokesman for the Ayatollah later denied the story.

Fighting between the Revolutionary Guards and the Kurds continued, and Tehran radio broadcast a report that Iraqis had attacked the Iranian 81st Armored Division outside of Paveh, near Kermanshah.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said the American rescue attempt was not an invasion of Iran and was not interference into the internal affairs of Iran. Gandhi said the U.S. Embassy was sovereign territory.

MAY 4, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Tehran radio broadcast an announcement that on May 5 Archbishop Capucci would take custody of "eight" bodies of the Americans killed during the rescue attempt. (Tehran radio said eight bodies, while Ayatollah Khomeini said there were nine bodies and the military commander in the Tabas area said he found a tenth body.) Later Tehran radio issued another announcement that the Swiss embassy, not Archbishop Capucci, would take custody of the Americans.

"Students" at the American Embassy in Tehran said some hostages had been transferred to the cities of Arak and Mahallat. Later Tehran radio said two hostages were sent to Mahallat, the first mention of a specific number of hostages dispersed from the embassy in Tehran.

Ayatollah Habibi told reporters after a Revolutionary Council meeting that the hostage issue had not been discussed by the Council, by the government, or by Ayatollah Khomeini. Habibi said the Majlis would decide the hostage issue, including the question of trying the hostages. The second phase of

the Majlis election is scheduled for Friday, May 9.

In London, the three gunmen released an Iranian woman hostage because she was three months pregnant, and a Pakistani man and a Lebanese journalist, both of whom had been visiting the embassy at the time of the seizure. British Foreign Ministry officials met with the ambassadors of Algeria, Iraq, and Jordan, and a Red Cross official, as requested by the gunmen, and also with ambassadors from Syria and Kuwait. A group calling itself the "Islamic Revolutionary Organization" told the AFP news office in Beirut that it would blow up all the British embassies in the Muslim world if the British used force against the Iranian embassy in London. The Islamic Revolutionary Organization also threatened to blow up Iranian embassies if the Iranian government did not release Ayatollah Shariat-Madari. AFP, the French news agency, reported on May 3, that Shariat-Madari had been arrested, but a spokesman for the Ayatollah denied the story. The Islamic Revolutionary Organization claimed that it was responsible for the assassination of a Shiite leader in Lebanon last week.

Fighting between the Kurds and the Revolutionary Guards continued around Sanandaj and more fighting was reported near Paveh, Urmieh, and Tarab in Azerbaijan. The telephone service in Paveh was knocked out by a mortar attack.

MAY 5, 1980 -- MONDAY

The five gunmen (reported earlier as three) holding the Iranian embassy and 20 hostages in London killed one of the hostages when a deadline passed for meeting their demands for the release of 91 Arabs in prisons. A British Special Air Service anti-terrorist squad and British police stormed the embassy building after the body of the hostage was thrown into the street. Three gunmen were killed, and two others, one wounded, were taken into custody. The remaining 19 hostages were rescued by the British authorities, although several of the hostages were wounded in the attack. The Government of Iran sent a congratulatory telegram to the British government for the rescue of the Iranian hostages.

Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, accompanied by Swiss ambassador Erik Lang and Papal Nuncio Annibal Budnini, took custody of nine coffins with the remains of the Americans killed in the rescue attempt of Apr. 24/25. Capucci announced that the bodies would be flown to Zurich on Tuesday, May 6.

"Students" at the American embassy in Tehran said "some" hostages were transferred to the city of Kerman, to be held until they can be "tried in the Islamic revolutionary court." Another "student" statement said "two more" hostages were moved to Mahallat, but it was not clear if these were to be the same two hostages mentioned in the May 4 announcement or if two additional hostages were sent to Mahallat.

Revolutionary Council member and head of the supreme court Ayatollah Beheshti told reporters that a Revolutionary Council-Council of Ministers meeting discussed a "documentary report" of the Tabas incident and that the report will be made public soon. The Iranian government claimed to have located the other American helicopter, forced down by mechanical problems during the first phase of the rescue attempt, near Bojnurd. Pars news agency reported that, on May 4, nomads in southern Iran spotted four American

helicopters and that one of the helicopters was forced to land. Tass, the Soviet news agency, repeated the story and accused the United States of a "fresh provocation" against Iranian sovereignty.

The "Islamic Revolutionary Organization," the group that claims to have assassinated Shi'ite religious leaders in Lebanon and which threatened Iranian embassies if Khuzestan Arabs were not released from Iranian prisons, claimed to have kidnapped four of Ayatollah Khomeini's followers near Sidon, Lebanon. The IRO said it would kill the four if the Arabs were not released. It is not clear if there is any connection between the IRO operating in Lebanon and the gunmen who seized the Iranian embassy in London.

Iranian Defense Minister Shamran denied stories that Iran agreed to purchase weapons, including MiG-25s, from the Soviet Union.

There was more fighting reported near Paveh between the Revolutionary Guards and the Iraqis.

MAY 6, 1980 — TUESDAY

Nine caskets carrying the remains of the eight Americans killed in the rescue attempt left Tehran aboard a Swissair plane. Archbishop Capucci escorted the bodies to Zurich, where they were transferred to the custody of the International Committee of the Red Cross. An American Air Force plane then carried the bodies to Dover Air Force base, Delaware, where they were met by a delegation from the military services and an honor guard.

AFP reported that an American woman was arrested in Tehran for "spying." No other details were available.

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the London and Tehran embassy incidents were different because "foreigners" occupied the London embassy while the American embassy in Tehran was occupied "by our own people." A group of "Arabistan" (Khuzestan) students issued a statement condemning the British attack on the London embassy as a violation of trust since negotiations were underway. The report was broadcast by Baghdad radio. AFP reported that Iran would seek the extradition of the two gunmen involved in the London embassy seizure. (British news sources reported that the wounded gunman had died and that another gunman had been found dead in the embassy, which would leave only one of the six alive.)

Nine people were killed near Kermanshah when their cars ran over mines in the road. A bomb threat closed the Agha Jari airport. Another bomb was defused by police on the rail line into Ahwaz. Tehran radio reported more fighting in the Kurdish areas and another Iraqi attack on the city of Paveh.

The "students" at the American Embassy in Tehran issued a statement commemorating "Woman's Day" in Iran (the birthday of Fatimah, Muhammad's daughter) which praised women's roles as mothers and denounced the "mercenaries" who advocate the "deceit, cheating and prostitution" of women's "liberation." The "student" statement added, however, that women should participate in political and social affairs of the state.

A Tass Soviet news agency commentary said the United States was planning

another military attack against Iran. Tass said the United States had 37 war ships, with 34,000 armed forces personnel and 400 war planes on four aircraft carriers in the Arabian Sea, and was preparing an amphibious invasion force of 12,000 U.S. Marines in California.

Poland and Iran signed a trade protocol. Since the Apr. 17 announcement that the United States would increase its economic sanctions, most of the East European states have sent trade delegations to Tehran to offer Iran food and industrial goods in exchange for Iranian oil.

MAY 7, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

Tehran radio announced that the hostages had been told about the rescue attempt. The "students" issued a communique stating that another group of hostages had been sent to the city of Gorgan "to prepare for the trial." Ayatollah Beheshti said the Majlis debate on the fate of the hostages would not begin until June 20, some six weeks after the second phase election scheduled for May 9.

A Tehran radio commentary said the committee investigating the American rescue attempt had filed a preliminary report with the Revolutionary Council, but the commentator asked why the investigation was taking so long; why the anti-aircraft guns were removed from the Tehran airport two days before the rescue attempt; why the abandoned American helicopters were destroyed by the Iranian air force; why the Red Cross visited the hostages just before the raid; and who the "spies" were that helped the Americans.

President Bani Sadr said Ayatollah Khomeini had approved his suggestion that a Prime Minister and a cabinet be named by Bani Sadr within the next two weeks. The "hard line" religious leaders want the cabinet named after the formation of the Majlis. Bani Sadr also received Khomeini's assurance that the state radio and television would take a more balanced approach in reporting the news and that the military forces, including the Revolutionary Guards, were subject to the President's authority. Bani Sadr complained in the past that the state news agencies distorted the news in favor of the "hard liners." And, Bani Sadr's authority over the Revolutionary Guards has been questionable; the Guards appear to take their orders from the religious leaders.

Khomeini's son Ahmad issued a statement in his father's name that appealed to the Iranian people to vote in the Majlis election on Friday for "100% Muslims" who have been recommended by trustworthy people and who support the Islamic republic. Khomeini said not to vote for "leftists or deviationists" and not to listen to propaganda.

Oil Minister Muinfar, in Saudi Arabia for the OPEC meeting, told reporters that Iran's oil exports were down to less than 1 million barrels per day, a drop of over 300,000 b/d since last month.

The son of the Anglican Bishop of Iran was murdered. The Bishop's secretary was wounded last week in an assassination attempt. The Bishop is in Cyprus after surviving an assassination attempt last October.

Tehran radio said five Iraqi planes violated Iranian air space yesterday.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh left for Belgrade to attend the funeral of Josip Broz Tito.

MAY 8, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Acting Secretary of State Warren Christopher told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that there was little hope for an early end to the Iranian crisis, but predicted that the economic sanctions would cause "great hardship" to Iran. Defense Secretary Harold Brown refused to divulge details of the rescue attempt to the Senate Armed Services Committee because the Defense Department feared that disclosure might compromise any future attempts to combat terrorism.

The Italian ambassador in Tehran presented to Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh the European Community declaration on sanctions issued on Apr. 22. In Brussels, it was reported that EC legal advisors were preparing a guide for the EC sanctions that will take effect on May 17, which, according to the reports, will include cancelling all existing contracts between European business firms and Iran.

Xinhua, the Chinese news agency, reported an interview with Ghotbzadeh in which the Foreign Minister said Iran may buy arms from the Soviet Union.

AFP reported that the Revolutionary Guards had discovered a "secret airfield" 25 miles south of Tehran that appeared to have been used recently by helicopters and planes.

Iran claimed that Iraqi forces shelled the Iranian embassy in Beirut during fighting between Lebanese factions yesterday. A Revolutionary Guard commander was killed during fighting near Hamadan, and the town of Paveh came under mortar fire from "counterrevolutionaries."

Tehran radio said the Majlis elections would not be held in 22 towns because of "some problems." There were demonstrations in Kermanshah protesting the elections and demanding that the earlier first round election be cancelled.

A former Education Minister, Mrs. Esfand Parrokhr-Parsa, was executed for "plundering public funds, corruption, spreading prostitution in the education ministry, cooperating with SAVAK, and making the education system depend on imperialism." Another woman, a former member of the education ministry, was executed for "purchasing innocent girls and spreading prostitution" in the Shah's government.

MAY 9, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh went to Switzerland, after attending Tito's funeral, apparently to discuss Iran-American relations with Swiss Foreign Minister Pierre Aubert. Switzerland represents the United States in Tehran since the U.S. broke relations. Enroute home, Ghotbzadeh stopped briefly in Turkey where he said he received assurances from the Turks that Turkish bases would not be used by the United States for any new military

actions against Iran.

In an interview, Defense Minister Shamran said an international court would have to meet in Tehran to condemn past United States policies against Iran before the hostages could be released. Shamran also said the rescue attempt was part of a larger plot to overthrow the Iranian regime which included the disturbances in the Kurdish areas, the attacks across the Iraqi borders and the unrest in the universities. Shamran said former military officers under the Shah were trying to recruit Iranian soldiers to help the Americans restore the Shah to power. The Defense Minister repeated his previous claim that the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to the seizure of Afghanistan and Iran as part of their superpower domination of the region. Shamran claimed that Iran was buying spare parts needed for its military from other Western countries.

The BBC reported a light voter turnout for the second stage of the Majlis election and said the election was proceeding smoothly with less confusion and fewer complaints of irregularities than in the first stage election in March. Reuters reported that the Islamic Republic Party was winning less than one-half the seats; the IRP won over one half of the 99 seats from the first round.

There was more fighting reported from Urumiyeh and four other towns in the Kurdish areas of Azerbaijan.

Tehran radio reported that the Japanese-Iranian talks over the completion of the petrochemical project in Bushehr had broken down.

MAY 10, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Tehran radio reported that the Islamic Republic Party would hold a majority in the Majlis. Of the 270 seats in the parliament, 203 have been elected thus far, enough to convene the Majlis. Elections in 25 districts, primarily Kurdish, were postponed because of unrest and fighting. Tehran radio said the Majlis' first "urgent task" will be to decide the fate of the American hostages being held in some 12 or 13 cities across Iran.

AFP, the French news agency, reported that two Americans were arrested in Ardakan for possession of a pistol and 150 grams of hashish. The two Americans were carrying West German passports, according to the radio.

A spokesman for the Iranian Foreign Ministry said 1,200 American companies had contacted the Government of Iran since the United States imposed the economic sanctions. The Foreign Ministry claimed the American companies were disregarding the American Government's ban on trade with Iran.

Iraqi aircraft violated Iranian air space near Abadan but were driven off by anti-aircraft fire, according to the Iranian Defense Ministry.

MAY 11, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The Sunday Times of London reported that Sean MacBride blamed White House

assistant Hamilton Jordan and Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeq Ghotbzadeh for "messing up" an agreement for the release of the hostages. MacBride said he had negotiated an arrangement between the Iranian and American governments that called for the United States to apologize for supporting the Shah and a trial of the Shah in absentia. The White House denied the MacBride story, and said MacBride was never authorized to negotiate for the United States and that the apology and trial were unacceptable.

Tehran radio reported that 21 Germans and Americans had been arrested near Yazd for "espionage." The 21 people were carrying "revolvers, tapes, and narcotics," according to the report.

Ayatollah Khomeini said the hostages may be tried for "Vietnam massacres" as well as "crimes" against Iran.

The Washington Post reported that several of the European nations and Japan were hesitant to implement full economic sanctions against Iran and would not cooperate fully with the U.S. embargo.

Ayatollah Khomeini named Defense Minister Mustafa Shahrar and Ayatollah Khomeini to the Supreme Defense Council, as called for in the constitution.

There was sporadic shooting around Urumiyeh in the north and several clashes around Kermanshah along the Iraqi border in the south.

MAY 12, 1980 -- MONDAY

The Swiss Ambassador in Tehran, representing the United States, inquired at the Foreign Ministry on the status of Ms. Cynthia Dwyer, who was arrested by the Revolutionary Guards on May 5. The Foreign Ministry would say only that she was being interrogated and would not disclose her whereabouts or why she was arrested.

The Italian Ambassador called on Iranian President Bani Sadr to discuss future relations between the European Community and Iran. The ostensible date for the imposition of EC sanctions against Iran is May 17, unless progress is made toward the release of the hostages.

The Iranian Ministry of Guidance expelled a West German reporter for "non-objective" reporting of the Kurdish problems. Iran and Turkey signed a transportation agreement. Mitsui, the Japanese petrochemical company, and the Iranian oil ministry resumed talks on their joint project at Bandar Khomeini (formerly Bushehr).

The BBC reported that the Islamic Republic Party won more than one-half the parliament seats in the May 9 election. The BBC also reported a rumor that Admiral Madani had been offered the post of Prime Minister but had turned it down. AFP reported that six cabinet ministers will resign shortly: Defense Minister Mustafa Shahrar, Budget Minister Ayatollah Sahabi, Oil Minister Ali Akbar Mufar, Education Minister Muhammad Ali Rajai, and Higher Education Minister Hasan Habibi, all because they were elected to the parliament, and Interior Minister Ayatollah Mehdi Madavi Kani, because he was named to the Constitutional Council. The Revolutionary Council has been meeting regularly for the past three days, supposedly to discuss the naming of a Prime Minister and new cabinet, but apparently cannot decide if the new

cabinet should serve temporarily until the Majlis meets to name a cabinet or should serve permanently with the approval of the Majlis.

MAY 13, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Reuters reported that Cynthia Dwyer, an American journalist, was held at Eshratbad army barracks outside Tehran from May 5, the day she was arrested at the Tehran Hilton, until May 10, when she was moved to Evin prison.

Iranian President Bani Sadr told the Italian ambassador, representing the European Community, that Iran needed "understanding and patience" from the EC in seeking an end to the hostage crisis. The British House of Commons passed enabling legislation that will permit Britain to join other EC members in applying sanctions against Iran. The Danish Folketing (parliament) voted to apply sanctions against Iran. Japanese Prime Minister Ohira said Japan would coordinate its sanctions against Iran with the EC. Iranian Budget Minister Sahabi said Iran "welcomed" the economic sanctions because the Iranian people would be forced to unify and become self-reliant. The EC and Japan are supposed to take further economic and diplomatic action by May 17 if no significant progress is made toward the release of the hostages.

President Bani Sadr issued a statement limiting Ayatollah Khomeini to the investigative duties of the Prosecutor General. Bani Sadr stripped the Ayatollah of his judicial authority after Khomeini began to demolish the mausoleum of Reza Khan, the Shah's father, in defiance of Bani Sadr's order to turn the tomb into a museum of the Shah's crimes. Khomeini had also defied Bani Sadr's order to place the bodies of the eight Americans killed in the rescue attempt in the morgue, and instead placed them on public display at the U.S. Embassy.

Oil Minister Mufar said Iran's oil production was 2 million barrels per day, 1 million of which was being exported.

The Oil Ministry said "several" American helicopters flew over offshore oil installations in the Lavan island area of the Persian Gulf. At first, the Iranian Air Force commander at Bandar Abbas said Iranian planes could not find the helicopters, but later Iranian Air Force and Navy officials confirmed the Oil Ministry story. U.S. Defense Department officials denied that U.S. helicopters were in the area. Moscow radio reported that five American helicopters dropped a "foamy chemical substance" which caused a fire in the water near Lavan, and said the incident was proof that the United States was planning a new military attack on Iran.

ABC, the American television network, reportedly purchased copies of some of the documents supposedly found at the site of the accident during the rescue attempt. The documents included maps of the landing zones and plans for the later phases of the rescue, which U.S. Defense Department officials had refused to describe.

MAY 14, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Tehran radio reported that two Americans had been arrested and sent to

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**2 OF 5**

Evin prison. No other details were available.

NATO Foreign and Defense Ministers meeting in Brussels issued a communique which expressed their "deep concern over the illegal detention of U.S. diplomatic personnel" and condemned the "flagrant violation of international law." The British House of Commons completed passage of a bill authorizing the government to cooperate with the European Community sanctions against Iran. The bill was sent to the House of Lords and is expected to be signed into law by the Queen on Friday, May 16. Turkey's Foreign Minister Hayrettin Erkmek repeated that Turkey would not join the EC sanctions against Iran.

Iranian Air Force fighters chased two unidentified planes over Qays Island, near the Strait of Hormuz, according to Iranian military authorities. President Bani Sadr said in an interview that 96 Americans and 19 Iranians, trained in the United States, had landed in Iran to perform acts of sabotage and to assassinate Iranian leaders over the next two weeks. Bani Sadr also said that the United States was smuggling arms to the Kurds in the northwest section of Iran.

The "Corsican National Liberation Front" attacked French police guarding the Iranian embassy in Paris, but said the attack was against France and had nothing to do with the hostage crisis in Tehran. Twenty Muslim students carrying pictures of Ayatollah Khomeini demonstrated against the American rescue attempt in front of the U.S. consulate in Shanghai.

The Revolutionary Council approved the trade protocol with the Soviet Union, but stipulated that Iran would not accept barter and would only accept "foreign currency" for its oil. It is not clear if the Iranians want internationally convertible currencies (franc, dollar, mark, pound) or if they would accept eastern European and Soviet currencies that are not convertible.

The Iranian Oil Ministry announced a reduction in the price of the heavy crude oil Iran sells to the Japanese (Japanese traders buy about 100,000 barrels per day for resale to Australia and other Asian countries) from \$24.85 per barrel for "light C" down to \$24.10, and from \$23.60 for "heavy C" down to \$22.50. Iran, like other oil producers, has trouble selling its heavy crudes which do not yield high ratios of lighter products, such as gasoline, kerosene, and jet fuels. The Iranians may be trying to entice the Japanese into accepting the higher \$35-per-barrel price for lighter crudes which the Japanese rejected last month. China signed an agreement to purchase Iranian crude oil, but the quantity, price, and grade were not announced.

Iran's President Bani Sadr appointed Taghi Farazi as head of the state-owned radio and television system, and appointed Ahmad Salamati as Secretary-General of the "International Conference Investigating U.S. Interventions in Iran," scheduled for June 2-5 in Tehran.

Ayatollah Beheshti told Reuters that the Islamic Republic Party had won 130 of the 245 Majlis seats (elections for 25 seats in the Kurdish areas were not held). Beheshti said the Majlis will begin debating the hostages after organizing itself and approving a Prime Minister and cabinet, but would not predict when that would be.

Ayatollah Khalkhali resigned as head of the anti-narcotics campaign.

Two bombs exploded in Nagadeh, in front of a bank and at a hardware store.

Iranian armed forces repelled Iraqis trying to cross the river near Abadan, according to Iranian news sources.

MAY 15, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The "students" at the American Embassy in Tehran announced that "some" hostages had been sent to the city of Hamadan, and that the Revolutionary Guards and Citizens of Hamadan had been asked to help guard the hostages and "prepare for the trial." (Hamadan is the 14th location where hostages supposedly are being held; the others are Qom, Yazd, Mashad, Arak, Shiraz, Gorgan, Ahwaz, Najafabad, Isfahan, Jahrom, Tabriz, Mahallat, Kerman, and two in Tehran, the embassy and the Foreign Ministry.)

Bani Sadr told an Iranian radio interviewer that his information that 96 Americans and 19 Iranians had landed in Iran for espionage had come by telephone from the United States, implying that Iranian agents had access to such information in the United States.

EFE, the Spanish news agency, reported that Spain may host an international meeting on the hostage crisis that would include Switzerland, the PLO, Archbishop Capucci, and lawyers Bourget and Villalon, and others. (Villalon was described by EFE as having been "commissioned" by White House assistant Hamilton Jordan to look after U.S. interests in the hostage negotiations.)

The Japanese government told Japanese firms to suspend all oil payments to Iran for one week and urged industries to delay shipments to Iran. It was reported in Japan that the National Iranian Oil Company was dropping the price of some overstocked oil products, such as naphtha, diesel fuel, and boiler fuel (residual oil) which have been purchased by Japanese customers in the past.

Ahmad Salamati, Iranian coordinator for the international conference, said representatives of the European Community, the Islamic Conference, most non-aligned countries, and major political parties in Europe, Africa, and the Arab world, had been invited to the June 2-5 meeting to investigate U.S. interference in Iranian affairs.

President Bani Sadr rejected Ayatollah Khalkhali's resignation from the narcotics campaign. Khalkhali said later that his resignation was a "tactical move" and that Ayatollah Khomeini would not have accepted it anyway.

MAY 16, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie said in Brussels at the NATO meeting that he did not believe military action would liberate the hostages.

European Community Foreign Ministers began a meeting to discuss the economic and diplomatic sanctions to be imposed on Iran after the May 17 deadline for progress toward the release of the hostages. Reports from Europe suggested that the EC members were hesitant to apply more rigid

sanctions and were trying to open negotiations with the Iranian authorities in a separate diplomatic effort to end the hostage crisis. One unconfirmed report said the Europeans were seeking a goodwill gesture from Iran, such as the release of the two women hostages, or the release of the two non-diplomatic, non-military hostages, or the release of one male hostage who was described as "sick."

Iranian news sources said two Americans involved in the rescue attempt of Apr. 24 had been arrested near Tabas.

Iran asked that all oil payments be made through banks in Austria, Sweden, India, and Switzerland because those neutral states would not join the economic sanctions against Iran.

Oil industry sources estimated that Iran's oil exports had fallen to between 500,000 and 600,000 b/d, a drop of 200,000 b/d below the first week in May and well below the 1 million b/d levels of March-April. At current export levels, Iran would gain only \$8.5 billion in oil revenues in 1980, well below the estimated \$12 billion in imports needed by the country. It was surmised that Iran would have to use some of its \$7 billion in foreign exchange reserves (outside the United States) to pay for imports. The Washington Post reported that Iran's current inflation rate was near 30% and that its manufacturing and industrial sector was operating at 30-40% of capacity.

The oil pipeline between Naft-e Shah and Kermanshah exploded on the night of May 15 and was still burning out of control on May 16.

An Iranian armored brigade was dispatched to Baneh in the Kurdish area to relieve a besieged army garrison.

MAY 17, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The "students" issued a statement that more hostages had been moved to the cities of Qazvin and Zanjan, the 15th and 16th locations, in addition to the two in Tehran, where the "students" say the 50 hostages are being held. Ms. Cynthia Dwyer, the journalist arrested as a CIA agent on May 5, was moved from Evin prison near Tehran to an undisclosed location, according to Tehran sources. Swiss Ambassador Lang, representing American interests in Iran, was refused permission to see Dwyer.

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim announced that Syrian diplomat Adib Dawudi would go to Tehran as Waldheim's representative for "exploratory" talks with Iranian officials. Dawudi was one of the five international commissioners sent to Tehran on Feb. 20 as part of the "package deal" to hear Iran's complaints against the United States. The commission left Tehran on Mar. 4 without having seen the hostages. Waldheim said U.S. Secretary of State Muskie and Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh approved the Dawudi mission.

It was reported from Naples that the European Community Foreign Ministers had agreed to stop new contracts for trade with Iran and to cancel contracts signed since Nov. 4, 1979, when the U.S. Embassy was seized, as the EC's response to the American call for sanctions against Iran. The United States wanted a complete ban on trade with Iran. The Japanese news service Kyodo

reported from Tokyo that Japan would stop all new contracts, stop all new exports to Iran, and would stop shipments in progress to Iran. (Japan's cooperation with the boycott of Iran may be subject to change since Prime Minister Ohira's government lost a vote of confidence on Friday, May 16.)

In an interview with the London Times and three other European newspapers, Iran's President Bani Sadr appealed to Britain and the EC to help solve the hostage crisis by acting as mediators and offering new proposals for negotiations with the United States. Bani Sadr said the primary condition for the release of the hostages was a "guarantee that the United States will not intervene, either now or later." The President said Iran was willing to make any sacrifices necessary to withstand the sanctions, but would not turn to the Soviet Union. On an internal political matter, Bani Sadr said: "I am determined to destroy the authoritarian power centers which are seeking to install a new dictatorship, obscurantist, reactionary, and fascist." Bani Sadr was referring to Ayatollah Beheshti and the "fundamentalists" who form the Islamic Republic Party and appear to be in control of the Majlis.

Ayatollah Khomeini issued a statement calling upon the army to "purge" the Kurdish rebels and take control of the northwest sector of the country. Ayatollah Montazari, head of the court system, said there can be no negotiations with the Kurds and that they must be defeated. President Bani Sadr had called for a negotiated settlement with the Kurds. One Iranian Air Force pilot was executed for refusing to fly combat missions against the Kurds; seven (one report said nine) Air Force officers were jailed and 38 Iranian Army personnel were under arrest for not fighting the Kurds.

MAY 18, 1980 -- SUNDAY

"Students" holding American hostages in Shiraz announced that the hostages had been moved from the American consulate to a new site near the Revolutionary Court because of security problems.

The French news service AFP reported that "hundreds" of Revolutionary Guards began searching the area around the American embassy in Tehran after two Americans and two Iranians were sighted in a jeep with weapons and a map. A Guard commander said that 300 six-man teams began the search after a Revolutionary Guard overheard the men, speaking English with American accents, "obviously planning another Entebbe-type raid."

Bogota, Colombia, radio broadcast an AFP story that the American hostages would be released in three stages beginning with the formal meeting of the Iranian parliament on June 5. The three American diplomats held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry would be released first, according to Bogota radio, followed by the release of 40 more Americans when Iranian-American negotiations began (the nature of the negotiations was not stated), and finally by the release of the 10 Americans the Iranians consider to be CIA agents. (Bogota radio was the only source to carry the story.)

The European Community issued a communique in Naples stating that all contracts with Iran signed since Nov. 4 would be suspended on May 22. The communique applauded U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim's move, announced yesterday, to send Syrian diplomat Dawudi back to Tehran. Despite favorable State Department and White House reactions to the EC announcement, the EC sanctions were not as stringent as Washington wanted. Iranian President Bani



Sadr appealed to the EC to postpone the sanctions.

Iran's Interior Minister Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani said the Majlis would hold an "introductory" session on May 25, and would formally be inaugurated on May 28. Ibrahim Yazdi, Foreign Minister in the Bazargan government and recently elected to the Majlis, said "most" of the deputies-elect wanted a trial of "at least some" of the hostages; Yazdi said the Majlis would meet on June 5.

Governor of the Central Bank Ali Reza Nobari announced that Iran was severing the tie between the rial and the dollar as of May 22, and that the rial would be linked to the International Monetary Fund's "Special Drawing Rights" basket of 16 currencies. Oil Minister Muinfar confirmed that only five banks (two in Switzerland, one each in India, Austria, and Sweden) would be authorized to handle Iranian oil payments. Muinfar also confirmed that China agreed to purchase 30,000 b/d of Iranian oil.

Ayatollah Khomeini moved from his temporary residence in north Tehran to a house in the suburban village of Jamaran.

Tehran radio reported that 300 Kurds attacked a Revolutionary Guard post near Urumiyeh.

MAY 19, 1980 -- MONDAY

The British cabinet decided the British economic sanctions to be levied against Iran on May 22 will not be retroactive to Nov. 4, 1979. Rather than suspend all contracts signed since Nov. 4, as the other EC members agreed to do at their May 17 meeting, the British will ban only new contracts for trade with Iran after May 22. The British cabinet made the decision after complaints from both Conservative and Labor party members and a Labor call for a House of Commons debate on the matter. Apparently, the cabinet feared that an extended debate would delay, or possibly stop, the economic sanctions against Iran. It was reported from Japan that the Japanese government will apply the sanctions approved by the EC. Another report from Tehran stated that Mitsui, the Japanese conglomerate, and the Iranian government had agreed to resume construction of the petrochemical complex at Bushehr (now called Bandar Khomeini). Construction on the \$3 billion joint project was halted early in 1979.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh sent a telegram to U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim welcoming the arrival of members of the international commission. (Waldheim announced on Saturday, May 17, that Syrian diplomat Adib Dawudi would go to Tehran in the near future.) Ghotbzadeh's telegram said the commission members would not negotiate a settlement of the Iran-U.S. dispute but would complete work on the commission report, held in abeyance since early March.

AFP carried the story of the three-stage hostage release scheme (partially broadcast by Bogota radio yesterday), which called for: (1) immediate and unconditional release of the three Americans held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry; (2) release of about 40 hostages when Iran and the United States begin negotiations to resolve their financial dispute, including the \$8 to 9 billion in assets frozen in the United States; and (3) release of the 10 remaining "spies" when Iran and the United States sign a treaty of peace and neutrality. AFP said the agreement was being negotiated by Archbishop

Capucci, Hector Villalon, and Christian Bourguet, and by Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, whose recent trips to France, Italy, Switzerland, and the Persian Gulf were connected with the arrangement. AFP also reported that the Italian government offered to act as mediator to convince the United States to sign the treaty, that Spain and Switzerland were coordinating other countries' support for the arrangement, that Syria and Algeria were to create an Islamic commission to present the scheme to the Iranian parliament, and that Algeria and Switzerland were to form a commission of experts to work out the financial arrangements. A White House spokesman said the U.S. Administration viewed the story with "an appropriate degree of skepticism." Iranian President Bani Sadr told La Stampa of Turin that Ghotbzadeh had discussed "reciprocal proposals" with other world leaders in Belgrade at Tito's funeral, and that "something is happening."

The BBC reported that Ayatollah Khomeini denied rumors circulating in Tehran that there would be an attempted coup d'etat in the near future. Khomeini said the United States, Iraq, and supporters of the Shah were responsible for the rumors.

The London Sunday Times reported that a "crack" Syrian army detachment was helping Iran defend the Iran-Iraq border. The Times said more Syrian troops were expected in Iran shortly.

The Iranian Army, Navy, and Air Force began a joint training exercise near the Strait of Hormuz. President Bani Sadr flew to Bandar Abbas to observe the exercise.

The Iranian Army reported that it was "mopping up" counterrevolutionaries around the city of Paveh, in the northern part of Iran.

MAY 20, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Iranian newspaper Etefat reported that "gunmen" fired at the house where American hostages are being held in the city of Kerman. Revolutionary Guards returned the fire and the gunmen sped off in an automobile, the paper said. There were no injuries.

Reuters reported that European Community ministers were "surprised" and "astonished" by the British cabinet decision to stop trade contracts with Iran on May 22 and not follow the other EC members in cancelling contracts retroactive to Nov. 4. The Dutch foreign minister said the British decision "weakened" the EC solidarity. Another unnamed EC diplomat said the British action was inconsistent with Britain's strong statements in support of the U.S. sanctions. Kyodo reported from Japan that the Japanese may postpone their sanctions against Iran because of the British action. Australian Foreign Minister Peacock said Australia would cancel all contracts, including those signed before Nov. 4, 1979.

The Iran Foreign Ministry denied yesterday's AFP story that Iran was negotiating a three-stage hostage release arrangement with the United States.

Finance Minister Reza Salimi said one way to solve Iran's budget problem was to cut the public employee rolls, either by lowering wages paid to government employees to force them to seek "more productive" jobs in the private sector, or to hire government employees on the basis of need. Salimi



said legislation to be introduced soon would close tax loopholes and provide stronger tax collection and enforcement. The Revolutionary Council meetings of the past few days have concentrated on budget problems.

Oil Minister Muinfar refuted Western news stories that Iranian oil exports had dropped below 1 million b/d. Iran averaged 1 million b/d for the past month, meaning March through April, Muinfar said, but he would not say what the current export level was or if the level had declined since April.

An Iranian Army spokesman denied the London Sunday Times story of May 18 that Syrian troops were in Iran. Later, President Bani Sadr also denied the story. The Iranian news agency Pars reported that two Afghan helicopters (one report said Soviet) crossed into Iranian territory and shelled an Iranian village, killing a man on a motorcycle. Later, Pars said the man was an Afghan trying to escape into Iran. An Iranian army patrol was ambushed by Iraqis, according to the Iranian army spokesman.

MAY 21, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim told reporters the U.N. was discussing with Iran the possibility of sending the international commission back to Tehran to complete its report on the Shah's "crimes" and U.S. intervention in Iranian affairs.

The West German cabinet approved an amendment to the trade law which will allow Germany to comply with the EC sanctions against Iran. The French cabinet approved the EC sanctions. The Italian Finance Minister issued the decrees necessary to enforce Italian cooperation with the EC sanctions. The Swedish ambassador to Tehran assured the Iranian foreign minister that Sweden would not apply sanctions against Iran (Sweden is not a member of the EC). The EC sanctions against Iran, a suspension of all trade contracts signed since Nov. 4, 1979, is to take effect on Thursday, May 22. Britain's suspension of trade contracts is not retroactive and will affect only new contracts after May 22. The sanctions do not include food and medicine.

The Islamic Conference, meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan, began considering a resolution offered by the political committee that would have condemned "American aggression against Iran," but the resolution was returned to the political committee after complaints by Senegal and several other nations that the resolution did not mention the Iranian seizure of the American embassy and diplomats.

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the Supreme Court, member of the Revolutionary Council and the leader of the Islamic Republic Party, told reporters that the "black rebellion" in the United States was a "holy" struggle for equal rights, and should be supported by Iran.

There was an attack against an oil installation near Musian. A gendarmerie post and a Revolutionary Guard installation near Tabriz were attacked. Tehran radio reported that an Iraqi plane violated Iranian air space near Khorramshahr, but was driven off by Revolutionary Guardsmen.

MAY 22, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The "students" holding American hostages in the city of Zanzan issued a statement that any member of the Majlis who does not vote to place the hostages on trial "is not authorized to speak for the nation." Since the aborted rescue attempt in late April, the "students" insistently have demanded that the American hostages be tried as spies, and most reports about the Majlis, to be opened officially on May 28, say the majority Islamic Republic Party members favor a trial as well. Religious leaders stress that the individual Americans will not be on trial, but United States involvement with the Shah will be the defendant.

An advisory committee recommended to the Japanese cabinet that the sanctions against Iran begin on June 2. Other reports from Japan suggested that the Japanese were considering resuming oil imports from Iran. Japan stopped importing Iranian oil on Apr. 21 rather than accept Iran's \$2.50 per barrel price increase, but in the past few days, most OPEC nations have raised their prices by \$2.00, and the Japanese now feel their price confrontation with Iran is futile.

The Islamic Conference meeting in Pakistan passed resolutions asking the Egyptian people to extradite the Shah to Iran, condemning the United States for the attempted rescue mission, and requesting Iran and the United States to settle their difference through negotiations.

The oil pipeline between Naft-e Shah and Kermanshah was sabotaged. The same pipeline was sabotaged last week.

MAY 23, 1980 -- FRIDAY

"Students" at the Tehran embassy issued a statement in support of the "uprising of American blacks," and invited American blacks to join with the Iranian people in a "united front of the oppressed," using the "Iranian Islamic Revolution" as a model to overthrow the U.S. Government. (Apparently, the "uprising" to which the "students" referred was the racial violence in Miami, Florida.) The "students" at Qazvin issued a statement that the American hostages (one report said five) were being held in the former headquarters of SAVAK, the state secret police under the Shah. Tehran radio reported that students staged marches in the 15 cities where the hostages are being held to protest the U.S. rescue operation of Apr. 24/25. (The news accounts said 15 cities, although the "students" have named 16 cities, plus the two locations in Tehran.) The militants at the Tehran embassy repeated their demand for the return of the Shah and his wealth before they would release the hostages.

Canada banned all exports to Iran and asked its citizens not to travel to Iran. The Japanese cabinet issued a statement implementing the trade ban against Iran effective June 2. The British government said the delay in implementing the ban on new contracts with Iran, from May 22 to May 29, was caused by "practical difficulties."

AFP reported from Madrid that Spanish socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez was going to Tehran to discuss a plan to end the Iran-U.S. crisis. According to the AFP report, Gonzalez met with French lawyer Christian Bourguet, Argentine businessman Hector Villalon, and an unnamed American "envoy" on May 13 to

discuss the plan. The APP report said Gonzalez, a deputy chairman of the Socialist Internationale, will meet Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in Tehran on Saturday, May 24, to present the plan to Iranian President Bani Sadr. Palme could not be reached for comment in Stockholm. An Austrian government spokesman said Kreisky was involved in negotiations for a settlement of the crisis, but had no immediate plans to travel to Tehran.

Syrian diplomat Adib Dawudi, representing the international commission sponsored by the U.N., was scheduled to arrive in Tehran on Saturday, May 24.

Pars news agency reported that the Iranian army joint staff announced that it had discovered a plan for a coup d'etat against the Iranian government, led by former Iranian army general Gholam Ali Oveysi. Supposedly, Oveysi issued orders to Iranian military elements in the northern part of Iran to march on Tehran on the night of May 24, to seize government buildings and the radio/television station, and to arrest religious leaders. Shortly after issuing the first coup report, Pars withdrew the item. An Army spokesman later said the coup report was false.

President Bani Sadr announced the appointment of Abu Sharif to be the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. According to the President's announcement, he asked Revolutionary Guard commanders for nominations to head the Corp and then selected the candidate with the majority of nominations.

Two leaders of the Muslim People's Party of Azerbaijan were executed for leading the demonstrations against the government. Another leader received 10 years in prison.

MAY 24, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The militants holding the American hostages charged that President Carter was plotting to "eliminate" some of the hostages in order to make the European nations believe the hostages were in danger and that the economic sanctions should be applied in full force. To stop the United States from implementing the "plot," the "students" said that they would stop public announcements about the location of the hostages, the number of hostages being held at each location, or their living conditions, and that there would be no visits to the hostages by outsiders. The "students" asked the Iranian people to watch for suspicious tourists and journalists.

The International Court of Justice issued its ruling on the U.S. appeal of Nov. 26, 1979, which ordered Iran to release the hostages, condemned Iran for "repeated and flagrant violations of international law, and ordered Iran to pay reparations for damages. The Soviet and Syrian judges voted against the condemnation of Iran and the Polish, Soviet, and Syrian judges voted against the reparations. All 15 judges voted in favor of the order to release the hostages. The ruling also criticized the United States for the rescue attempt as "undermining respect for the judicial process," but did not rule on the U.S. request that the "students" who seized the embassy and hostages be tried in Iranian courts. Iran did not participate in the Court's proceedings, and Iranian officials repeated that the country would not be bound by the decision. A Tehran radio commentary said the ICJ ruling on compensation gave the United States an excuse to keep the frozen Iranian assets.

Spanish socialist Felipe Gonzalez and former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme arrived in Vienna, Austria, where they met with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. The three leaders of the Socialist Internationale said they were going to Tehran on Sunday, May 25, to see Iranian President Bani Sadr to discuss a plan to release the hostages and end the Iran-U.S. crisis.

Adib Dawudi, Syrian member of the U.N.-sponsored international commission, arrived in Tehran where he was met by Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh; the two were to discuss completing the commission's report on U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs, but Ghotbzadeh said they would not discuss releasing the hostages and Dawudi would not visit the hostages.

Iranian government officials said the rumors of a coup d'etat led by former General Oveysi, reported by Iranian sources yesterday, were "ridiculous."

Hassan Habibi told reporters after a Revolutionary Council meeting that the Majlis would name the Prime Minister. President Bani Sadr said the Prime Minister would be appointed when the Majlis meets, and implied that he would name the Prime Minister for the approval of the Majlis. Bani Sadr did not deny directly the rumors that Habibi would be the Prime Minister. Revolutionary Council member Ayatollah Rafsanjani said Bani Sadr could make suggestions for a Prime Minister to the Majlis, but that the Majlis would name the Prime Minister. Ayatollah Bahonar, another Revolutionary Council member, said the Majlis will take one month to arrange its "internal regulations" before it will be ready to address legislative matters.

The BBC reported that there had been 45 executions in Iran between May 20 and May 24, but the BBC did not believe the executions were part of a new policy to toughen law enforcement because the execution sentences came from six different courts. Ayatollah Khalkhali sentenced 20 to death on May 20 and nine more on May 21, all for drug smuggling. Five were condemned to death for sabotaging oil fields in Khuzestan province. Six members of Forqan, the right-wing terror group, were executed for "waging war on God and his prophet and spreading corruption on earth."

There was more fighting between the Revolutionary Guards and "counterrevolutionaries" near Paveh.

MAY 25, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Syrian diplomat Adib Dawudi said he and the other four members of the U.N.-sponsored international commission may return to Tehran to complete their report on the Shah's "crimes" and U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs. Supposedly, Dawudi is to meet with President Bani Sadr.

Bruno Kreisky, Olof Palme, and Felipe Gonzalez arrived in Tehran and began a series of meetings with Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and other officials. After a 3-hour meeting with Ghotbzadeh, Kreisky told reporters the three leaders of the Socialist Internationale were on a "fact-finding" mission and had no connection with the international commission and its report. Kreisky said the Socialist Internationale initiative on the hostage crisis began "weeks ago" in secret and had nothing to do with other initiatives.

Bani Sadr told an interviewer that the United States sent three groups to Iran to "eliminate" the hostages in order to create an excuse for "flagrant intervention" in Iranian affairs. (The "students" made the same charge yesterday.) He said the United States did not want a resolution of the hostage crisis, but was "exploiting" the crisis to "carry out aggressive operations and intervene" in Iran. Bani Sadr also repeated his threat that Iran would embargo oil shipments to any country that cooperated with the U.S. economic sanctions, repeated Iran's intention to retain control over the three islands in the Strait of Hormuz, Abu Musa and the two Tunbs, seized by Iran in 1971, and repeated that Iran had no intention of closing the Strait of Hormuz to international traffic.

Three more saboteurs were executed in Khuzestan province.

Nine governors and five mayors from Kurdish areas in west Azerbaijan were arrested in Tehran on charges of cooperating with the rebels. The men had gone to the capital at the request of the government to negotiate a cease-fire between the Kurds and the Revolutionary Guards.

MAY 26, 1980, -- MONDAY

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Spanish socialist Felipe Gonzalez, and former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, all representing the Socialist Internationale, left Tehran after two days of meetings with Iranian President Bani Sadr, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, former Prime Minister Bazargan, Minister of State Darush Foruhar, head of the Islamic Republic Party, Ayatollah Beheshti, and others, during which they discussed relations between Iran and Europe. According to Kreisky, the hostage problem was not a primary subject of the talks.

Tass, the Soviet news agency, reported that the U.S. Marine Corps was undergoing special training south of San Diego for another rescue mission. Tass said U.S. "spy" satellites were mapping the Iranian terrain for the new raid, and that Egyptian bases would be used for the attack, which was not aimed at rescuing the hostages, according to Tass, but to seize Iran's oil fields.

The BBC reported that Kurds captured an Iranian army armored column near Baneh, but the Iranian army denied the report. Kurds attacked a Revolutionary Guard post near Urumiyeh, but were driven off, according to Tehran radio. Iranian sources also said that the Iranian army defeated an "Iraqi Baathist" attack near Paveh, and that Kurds in Iraq had sabotaged Iraqi oil installations in their war against the Iraqi government.

The former head of the Isfahan SAVAK office was executed. A bomb in Dezfoul marketplace killed one and injured five. The "students" at the American embassy in Tehran fired at an unidentified helicopter flying over the embassy grounds.

MAY 27, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme said the hostage problem could be resolved "rapidly," providing force was not used against Iran. Palme said the process was underway, but did not explain further. Economic sanctions will not force Iran to release the hostages, Palme added. Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky said the hostage problem could be resolved but would offer no timetable or date. Kreisky said new pressures on Iran would only "create new troubles."

Iranian banks stopped issuing letters of credit for Japanese, Australian, and Canadian traders because those nations had joined the economic sanctions against Iran.

This year's Iranian government budget of about \$41.25 billion will have a deficit of \$6.6 billion, according to the Finance Ministry. About 70% of the state revenues are expected to come from oil sales. A revised budget is expected in mid-summer. The Washington Post reported that Iranian oil production had fallen to about 500,000 b/d, well below the 3 million b/d goal of the Iranian government, and far below the 5 million b/d production prior to the Shah's departure. Iranian sources did not agree with the Post's figures; Oil Ministry officials claimed the Abadan refinery alone was processing almost 600,000 barrels per day for Iranian domestic consumption.

Iran's President Bani Sadr said in an interview that Bahrain, the Persian Gulf island-nation, should have the "right to autonomy," and that "if the people rise up and establish their own government, we will accept it because this government will represent the people." Bani Sadr appeared to suggest that Bahrain should overthrow its present government and establish an Iranian-style Islamic republic. Many Iranians still claim Bahrain as Iranian territory, although Iran has not ruled Bahrain since 1783. Bani Sadr said Iran feared that Bahrain would be used as a base for an attack against Iran.

Iranian radio reported that eight Iraqis had attacked an Iranian installation and had been captured. Iraqi radio reported that an Iranian raiding party had kidnapped eight Iraqis and taken them back to Iranian territory.

MAY 28, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The militant "students" holding the U.S. Embassy and the American hostages sent a message to the Majlis (parliament) on its first day in session telling the legislators not to fear American threats or pressures and reminding the Majlis members that the hostages should not be released until the Shah and his wealth are returned to Iran. The "students" said the hostages should be tried by Iran's Islamic courts.

The Majlis was inaugurated. About 230 of the 270 seats in the parliament were filled, the rest left empty because elections were postponed in the Kurdish areas of Iran and because some election results were still in dispute. President Bani Sadr told the Majlis that Iran's biggest problem was ethnic nationalism and separatism among the minorities, followed by poverty, economic independence, and domestic political infighting. Bani Sadr said Iran should remain neutral between the eastern and western blocs. Ayatollah Khomeini sent a message to the Majlis which also stressed the need for neutrality. Neither Khomeini nor Bani Sadr mentioned the hostages.

The Iranian army lifted the month-long siege of Baneh, driving the "counterrevolutionary" Kurds out of their positions around the city. Tehran radio claimed Iraqis attacked Iranian border posts at Bahramabad, Khalkhal, and Bazargan.

MAY 29, 1980 -- THURSDAY

"Students" at the American embassy in Tehran claimed that four men shot at the building where the American hostages are being held in the city of Mashad. No one was injured.

Austrian Chancellor Kreisky said in an interview in Athens that Ayatollah Beheshti had assured him that the hostages would not be harmed.

The British government "orders" on trade with Iran stipulated that no new trade contracts could be signed but that existing contracts held by British firms could be extended to include other goods. (The example used by the London Press Association story was that a company with an existing contract to sell refrigerators to Iran could sign a new contract to sell washing machines.)

During its first full day in session, the Iranian parliament set up 10 committees and began drafting its own rules. Majlis speaker Yadollah Sahabi said the Majlis must organize itself and debate and approve a government before it could address the hostage issue sometime in late July. Assadollah Bayat, a religious leader and Majlis member from the Zanzan area, said there should be two trials for the hostages, one by Iranian Islamic courts and one by an international court, and that the "guilty" hostages should be "punished."

Oil Minister Muinfar said Iran exported 800,000 barrels of crude oil per day "last month."

Tehran radio claimed Iraqis kidnapped a Revolutionary Guard commander and three Revolutionary Guards. Two other Revolutionary Guards were killed in fighting with Kurds outside the town of Dolawa, near Urumiyeh.

MAY 30, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The Scripps-Howard news service reported that a "secret" Pentagon critique of the Apr. 24/25 rescue operation blamed the failure on poor planning, bad helicopter maintenance, inadequate helicopter pilot training, and bad weather forecasting. A Pentagon spokesman said "no such document exists" and that the Scripps-Howard story was based on "rumor and speculation."

An Abu Dhabi newspaper al-Ittihad published a report based on London sources that the United States was planning another military operation against Iran. Al-Ittihad said a 12,000-man "U.S. Navy Division" had been created in North Carolina and was being transferred to Diego Garcia for the attack on Iran.

Iranian President Bani Sadr, Defense Minister Shamran and Security

Commission member Ayatollah Khamenei met with Ayatollah Khomeini to discuss the parliament and the soon-to-be appointed government. Bani Sadr said after the meeting that the Prime Minister had been appointed and would be presented to the Majlis for its approval when the Majlis was ready.

Ayatollah Bahonar, a member of the Revolutionary Council and the Majlis, said the United States was behind all the "plots" against Iran, such as the oil field sabotage, bombings in Tehran, rumors, Iraqi attacks on Iranian border posts, arming the Kurds, economic sanctions, infiltration of agents, etc. Bahonar said the United States committed "an act of treason" by granting "asylum" to the Shah, and that seizing the U.S. Embassy in Tehran "was the least the Iranian people could do" in retaliation. Bahonar called for an international court to discuss the "crimes" of the United States.

Iranian army sources said Iraqi artillery and helicopters attacked Iranian border posts near Mahran on the night of May 29/30, Iraqi tanks struck the Dahram Abad post, Iraqi MIGs and helicopters hit another post near Karmanshahan, and Iraqi army units tried to trick an Iranian border post into an ambush by luring them into the open to escort Iranian refugees. The Iranian army spokesman said one Iraqi tank was destroyed; an earlier report said three tanks, but that report was withdrawn. Fighting along the Iraq-Iran border has increased over the past week and is the heaviest this year.

MAY 31, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Syrian diplomat Adib Dawudi met with Iran's Foreign Minister Sadeg Ghotbzadeh and Minister of Education Hasan Habibi to discuss the contents of the U.N.-sponsored international commission report. Dawudi has been in Tehran since May 24.

It was reported from New York that a delegation led by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Princeton professor Richard Falk was preparing to leave for Tehran, but was warned by the U.S. Department of Justice that violating the U.S. travel ban could result in a \$50,000 fine and/or 10 years in jail. Clark and Falk and the others were going to attend the Iranian-sponsored conference on U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs scheduled for June 2 through 5. According to Iranian sources, about 100 delegations representing labor unions, liberation movements, political parties, governments, and other organizations in 50 countries are expected to attend.

Iranian army units captured a Kurdish-held television transmitter outside Sanandaj. Eight of the nine Kurd mayors and governors arrested in Tehran on May 25 were released.

Border clashes between Iranian and Iraqi forces continued in Ilam province.

JUNE 1, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Ramsey Clark and nine other Americans left for Tehran and the 3-day

conference on U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs. Professor Richard Falk and four others decided not to attend the meeting and did not make the trip to London and Tehran.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry announced that Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh would meet with Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi and Secretary General of the Islamic Conference Habib Chatti on June 4 to discuss the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and aid to the Afghan rebels opposing the Soviets.

The BBC reported that Kurdish Democratic Party forces, who have been fighting the Iranian army and the Revolutionary Guards, were leaving the cities and towns and retreating to the mountains. The Peshmergas, a pro-government Kurdish force, joined with the Revolutionary Guards and the Iranian army in an assault on KDP positions near Baneh, along the Iraqi border. Peshmergas also joined the army and Guards in repelling an Iraqi attack, according to Tehran news sources. One report from Tehran said the KDP had asked for a cease-fire.

Iraqi and Iranian forces clashed near Kermanshah, and Tehran radio reported that two Iraqi tanks were destroyed. A Tehran newspaper said Iraq asked Iran for a cease-fire in the border war.

President Bani Sadr appointed Captain Bahram Azali Khuchk Bijari to be the Chief of Staff of the Iranian navy, replacing Admiral Tabatabai.

JUNE 2, 1980 -- MONDAY

A rumor circulated through the London financial district that some of the U.S. hostages in Iran had been executed. Iranian President Bani Sadr denied the story, and the "students" at the embassy said all the hostages were alive.

Bani Sadr opened the conference on "Crimes of America" in Tehran. Iranian news sources said 350 delegates (other sources said 400) from 100 countries were attending, including the American delegation. Bani Sadr said the purpose of the conference was to examine U.S. intervention in Iranian affairs and to demonstrate to other non-aligned nations how the Iranian revolution expelled the superpower.

The BBC reported that the Kurds continued to withdraw from the cities and towns and regroup in the mountains to fight a traditional partisan war against the Iranian government. The BBC said there were five major Kurdish groups involved, and that they were sharing their resources, such as the 15 Scorpion light tanks they captured from the Iranian army near Baneh. At least one Kurdish group, the Peshmergas, have joined the government forces in fighting the Iraqis and the other Kurds. Iran claimed to have killed 80 Iraqis and destroyed 3 Iraqi tanks in the day's fighting along the Iran-Iraq border in Ilam province.

The Japanese government issued the "orders" banning trade with Iran.

JUNE 3, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Ramsey Clark, leading the 10-person delegation to the Iranian conference on the "Crimes of America," said the hostages cannot be blamed for the "misguided intervention" in Iranian affairs by the U.S. Government, and appealed for the release of the hostages. Clark offered to take the place of one of the hostages if it would help resolve the crisis. The other members of the U.S. delegation did not agree with Clark's offer to exchange himself for a hostage. Clark said keeping the hostages provided an excuse for "imperialist intervention" in Iran, implying that the United States might launch another military action against Iran. Western news sources reported that Clark was heckled by Iranians in the audience when he said that seizing the embassy was not right.

A clandestine radio station calling itself the "Free Voice of Iran" called Ramsey Clark an agent of the U.S. Government sent to Tehran to extend the U.S. cooperation with Ayatollah Khomeini as part of a Carter-Khomeini conspiracy to seize and hold the hostages.

The Iranian state radio reported Clark's statement, but concentrated on his criticism of past U.S. Administrations for supporting the Shah and helping the Shah "plunder the wealth" of Iran. Iranian state television broadcast the conference proceedings.

Iranian government officials released copies of what was purported to be a message from U.S. Army General Huyser to General Haig, when Haig was commander in NATO and Huyser was on a special mission to Shahpur Bakhtiar's short-lived government in January-February 1979. The message reportedly said that Huyser was encouraging Bakhtiar to take military action against strikers to stop the pro-Khomeini demonstrations, and if that failed to seize the government in a military coup.

Al-Watan, the Kuwaiti newspaper, reported that Syria was negotiating to purchase American-built C-130 cargo planes from Iran.

Admiral Mahmud Alavi, former head of the Iranian navy, went on trial for having contacts with the United States, for passing documents to the United States, for sending foreign exchange currencies abroad, and for possession of alcohol and opium. Iranian Air Force Chief of Staff Amir Husayni Bagheri resigned after only 2 months in office.

Iraqi radio claimed that 1,500 Kurdish families fled Iran and were seeking asylum in Iraq. Pars, the Iranian news agency, claimed that 23 Iraqis were killed during border skirmishes. Pars said 120 Iraqis had been killed in the past three days.

JUNE 4, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Nobel-prize-winning biophysicist George Wald, one of the 10 Americans attending the Tehran conference on "Crimes of America," said Iran should release the hostages to the delegation and end the crisis that is detrimental to Iran. Wald said the group may remain in Iran for a few days after the conference ends on June 5 to learn more about the revolution. Wald met Ayatollah Khomeini, who agreed that the innocent hostages should be released, but said the "big spies and killers" among the hostages should stand trial in Iran.

The Soviet delegate tried to address the conference, but was drowned out by shouts of "God is great" and slogans calling for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Ghotbzadeh asked for quiet to allow the Soviet to finish his statement condemning the United States. Later, Ghotbzadeh said Iran would provide weapons to the Afghan rebels.

Two hundred of the conference delegates were bused to Janaran, outside Tehran, to hear Ayatollah Khomeini deliver a 35-minute speech on U.S. involvement in Iran. (The speech was in Parsi, and there was no translator; Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he would translate the Ayatollah's message to the delegates later.) Khomeini's appearance before the delegates and his praise for defiance of the U.S. Government ban on travel to Iran added to the apparent conflict between the conference sponsors, President Bani Sadr and the "secularists," and the hard-line religious elements in the government who oppose the conference. Observers suggested that the religious elements did not want delegates saying the hostages should be released before the Majlis addresses the hostage issue. The conference sponsors, on the other hand, wanted the delegates to advocate a quick release. Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the Islamic Republic Party, said the Revolutionary Council had no role in the conference and did not know if the conference would change attitudes toward the hostages. The newspaper Islamic Republic, voice of Beheshti's Islamic Republic Party, called Ramsey Clark a "pig" and a "swindler" sent to Tehran by President Carter to trick the Iranians into releasing the hostages.

Iran's President Bani Sadr asked Ramsey Clark to set up an American commission to investigate U.S. intervention in Iran when the U.S. delegation returned to the United States. Clark said he would. Clark and other members of the U.S. group visited American civil rights advocate Dick Gregory in his Tehran hotel room where he is in the 54th day of a prayer-fast for the hostages.

The "students" at the embassy issued another statement that the hostages would be released if and when the United States returned the Shah and his money to Iran; otherwise, the "students" said, the hostages will be placed on trial.

The Iranian embassy in Kuwait was bombed; there were no injuries. Iran blamed Iraq for the attack. Two men described as pro-Khomeini Arabs tried to seize the Iraqi embassy in Rome; one embassy employee was killed, one of the gunmen was wounded and captured, and the other gunman escaped. Italian police defused the bomb the two tried to carry into the embassy. Iraq blamed Iran for the attack.

JUNE 5, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Reverend John Walsh of Princeton and Reverend Charles Kimball of Harvard, members of the U.S. delegation to the "crimes of America" conference, met with the "students" in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran for one hour. They did not see any of the hostages although they did deliver about 20 letters. Walsh and Kimball had met with the "students" during their visit to Tehran in Dec. 1979 as part of a delegation of American clergymen.

Leonard Weinglass, another U.S. delegate to the conference, said Iran's President Bani Sadr proposed that the United States end its support for the

Shah's family, give assurances that the United States would not interfere in Iranian affairs in the future, and offer guarantees that the United States would complete projects in Iran already started and furnish spare parts for American machines and equipment in Iran, as conditions for the release of the hostages. Bani Sadr did not ask for the extradition of the Shah and his wealth, according to Weinglass. It was not clear whether Bani Sadr's conditions had been or would be approved by Ayatollah Khomeini, the Revolutionary Council, the Majlis, or the militants at the embassy.

Tehran news sources said the 350 delegates to the conference flew to Isfahan for the ceremony commemorating the June 5, 1963 anti-Shah demonstration during which some 15,000 (according to Khomeini) were killed by the Shah's forces. (The number of delegates to the conference is not clear; reports of 300, "nearly" 300, 350, and 400 have circulated. Similarly, the number of countries represented has varied, according to the reports, from 50 to 100.) In his statement on the June 5 anniversary, Khomeini said the United States was planning to intervene in Iran, but would be stopped by the Iranian people the same way the Soviet Union was being stopped by the Afghan people.

Ayatollah Beheshti said the U.S. Government warning to the U.S. delegation of possible prosecution for attending the conference was a "subterfuge" and that the 10 Americans were sent by President Carter.

The conference on "crimes of America" issued a communique which condemned United States interference in the internal affairs of Iran, U.S. threats and "incitements" against the Iranian government, the rescue attempt as "aggression," economic sanctions against Iran, freezing Iranian assets, and the treatment of Iranian students in the United States. The communique said Iran should receive compensation from the United States for losses suffered over the past 27 years, and that the United States should extradite the Shah and return his wealth to Iran. The communique did not mention the hostages, but did say that the United States should agree to a peaceful settlement of its differences with Iran.

In an interview with the Paris daily Le Matin, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said his suggestion for a "grand jury" to try the hostages was rejected by Sean MacBride and other possible participants because MacBride wanted the hostages released first and because the communists who supported MacBride did not want the grand jury to be held.

The Kuwait news agency reported that Bani Sadr and Abd al-Rahman Qasimlu, head of the Kurdish Democratic Party, had signed an agreement ending the Kurdish-Iranian war. The Kurds, according to the Kuwaitis, are to have "self rule" but will not have the "autonomy" they wanted.

Pars, the Iranian news agency, reported more fighting between Iraqi and Iranian armed forces along the border in the Kermanshah area.

JUNE 6, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Reuters quoted Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh as saying it was not wise to try the hostages because the United States should be on trial, not individuals.

The Kuwaiti news service reported that Ghotbzadeh and President Bani Sadr gave "assurances" to Syrian diplomat Adib Dawudi, the international commission member in Tehran, at the request of U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim, that the hostages would be released if the international commission report condemned U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs.

The Iranian government-controlled radio broadcast two interesting commentaries. The first said the Iranian Foreign Ministry should explain why it was taking a "conciliatory attitude" toward the United States, citing as an example the Foreign Ministry's invitation to Ramsey Clark to attend the "crimes of America" conference. The commentator said Clark was a "known CIA agent and wheeler-dealer of the politics of American imperialism." Ayatollah Khomeini had refused to see Clark in early November 1979, just after the embassy seizure, and had sent Clark back to the United States in "disgrace," according to the radio. The Foreign Ministry, by inviting Clark, was not following the "Imam's model." (While the attack was aimed directly at the Foreign Ministry and Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, it was an indirect attack on President Bani Sadr, who appointed Ahmad Salamatian, one of his principal aides, to head the conference. The commentator did not mention that the conference was Khomeini's idea in the first place, that Khomeini's Apr. 27 message to Bani Sadr told the President to invite international organizations, political party representatives, union leaders, revolutionary groups, and "anti-imperialists" to a conference. In theory, Khomeini would have approved Salamatian's appointment and the "guest list," including Clark and the other Americans. The commentator appeared to forget that Khomeini had met Clark in Paris, and had addressed Clark and the other conferees, so the suggestion that the Foreign Ministry, i.e. Ghotbzadeh, was not following the "Imam's model" was contradictory.)

The second Tehran radio commentary said the U.N.-sponsored international commission was "deceitful" because it had tried to mediate the Iran-U.S. crisis rather than investigate U.S. intervention in Iranian affairs. The commentator then launched another attack on Ramsey Clark, saying he was "Carter's envoy" to Khomeini when the Ayatollah was in Paris, that Clark was responsible for freeing two "American robbers" from Wasr prison (referring to the Feb. 11, 1979, escape of William Gaylord and Paul Chiapparone, supposedly engineered by industrialist Ross Perot), that Carter had sent Clark to negotiate the hostage release in November 1979, and that President Carter had sent Clark to the "crimes of America" conference to have a clause placed in the final communique calling for the release of the hostages. According to the commentator, President Carter promised Ramsey Clark \$10,000 and a White House job if Clark were successful in having the hostage release clause inserted in the communique. But the commentator also said the \$10,000 would be used to pay Clark's fine for violating the U.S. ban on travel to Iran and the White House job would be in lieu of a prison sentence. The commentary ended by saying that Clark had failed to rig the communique and that President Carter was angry. (Calling the international commission "deceitful" appeared to be another attack on Ghotbzadeh, who arranged the Dawudi visit when the Foreign Minister met Waldheim at Tito's funeral, on Bani Sadr, for reviving the international commission, and on any other elements in Iran that do not favor a trial of the hostages. The second commentary noted that Clark met Khomeini in Paris, which the first commentary had left out of its attack on Ghotbzadeh for not following the "Imam's model," but then connected Clark with the Wasr prison escape and gave Clark official status as "Carter's envoy" to the "crimes of America" conference, neither of which appears to be true. The \$10,000 bribe-fine and the White House job-prison sentence might be described charitably as the fruits of an active imagination. Together, the two commentaries, despite their convoluted

logic and mistruths, are evidence of the continuing contest between the secularists and the religious fundamentalists over the hostages. The secularists appear to want the hostage problem resolved, while the fundamentalists appear willing to allow the hostage problem to drag on.)

The "Free Voice of Iran" also broadcast a commentary which blamed all of Iran's past and present difficulties on the British, and on Britain's "agent" Khomeini, who, according to the "Free Voice," was conspiring to give Britain one-half of Iran's oil.

A report from Beirut said Iranian "strike squads" were in Europe and the Middle East to attack Iraqi installations. According to the report, Lebanese followers of Khomeini were involved in the "strike" and were responsible for the attack on the Iraqi embassy in Rome on June 4.

The oil pipeline from Naft-e Shah to Kermanshah was blown up for the seventh time. Iranian authorities blamed Iraq.

The Iranian army battled the Kurds at the town of Harabad, near Urumiyeh. There were Kurdish-army clashes at Jarabad and Rajan, and the Iranian army battled "counterrevolutionaries" at Shahin Dezh in west Azerbaijan.

JUNE 7, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Five of the ten American participants in the "crimes of America" conference met briefly with the "students" at the U.S. Embassy to give the "students" a package. John Walsh, Princeton University chaplain, said the package did not contain letters, but would not say what it did contain. Walsh and Charles Kimball delivered 20 letters to the "students" on June 5.

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the supreme court, ordered an investigation into the Islamic Revolutionary Court system to find out why cases take so long. Beheshti said that if the court did not reform itself, he would favor abolishing it.

Fighting broke out between the Revolutionary Guards and Qashgai tribesmen in Firuzabad, near Shiraz, when it was reported that Khosrow Qashgai, the tribal leader and member of the Majlis, had been arrested in Tehran. A spokesman for the 200,000 Qashgai living in Pars province said the Qashgai would declare war on Iran if their leader were not released.

Kurds attacked an Iranian army base at Miandoab, near Urumiyeh. Iranian news sources reported Iraqi attacks on Iranian border posts at Qasr-e Shirin, Naftbad, Sayid Ahmad, Khosravi, Heydarabad, and Qaleh Safid, along the border south of Kermanshah.

JUNE 8, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The Pakistani newspaper Jang reported that the three Americans held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry (Laingen, Tomseth, and Howland) would be released in two days. The Iranian Foreign Ministry denied the report.



Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he would go to Oslo, Norway, on June 11 for the Socialist Internationale meeting to discuss the hostage issue.

A commentary broadcast over Tehran radio stated that the return of the Shah and his wealth were not enough to secure the release of the hostages. The commentator said the United States, the "principal guilty party in these crimes" of the Shah against the Iranian people, should pay compensation to Iran for the "exploitation" of its resources and the "tens of thousands of dead, tens of thousands of wounded, and thousands held captive."

Iran and Romania signed a trade agreement. Romania will supply food (wheat, sugar, meat, eggs, dairy products), fertilizers, raw materials, spare parts, and will complete some unfinished projects in Iran. Iran will sell Romania shoes, carpets, and handicrafts. Iran signed a trade agreement with Turkey. The Turks will receive Iranian oil in exchange for wheat, barley, corn, milk, and cement.

JUNE 9, 1980 -- MONDAY

In an interview, President Bani Sadr said a trial of the hostages could prove embarrassing to Iran if many of the hostages were found innocent. The world would wonder why the hostages were detained if they were innocent, Bani Sadr said. He added that the hostages may have their own defense lawyers, something denied to Iranians being placed on trial by the revolutionary courts.

Iran's President Bani Sadr said after a joint Revolutionary Council-cabinet meeting that morality in Iran should be strengthened to produce the calm climate necessary for improving the economy. Revolutionary Council spokesman Hasan Habibi said that no specific economic program could be implemented until morality improved and until there was a permanent government.

Guidance Minister Minashi fired Foreign Press Director Habol Ghassem Sadeq. Sadeq had said recently that all the foreign correspondents in Iran were spies.

The Iran-India trade talks began in Tehran. The two countries set up five working groups on commerce, transport, agriculture, planning, and industry and mining. Iran hopes to benefit from India's self-development experience.

Tehran radio reported that the Revolutionary Guards destroyed an Iraqi armored personnel carrier and killed 10 Iraqis near Qasr-e Shirin. More fighting between the Iranian army and the Kurds was reported near Urumiyeh. In the south, the Revolutionary Guards captured a mountain pass on the road to Firuzabad held by the Qashgai tribesmen.

JUNE 10, 1980 -- TUESDAY

President Carter told correspondents that Ramsey Clark was a "misguided American" and that he was inclined to prosecute Clark and the other nine people who attended the "crimes of America" conference in Tehran. Carter

said Attorney General Civiletti would make the decision to prosecute or not, but the President believed "appropriate punishment" should be levied against those "who went against my directive" not to travel to Tehran. On June 8, Secretary of State Muskie said the purpose of the travel ban was to dissuade Americans from going to Iran, and not to punish those who went.

In a reversal of form, Tehran radio broadcast a commentary (in English) praising Ramsey Clark and the other nine participants in the conference, calling them "these brave souls" and the "true patriots of America," and stating that Ramsey Clark and his companions were the "sort of persons who have worked throughout America's history to make America a great and morally elevated nation" by carrying on "the best values which America can offer the rest of the world." During the June 2-5 conference, Tehran radio had blasted Clark as a "CIA agent" and "imperialist" sent by President Carter to sabotage the conference.

In a statement to provincial governors and Interior Ministry officials, Ayatollah Khomeini said Iran faced two problems: first, the "plots of the opposition" (presumably the United States) which were minor; and second, the "lack of harmony" and "chaos" in Iran. Khomeini said disagreements among government officials had left "all organizations in a state of chaos" and that if Iranians continue to "go for each other's throats" the country could be destroyed. Khomeini's statement appeared to be aimed at the religious fundamentalists, led by Ayatollah Beheshti, and the secularists, led by Bani Sadr, who are vying for power over the appointment of a prime minister and cabinet and the hostage trial issue. In the past, the two camps have disagreed over an economic plan for Iran, the reform of the armed forces, control of the court system, and control of the state-owned radio and television network. Khomeini's comments also applied to the continuing fighting between the Iranian central government and minorities, such as the Kurds, Arabs, and Turkmens, who seek autonomy.

Majlis member Ahmad Madani said the arrest of Khosrow Qashgai, leader of the Qashgai tribesmen of Fars province, was a "breach of the constitution." Qashgai's arrest on June 7 triggered a rebellion among the Qashgai tribes. For the second day, the Revolutionary Guards claimed to have captured the road into Firuzabad held by the Qashgai.

President Bani Sadr repeated his "morality" theme in a statement to the army joint staff, saying that a higher standard of morality among the Iranian people would allow them to withstand hardships and make the sacrifices necessary to rebuild the armed forces.

Ayatollah Khomeini said he had sent a team of his "assassins" to Paris to kill former Prime Minister Bakhtiar. Khomeini also said he hoped the hostages would be freed soon, but added that "anti-Islamic and anti-revolutionary spies" among the hostages should be prosecuted. Khomeini sentenced ten drug smugglers to death. Six other men were executed for other crimes.

JUNE 11, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Daryush Foruhar, a member of the Revolutionary Council and Minister of State in the provisional cabinet, said the hostages should be placed on trial immediately, and those found innocent should be freed. The hostages should



be guaranteed all legal rights, Foruhar said, which implied they should be represented by lawyers. Foruhar's comments contradicted President Bani Sadr's comments on Monday, June 9, when he said a trial could prove embarrassing to Iran if the hostages were represented by lawyers while Iranians are not, and if the hostages were found innocent after eight months.

U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti said the Treasury Department had begun an investigation of "prohibited transactions" related to the ten Americans who attended the "crimes of America" conference in Tehran. Treasury's findings will be reviewed by criminal and civil divisions of the Justice Department, Civiletti said. White House spokesman Powell said President Carter was not trying to tell the Justice Department what to do when the President said the ten Americans should be prosecuted for violating the U.S. ban on travel to Iran, but was just stating his own opinion. In Paris, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, one of the ten, said President Carter's statement on prosecuting the Americans who attended the conference could "poison" the case against them.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh stopped in Istanbul enroute to Oslo for the Socialist Internationale meeting, where he met with Turkish Foreign Minister Hayrettin Erkmen to discuss economic issues and Turkish-Iranian trade. Ghotbzadeh said Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan were in "harmony" in their approach to regional issues. Erkmen said Iran would loan Turkey \$500 million, to be repaid in food and manufactured goods.

Revolutionary Guards "cleared" the roads into Piruzabad for the third day in a row. Qashgai tribesmen, protesting the arrest of their leader, attacked Revolutionary Guards along the roads to Piruzabad and Farashfand in Fars province.

The commander of the Iranian 28th army division said the army, Revolutionary Guards and Pashmergas, pro-government Kurdish forces, controlled the city of Marivan, in Kurdistan province. The commander asked the townspeople to expell the "antirevolutionary" Kurds who had been fighting the army in the area.

JUNE 12, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Sadeq Tabatabai, a Revolutionary Council member and the "supervisor" of the Prime Minister's office, said a hostage trial would serve no purpose, and that the hostages should be freed as soon as possible. Tabatabai agreed with President Bani Sadr. Hasan Ayat, a confidant of Ayatollah Beheshti and a leader in the Islamic Republic Party, said the hostages should be tried immediately as "symbols" of United States cooperation with the Shah. Ayat agreed with the fundamentalists favoring a trial, but disagreed with the approach expressed by Daryush Foruhar yesterday that the hostages should be tried as individual "spies."

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, interviewed over Vienna radio from Oslo, said the real issue in the hostage problem was to make the world understand Iran's suffering under the Shah and the U.S. role in supporting the Shah's regime. Later, Ghotbzadeh told AFP that the United States should establish a commission to investigate the Shah's "crimes" which would "ease the atmosphere" and could lead to the hostages' release. Austrian Chancellor Kreisky, also in Oslo for the Socialist International meeting, told a Swedish

news agency that there was a "plan" to conduct further negotiations for the release of the hostages. Later, Kreisky told Reuters there was no "plan."

About 30,000 members of the Mujahidun-e Kalq, the Islamic leftists led by Massoud Rajavi, held a rally at a sports stadium near the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. Several thousand (10,000, according to one report) members of the Hezbollahis, "Partisans of God" Muslim fundamentalists, held a counter-rally outside the stadium. In the ensuing clashes between the two groups, about 300 people were injured and several killed. Revolutionary Guards tried to break up the fighting by firing shots into the air and throwing tear gas grenades into the rioting mobs. Reuters news service of London reported that the Hezbollahis outside the stadium were chanting "Rajavi is gigolo who consorts with women."

The "revolutionary tribunal" of the Iranian army announced that it had uncovered an army officers' plot to overthrow the government. Eleven army officers will go on trial next week. Libyan leader Muammar al-Qadhafi claimed Egypt is training an Iranian armed force to overthrow the Islamic republic and restore the Shah to the throne. Al-Qadhafi called for the overthrow of the Egyptian government.

Iran expelled two Iraqi diplomats "caught receiving documents" on June 10. Iraq retaliated by expelling two Iranian diplomats. Iran charged that the two Iranians were beaten and tortured by Iraqi police.

The Kuwaiti news service reported that Muhammad Ismail Chaudri, President of the Pakistan bar association, had met with Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh on June 10 and with Ayatollah Khomeini on June 11 to discuss Afghanistan. Chaudri was quoted as saying that Ghotbzadeh will make an "important announcement" that will "astonish the entire world" concerning Afghanistan in about 15 days.

JUNE 13, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Iran's President Bani Sadr told a crowd in Sari that the economic situation in the country is getting worse, that inflation and the economic blockade of Iran, coupled with the people's fear, could result in a "sick economy." In the past, Iranian officials have dismissed the economic sanctions as ineffective.

Bani Sadr told Keyhan's newspaper that "opportunists" were trying to take over the radio and television facilities in order to impose censorship in Iran. The President hinted that the "opportunists" were religious extremists and added that religion should not be used as a "club with which to beat people over the head." Bani Sadr announced that he had ordered the release of Khosrow Qashgai, leader of the Qashgai tribes of central Iran, because the evidence against Qashgai, a memo found in the U.S. Embassy, had been misinterpreted. The memo supposedly said the CIA was going to report on the leaders and activities of the Qashgai, not that Khosrow Qashgai was reporting to the CIA as his accusers alleged. Bani Sadr said Qashgai's arrest "resembles the Dreyfus affair" and was an attempt to "weaken the foundation of the republic." Bani Sadr criticized the militants at the embassy and their supporters for releasing the U.S. embassy documents "every so often" rather than all at once as a calculated attempt to disrupt the Majlis and the country. The President told Keyhan's that the Prime Minister, to be chosen

by the Majlis in the near future, must have the confidence of the country and not represent a single faction. On the "crimes of America" conference which ended on June 5, Bani Sadr said Ayatollah Beheshti's complaint that the Revolutionary Council had not been informed was incorrect, because the Revolutionary Council had approved the budget for the conference. Besides, Bani Sadr added, Ayatollah Khomeini had instructed the President, not the Revolutionary Council, to hold the conference, so the Council did not have a role in the proceedings. (Bani Sadr's interview with Keyhan's appeared to be another skirmish in the continuing and growing battle between the secularists and the fundamentalists.)

The Revolutionary Guards announced again that they had cleared the "assailants" (Qashgai tribesmen) from the Firuzabad-Parashtan road. The Guards did say that the Shiraz-Firuzabad road was closed because of the "assailants."

Khomeini appointed a committee to oversee the "Islamic cultural revolution" and to prepare a new education program for Iran. (The members of the committee are Muhammad Havad Bahonar, Mehdi Amlashi, Hasan Habibi, Abdol Karim Soroush, Shams Ali Ahmad, Jalalod-din Parsi, and Ali Shari-Atmadari.)

JUNE 14, 1980 -- SATURDAY

A Revolutionary Guard "report" read over Tehran radio implied that the Mujahidun-e Khalq rally on June 12 was part of a larger conspiracy. The Revolutionary Guard report asked why the Ajaddiyyeh sports stadium was chosen for the site of the rally when it was known that the sports stadium was one of the designated landing sites for the American rescue attempt. The report implied that the Interior Ministry, which approved the rally permit for the leftist group, was also involved in a new rescue attempt being led by the Mujahidun-e Khalq; the sports stadium is across the street from the U.S. embassy.

Pars news agency distributed a statement by Ahmad Khomeini, the Ayatollah's son, which labeled the Hezbollahis who tried to break up the Mujahidun rally as "traitors" violating the "freedom of expression" called for by his father. The Hezbollahis are right-wing religious conservatives, believed to be the militant arm of the Islamic Republic Party led by Ayatollah Beheshti. Ahmad Khomeini has been described as being close to President Bani Sadr and the secular faction in the increasingly polarized Iranian political spectrum. During the Ayatollah's illness, there was speculation that Ahmad Khomeini assumed the role of spokesman for his father and issued statements in his father's name.

In Sweden, Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told a news conference that the U.S.-sponsored economic sanctions were not affecting Iran.

JUNE 15, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark returned to New York from Paris. A few documents gathered during his participation in the "crimes of America" conference in Tehran were copied by U.S. Customs officials and returned to

Clark. He was not arrested. Clark said the officials should "do their duty" and prosecute him if they were instructed to do so. Clark said the Congress should investigate U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs.

Adib Dawudi left Tehran for Geneva, where he will spend a few days before going on to the U.N. headquarters in New York to meet with U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim. Dawudi, an advisor to Syrian President al-Assad and a member of the international commission that visited Iran in February and March, had been in Iran since May 24 to discuss with Iranian officials the final report the commission is supposed to issue. Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the commission would be welcome to return to Iran but only to submit its final report and not to conduct further inquiries. Ghotbzadeh had returned to Tehran after a 2-day visit to Sweden and the 3-day meeting of the Socialist Internationale in Oslo.

Ayatollah Khomeini told the directors of the state radio and television network that the organization should be "purged" of "deviationists" appointed by SAVAK during the Shah's regime, and that Islamic revolutionaries should be appointed in their place.

The Iranian army claimed full control over the Kurdish cities of Saggez, Baneh, and Divan-Arreh. The army spokesman said the people in the towns were in need of "humanitarian" services and called upon Iranian governmental and private institutions to send representatives to coordinate food, medicine, clothing, and other relief needs.

According to Iranian radio, two Iraqi jet fighters invaded Iranian air space near Abadan, but were chased away by ground fire from the Revolutionary Guards.

JUNE 16, 1980 -- MONDAY

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, reporting on his trip to the Socialist Internationale meeting in Oslo, said none of the Socialist leaders present would offer support to Iran until the hostages were released.

Amman, Jordan, radio reported a story from London that Austrian Chancellor Kreisky had offered a "plan" that would free the hostages by the end of July.

White House spokesman Powell said President Carter "has a role to play" in determining if Ramsey Clark and the other nine participants in the "crimes of America" conference in Tehran should be prosecuted for violating the U.S. ban on travel to Iran.

Ahmad Khomeini read a statement from his father, the Ayatollah, to the gathering of Revolutionary Guards at the American embassy in Tehran which said that "treacherous people" had infiltrated the Guards and were making false arrests, committing corrupt acts, and disobeying orders in an attempt to discredit the Guards in the eyes of the Iranian people. In his statement to the Guards gathering, President Bani Sadr said there were two kinds of armies in the world: the first, similar to the U.S. and Soviet armies, tries to destroy the opposing armies with artillery and bombs; and the second, the kind of army Iran was trying to build, does not kill its opponents but tries to convince them of the correctness of Islam. After the rally, the commander of the Revolutionary Guards (code named Abu Sharif, real name Agha Zamani)

resigned because factionalism in Iranian political circles prevented him from forming a capable military force.

An Iranian trade delegation arrived in Moscow, the first trade delegation to go to the Soviet Union since the revolution 18 months ago. Under the Shah, there had been eight Soviet-Iranian trade meetings.

The conservative Voice of Lebanon radio station broadcast a report that Syria was airlifting Soviet weapons to Iran for use along the Iran-Iraq border. Iraq claimed that an Iranian force attacked an Iraqi border post near Barsrah. The Revolutionary Guards announced that they had opened the Shiraz-Firuzabad road, previously blocked by rebelling Qashqai tribesmen. Iranian army officers accused of plotting a coup d'etat went on trial in Tehran.

In Tehran, a man named Muhammad Bassir was arrested for possessing a false American passport; the news report said the name on the passport was "Joe."

JUNE 17, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Iranian newspaper Donyaye Iran reported that the Majlis will be involved in routine business until September, and that the Iranian people will decide the hostage issue in a referendum, presumably to be held in late autumn.

The Kuwaiti news agency reported that Iranian attitudes toward the hostages were changing, that the "students" were ready to release the hostages, that the religious fundamentalists who were silent on the hostage issue in the past were now advocating release, and that Iranian officials saw the continued retention of the hostages as harming Iran's international image. The Kuwaiti news agency pointed out that criticism of Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and others who advocate the release of the hostages was declining.

In Alexandria, Egypt, President Anwar al-Sadat told reporters that the Shah was doing well. Other news reports from Egypt said the Shah was treated by Morton Coleman, a doctor with the Cornell University Medical Center, for a fever caused by his other treatment.

Keyhan, the Tehran newspaper, reported that the Iranian wheat crop would reach 6 million tons this year, and that Iran would not need to import wheat next year. Iran's wheat consumption is expected to be about 6.5 million tons.

A Yugoslavian trade delegation arrived in Tehran to request an increase in crude oil and natural gas deliveries and to offer to Iran spare parts for the oil industry and construction and technical assistance for Iran's petrochemical industry.

President Bani Sadr rejected the resignation of Revolutionary Guard commander Abu Sharif. Abu Sharif resigned yesterday, after only one month as commander, because of "factionalism" in the Iranian government.

Keyhan reported that the Iranian army revolutionary court discovered a "counter-revolutionary network" in an Iranian army garrison in the Kurdish

area. Members of the "network" were arrested and are to be tried next week on charges of cooperating with the banned Kurdish Democratic Party to overthrow the government and restore the Shah to the throne. The trial of 11 army personnel arrested last week and charged with "plotting" a coup attempt was in its second day in Tehran.

The Paris periodical L'Humanite published (publication date June 13) an interview with Hasan Habibi, spokesman for the Revolutionary Council and prospective Prime Minister, in which he said the Islamic Republic Party was sometimes "harsh" in its positions and that the religious extremist wing of the party should learn to cooperate with other elements in government. Habibi said the Fedayin-e Khalq (Marxist guerrillas) was moving toward the Tudeh Party, the Moscow-oriented Communist party, and that the Mujahidin-e Khalq (Islamic Marxists) was becoming the primary opposition movement outside the Majlis. Bani Sadr's followers were close to the Islamic Republic Party, according to Habibi, but differed only in methods from the IRP. Habibi appeared to be suggesting that Iranian political groups were coalescing around three positions: the right-religious position of the IRP and Bani Sadr, the left-center position of the Mujahidin, and the leftist position of the Fedayin-Tudeh.

A Tehran radio commentary attacked King Husayn of Jordan for conspiring with former Prime Minister Bakhtiar to seize control of Iran. The commentator said Husayn was also cooperating with King Hassan of Morocco, the Saudi royal family, Sultan Qabus of Oman, and "presidents-for-life" Saddam Husayn of Iraq and Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt to restore the Shah to the throne. Husayn's reason for opposing the Islamic revolution, according to the commentator, was the largesse the Shah provided to Jordan. The commentator's "proof" of Jordan's complicity with Iran's former leaders was the fact that Jordan did not participate in the 1967 Arab war against Israel.

JUNE 18, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the court system and leader of the Islamic Republic Party, denied yesterday's report in the newspaper Donyaye that the Majlis would not consider the hostage issue until September and that the final decision on the hostages would be left to the people in a referendum. Beheshti said the Majlis would be ready to consider the hostage issue in "less than one month."

Tehran radio said the United States was mounting a new threat against Iran with the appearance of B-52 bomber aircraft, based at Diego Garcia, and F-4 fighter aircraft based in Egypt. The radio report said the U.S. "base" in Egypt was a replacement for the "loss of Iran" as America's base in the Middle East to complete its "mission" to dominate the Persian Gulf. (B-52s refuel at Diego Garcia for their normal reconnaissance flights, but are not permanently stationed there. On June 12, the United States announced that 12 F-4s would operate from Cairo beginning in July for a 3-month training exercise.)

The Tehran newspaper Islamic Revolution, which reflects the views of President Bani Sadr and the "secularists" in the Iranian government, published a four-page transcript of tape-recorded conversations between Hasan Ayat and some university students. Ayat is Beheshti's second-in-command in the Islamic Republic Party. In the transcripts, Ayat was planning a series

of disturbances and purges in the universities for early June in an attempt to discredit President Abolhasan Bani Sadr, who Ayat called "an American pawn." Ayat said, according to the newspaper, that a propaganda campaign would tie Bani Sadr, Mehdi Bazargan, Kairu Sanjabi, Ahmad Madani, and others to the Mujahidun-e Khalq, the Islamic Marxist movement, and would lead to Bani Sadr's resignation from the government.

Taghi Farralin, director of Iran's television system, resigned because of "different power centers in the state organization." (Farralin's resignation was another setback for Bani Sadr, who appointed him to block the "fundamentalists" control over the state radio and television.)

Ayatollah Khomeini appointed three religious leaders as his "representatives" to the Revolutionary Guards, the gendarmerie, and the police, to "investigate what goes on" in each of the organizations. The representatives are to submit weekly reports to Khomeini on their findings. (The appointments appeared to sidestep Bani Sadr, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.)

The Central Islamic Revolutionary Court discovered a group stealing communications equipment from the customs bureau. Supposedly, the equipment, radars, radios, and spare parts, belonged to the Iranian army and was worth "millions of dollars."

Baghdad radio reported that 14 people were executed in Iran.

Iranian leaders, including Ayatollah Beheshti, Bani Sadr, Ahmad Khomeini, the Ayatollah's son, and others, held a mysterious 6-hour meeting at Beheshti's house in Tehran. Observers speculated that the meeting concerned the recent political in-fighting and the struggle for power between the "fundamentalists" and the "secularists."

JUNE 19, 1980 — THURSDAY

The Tehran newspaper Jomhuri-ye Islami published a story that new documents discovered at the American embassy proved that the White House was involved with the Shah.

A Tehran radio commentary criticized Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh for listening to "gossip" at the Socialist Internationale meeting in Oslo that said all the leaders present believed the hostages should be released. The commentary said Ghotbzadeh was "influenced" by the meeting and was not espousing the positive features of the Iranian revolution.

The Islamic Republic Party Central Committee denounced the newspaper Islamic Revolution for publishing the transcripts of IRP leader Hasan Ayat's negative comments about President Bani Sadr. The IRP did not deny that the conversations between Ayat and the "three or four students" took place but said the publication was a "plot" against national unity. The IRP Central Committee called upon President Bani Sadr to investigate the newspaper. The IRP's newspaper, Islamic Republic, said the Islamic Revolution had distorted excerpts from Ayat's conversations, and said that Ayat may have violated the party's principles by speaking against Bani Sadr. Both the Islamic Republic Party Central Committee and its newspaper the Islamic Republic said Ayat was offering his own opinions about Bani Sadr and not the party's. The Central

Committee asked that the tapes be given to the party so that an investigation could be held. Ayatollah Beheshti, leader of the IRP, said Ayat was not a leader of the IRP.

Major General Muhammad Hadi Shadmehr resigned as Chief of the Joint Staff of the Iranian army. President Bani Sadr, in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, accepted the resignation and appointed Shadmehr to be the presidential advisor on military affairs. Bani Sadr appointed Brigadier General Vali Fallahi to be Chief of the Joint Staff, Brig. Gen. Qasim Ali Zaher-Nejad to be commander of ground forces and supervisor of the gendarmerie, and Colonel Javad Fakouri to be commander of the Air Force.

Oil Minister Muinfar said Iran and the Soviet Union were still negotiating a price for Iranian natural gas deliveries. In the meantime, Iran was expanding the local distribution of gas that would have been exported to the Soviet Union. Muinfar said Iran would not raise the price of its crude oil above \$35 per barrel but would increase its exports of crude to increase its oil revenues.

JUNE 20, 1980 — FRIDAY

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Donald McHenry, Deputy U.N. Ambassador William Vanden Heuvel, and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Harold Saunders met with Syrian diplomat Adib Dawudi in New York to discuss Dawudi's recent trip to Tehran concerning the report of the U.N.-sponsored international commission. After the meeting, McHenry said there had been no change in the hostage situation and that there was no reason to believe the international commission's work would lead to the release of the hostages in the near future.

Ayatollah Ali Husayn Khamenei, a Revolutionary Council member, cautioned the crowd at the Friday prayers in Tehran's largest mosque not to believe "rumors" about Iranian religious leaders. Khamenei was referring to the transcript published by the newspaper Islamic Revolution in which Hasan Ayat of the Islamic Republic Party outlined a plan to discredit President Bani Sadr. Khamenei said that if Ayatollah Khomeini died, Ayatollah Husayn Ali Montazari should be "put in power" as Khomeini's replacement.

Hasan Ayat told reporters that Bani Sadr was "acting like the Shah" and was "toeing the U.S. line." Ayat said that he had been framed in the Islamic Revolution newspaper and that the "plotters" might try to assassinate him. Ayat said he had "proof" from the American embassy that Bani Sadr and his followers were linked to the United States. Ayat also said people in the Iranian government purposely destroyed the U.S. helicopters abandoned during the Apr. 24 rescue attempt to hide evidence of the U.S.-Iranian cooperation.

The Kurdish Democratic Party denounced seven members of the 25-member KDP Central Committee for issuing a statement calling for the end to Kurdish resistance to the Tehran government. The KDP said the seven were "traitors" to Kurdish autonomy.

The gendarmerie claimed it had "cleared" villages near Qotur in west Azerbaijan of "lawless armed groups," meaning Kurdish resistance fighters.

Iranian Economy and Finance Minister Reza Salimi signed a trade and cooperation protocol in Moscow. The agreement calls for increased trade, economic cooperation, technical assistance, and development cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iran.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh arrived in Geneva for a meeting with Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi and Islamic Conference President Habib Shatti to discuss Afghanistan. Although the Afghan government was invited to the meeting, no representatives appeared. Representatives of the Afghan rebels opposing the Soviet presence did arrive. Ghotbzadeh said the Afghan rebels are the true representatives of the Afghan people.

JUNE 21, 1980 — SATURDAY

Ayatollah Muhammad Javad Bahonar, a member of the Revolutionary Council, visited U.S. hostages held in the city of Yazd. The report from Iran did not say how many hostages were held at Yazd, how many Bahonar saw, or why he visited them. After the unsuccessful rescue attempt of Apr. 24/25, the "students" at the U.S. Embassy said they dispersed the hostages to 16 other cities, in addition to Tehran; Yazd was one of the cities named. As far as is known, the Bahonar visit is the first such visit to the hostages by a public figure, other than the "students," since the dispersal. Yazd is in Isfahan province, in the geographic center of Iran.

President Bani Sadr told the Arabic language Paris newspaper al-Mustaqbal that the United States turned the hostage issue into an international problem when the real problem was 35 million Iranians who were victims of U.S. interference in Iranian affairs.

Ayatollah Beheshti told a college audience in Ahwaz that the final decision on the hostages rested with the Majlis, but that whatever the Majlis decided, the hostage issue should not be a "stepping stone" to re-establishing relations with the United States.

AFP's Beirut office received a telephone call from the "Red June" organization saying that it had attacked the New York home of Princess Ashraf, the Shah's sister. "Red June" has claimed credit for other attacks against the Shah's family and supporters in Lebanon, Iraq, and elsewhere. One report from New York said two men tried to enter Ashraf Pahlavi's home but were driven off by a bodyguard.

The Soviet Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations told Tehran radio that the Soviet-Iranian trade protocol signed yesterday provided for cooperation in the steel industry, machine building, coal mining, technical training centers, and transshipping goods through the Soviet Union to Iran along the Volga waterway. Chairman Skachkov said the U.S.S.R. would construct two power plants, a 1260-megawatt plant at Ahwaz and a 800-megawatt plant at Isfahan, and that the Iranian industries to be developed would be based on Iranian raw materials to avoid Iran's becoming dependent on foreign countries. Skachkov said recently discovered coal deposits near Tabas would be developed to power the new Iranian industries.

The supervisor of Tehran university said 389 students were dismissed after "committees" studied their "files" and discovered their connections with SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. A court in Nahavand sentenced a former

SAVAK member to life in prison.

The Revolutionary Guards reported heavy fighting against the Kurds in west Azerbaijan. Another Revolutionary Guard report said Iraqis attacked a Guard post near Ahwaz.

JUNE 22, 1980 — SUNDAY

In Venice, leaders of the seven largest industrialized non-communist nations issued a communique condemning the seizure and holding of diplomatic personnel. The communique did not mention the American hostages in Iran by name.

Ayatollah Beheshti said the cabinet would be formed in about three weeks and that the Majlis would be ready to begin its legislative duties at the same time.

The Sunday Times of London reported that Bani Sadr and Beheshti had held a series of meetings to resolve their differences and agree upon political policies for the future. The Times said the two leaders, considered political rivals in the struggle for power in the new Iranian government, had agreed on a Prime Minister and may have agreed on a resolution of the hostage issue. According to the Times, the reconciliation was triggered by the publication of the Ayat tapes, in which Beheshti's cohort planned the political downfall of the President. Beheshti was forced to compromise with Bani Sadr, the Times said.

The head of the Iranian army's Islamic court said 27 army officers were arrested for their role in a "network" that included Kurdish Democratic Party members, supporters of the Shah, and the Feyzin-e Khalq (leftist guerrillas). The "network" intended to overthrow the present government and return the Shah to power, according to the court official. AFP reported that another 100 army officers are under arrest for the same plot and that 150 other army personnel were being sought.

Tehran radio announced that television, radio, telegraph, and telephone services were restored in Kurdistan after the Kurdish rebels destroyed the communications station at Martuzan.

The Kurds released 45 Iranian army officers and men captured in recent fighting.

Three men described as "mercenaries subservient to foreigners" were executed in Baluchistan.

JUNE 23, 1980 — MONDAY

In Paris, Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the Majlis would address the hostage issue in four to five weeks, and added that an "unconditional release" was impossible and that the United States would have to make "political concessions" to secure the release of the hostages. Ghotbzadeh went to Paris to meet with "European businessmen and

industrialists" after his meetings in Geneva on the Afghan crisis. Iraqi News Service reported that the real reason for Ghotbzadeh's trip to Paris was to meet with American officials to discuss new Iranian-American ties that would involve the control of the Persian Gulf.

A Tehran radio commentary said the Soviet withdrawal of troops (10,000 of the 80-90,000 total) from Afghanistan begun on June 22 was a Soviet reaction to the Geneva meeting of Iran, Pakistan, the Islamic Conference, and six of the Afghan rebel groups, which called for a Soviet withdrawal and pledged support to the anti-Soviet rebels. Most other observers believed that the Soviet withdrawal was a propaganda ploy aimed at the Venice meeting of Western allies or to garner support for the Olympic Games. A few analysts believed that the Soviet withdrawal was part of a normal troop rotation or a retreat of units that were mauled in recent fighting with the rebels.

The Soviet-sponsored National Voice of Iran radio said the United States was responsible for "all acts committed in Iran contrary to moral and international norms." NVOI said U.S. General Huyser's trip to Iran in January 1979 was to coordinate Iranian army protection for the Shah and, if that failed, to give the order to the Iranian army to seize the government. NVOI said that the United States planned an attack on Iran in August 1979 and is planning another attack now that will include a 2,000-man pro-Shah Iranian army based in Egypt.

The Iranian Majlis postponed today's meeting because it could not muster a quorum.

Oil Minister Muinfar said oil production was running about 2 million barrels per day, 1 million of which was for domestic consumption and 800,000 barrels was for export. Muinfar said oil production would increase in July.

In a statement to the Revolutionary Guards, Ayatollah Khomeini warned against deviations from Islam and appealed to the Guards to purge their ranks of deviationists.

Baghdad radio said Iranian armed forces had attacked Iraqi positions along the border on 3 successive days.

Tehran radio reported that a combined force of the Iranian 28th army, Revolutionary Guards, and Peshmargas (pro-government Kurdish forces) had marched from Sanandaj to Marivan to stop the Kurdish resistance.

JUNE 24, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Department of State granted permission to travel to Tehran to Mrs. Barbara Timm, mother of one of the hostages. The State Department said the exception to the Presidential ban on travel to Iran was granted on "humanitarian" grounds. Mrs. Timm may go to Iran to discuss legal representation for the hostages if the hostages are placed on trial. Mrs. Timm and her husband were in Tehran in violation of the travel ban on April 24 during the American rescue attempt, and was criticized by many Americans for apologizing to the Iranian people for the U.S. military action.

In an article in the Paris daily Le Monde, Eric Rouleau said that "informants" in Iran told him that the April 24 U.S. rescue attempt had two

components; first, an attempt by Americans to rescue the hostages, and second, an attempt by Iranian army officers to seize key installations and kidnap or kill prominent Iranian leaders as the first step in the overthrow of the Iranian government. According to Rouleau, the Iranian army personnel were to seize radio and television stations, government offices, army bases, and other locations and to arrest or execute Ayatollah Khomeini, Masud Rajavi (head of the Mujahidun-e Khalq), leaders of the Tudeh Party (Communist), and others. Rouleau said Air Force General Bahman Bagheri had been arrested for his part in the coup attempt and for ordering the destruction of the American helicopters left behind after the raid in order to destroy incriminating evidence. Former chief of the joint staff General Hadi Shadmehr (now the military advisor to President Bani Sadr) was also suspected of a role in the plan, according to Rouleau. Either the Iranian government did not have enough proof to arrest all the conspirators or feared the effects of the scandal and were not pursuing the affair, said Rouleau.

The Iranian Ministry of Culture ordered all movie theaters closed and banned the showing of films until a censorship board could be formed. The "Arts Foundation for the Oppressed," which was formed after the revolution, rejected the Culture Ministry order as "deviationist" and vowed to continue showing motion pictures. Another 100 students were purged from Tehran University for having connections with SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. Thus far, about 500 students and faculty members have been ousted after their "files" were surveyed by a student-faculty panel. The Khvoy Islamic court ordered the execution of 15 men for "sowing corruption on earth" and fighting "against God and His Prophet." Khvoy is in the far northwest corner of Iran, in the Turkish-Azari populated area. Four men were executed at Evin prison near Tehran for robbery, possessing guns, drugs, and running prostitution rings.

The "Free Voice of Iran," the pro-Shah anti-Khomeini clandestine radio, broadcast the "goals" of the "Liberation Army of Iran," which are "to crush religious autocrats," stop the "ugly aggressions of the Mullah's regime," "overthrow the Khomeini regime," and "establish a nationalist, democratic, anti-colonialist, non-exploitative regime." The "National Voice of Iran" clandestine radio, which is supported by the Soviet Union, broadcast a commentary supporting the goals of the Kurdish Democratic Party for autonomy within Iran.

The Revolutionary Guards claimed to have killed one of the KDP leaders, Mirza Bager Muhammad-Nezhad, in the village of Bashshash near Urumiyeh. Revolutionary Guards and KDP forces also clashed near Paveh. The Iranian army battled Iraqi tanks and artillery near Qasr-e Shirin, according to Tehran radio.

The Tehran newspaper Bamdad reported that Iran had asked the Soviet Union for access to the Volga River waterway to transship goods from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea.

JUNE 25, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Iran's Foreign Minister Sadeq Ghotbzadeh said the United States must meet two economic conditions before the hostages will be released; first, end the sanctions and the "boycott," and second, release Iran's frozen assets. The Foreign Minister added that the United States must "reveal" its past

activities in support of the Shah as well. (Since the United States announced the economic sanctions in late April, Iranian leaders have been saying that the sanctions would have no effect on Iran. On June 13, President Bani Sadr included the "blockade" -- meaning the U.S. sanctions -- as one of the reasons the Iranian economy was "sick," the only time an Iranian leader has suggested that the sanctions may be hurting Iran. Today's Iranian leader has suggested that the Foreign Minister enforce the suggestion that Iran "conditions" listed by the Foreign Minister. In addition, reports of may be feeling the pressure of the sanctions. In addition, reports of Iranian trade negotiations with India, the Soviet Union, Turkey, Poland, and other nations, suggest that Iran is in need of consumer goods, food, and spare parts which previously came from the United States. It may be significant that Ghotbzadeh's "conditions" placed less emphasis on the political condition than on the economic conditions and dropped two political conditions, the U.S. apology and the promise not to interfere in the future, that were listed in the past.)

Ayatollah Beheshti said the Majlis might consider an early release of those hostages "not suspected of espionage."

Ghotbzadeh told a press conference that he was assured by European businessmen that shipments of raw materials would begin this week, in spite of the economic sanctions. Ghotbzadeh met with the businessmen during his stop in Paris on June 22-23.

Bani Sadr issued a presidential order that only the Foreign Ministry controlled the movement of foreign journalists in Iran.

Amir Naser Kuhyar, the Iranian representative on the Japanese-Iranian petrochemical project, said in Japan that Iran was making a "final approach" to the Japanese firm of Mitsui to complete the project.

In a speech to workers, Ayatollah Khomeini blamed the United States for the "turmoil" in Iran, the political bickering, rebellions of ethnic groups such as the Kurds, clashes between political factions, and riots and demonstrations, etc.

The Majlis did not meet because it could not muster a quorum. Apparently, members are staying away from the parliament rather than face the issues of approving disputed credentials of unseated members, electing the constitutional council, and naming and approving the prime minister and cabinet.

Ayatollah Khalkhali said the "mafia" offered him a \$7 million bribe to drop his campaign against drug smuggling. When he refused the bribe, the "mafia" tried to kill him, Khalkhali said. The Ayatollah made the statement after the execution of five more men convicted of drug offenses.

A bomb killed 11 and wounded 50 in an Ahwaz street.

JUNE 26, 1960 -- THURSDAY

The Islamic Republic Party newspaper, Islamic Republic, criticized "some individuals" (meaning Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh) for offering new conditions for the release of the hostages and for failing to demand the extradition of the Shah. Islamic Revolution, the newspaper that reflects

Bani Sadr's views, reported that an agreement between Beheshti and Bani Sadr would put to rest the disagreements between the two political camps, and, in particular, would establish the authority of the government to administer the law. One recurring problem of the Iranian government has been the overlapping and unclear jurisdictions between government institutions and the religious groups, which often act as though they have governmental authority; for example, the Iranian army and the Revolutionary Guards, or the prosecutors office of the Justice Ministry and the "komitehs" of the Islamic courts. Supposedly, the agreement clarified the jurisdictions. The report in Islamic Revolution specifically mentioned the "Muslim youths" who would have to abide by the government's orders, which may be interpreted as a warning to the "students" at the U.S. Embassy to obey government decisions on the hostages. The Islamic Republic's attack on Ghotbzadeh appearing the same day as the Islamic Revolution's report of an agreement to end such backbiting raised doubts about the strength of the agreement.

Ayatollah Beheshti, Revolutionary Council member, head of the Supreme Court and head of the Islamic Republic Party, said the "fanciful matter" of the Ayat tapes was not a threat to the regime. Beheshti said Islamic Republic Party officials would listen to the tapes and decide if disciplinary action against Ayat were needed. (The Islamic Revolution newspaper published the transcript of a tape-recorded conversation between Hasan Ayat, a leader of the IRP, and several students, in which Ayat planned to discredit President Bani Sadr.)

U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti said the Justice Department, and not President Carter, will decide if Ramsey Clark and the other nine American participants in the "crimes of America" conference are to be prosecuted for violating the U.S. ban on travel to Iran.

It was reported that former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar's wife and son arrived in Cairo to visit the Shah, whose health, according to the report, is deteriorating.

Kyodo news agency reported from Tokyo that Mitsui and its two Japanese partners in the joint Iranian-Japanese petrochemical project had decided to complete the plant at Bandar Khomeini. The \$3.3 billion complex, 85% complete, has been idle for 15 months.

Someone threw a grenade into the Tehran office of the Mujahidin-e Khalq (Islamic Marxists) and sprayed the building with automatic weapons fire. The Mujahidin announced that they were closing all of their offices in Iran as a safety precaution. In his speech yesterday, Ayatollah Khomeini called the leftists in Iran "traitors to Islam" and it was believed the remark may have triggered the attack on the Mujahidin.

Iran denied Soviet charges that Afghan rebels had established a military training base near Mashhad. Several Afghan rebel groups have offices in Mashhad.

Two army officers implicated in the planned coup were executed. The officers and 25 others were arrested on June 22. Nine other people were executed for various crimes, one of them a woman charged with running a "large corruption center."

The Iranian army claimed control over the Qotur pass area of northwestern Iran, along the Turkish border. The army has been fighting "rebels" in the area for several months. Iran also claimed Iraqi armed forces attacked



Iranian installations near Kermanshah. Iraq claimed Iranian air force planes violated Iraqi airspace and that Iranian tanks attacked Iraqi border posts.

JUNE 27, 1980 — FRIDAY

The Tehran newspaper Donyaye Iran said the American hostages were eating American food, reading American magazines and newspapers, and were sending and receiving letters. The newspaper said Khomeini asks about the hostages' welfare daily, and that the hostages occasionally make telephone calls home. This was the first public report of the hostages since the April 24 rescue attempt.

Mrs. Barbara Timm went to Paris to seek a visa to return to Iran for what her lawyer described as a "humanitarian" visit for "all the hostages." Mrs. Timm received permission from the Department of State to go to Iran in spite of the travel ban.

The Shah left Qubba palace, where he has been the guest of Egyptian President al-Sadat, for a Cairo hospital.

Iran's President Bani Sadr told a Shiraz crowd that unemployment was dropping, that Iran's industries were increasing production, that banks were making loans to businesses again, and that non-aligned nations were supplying raw materials and goods to Iran in defiance of the U.S. economic sanctions. Bani Sadr also condemned the Soviet Union for occupying Afghanistan.

Ayatollah Montazari told the Friday prayer audience in Qom to boycott American goods. (The Ayatollah's appeal appeared to confirm other reports that American goods are still available in Iranian marketplaces, in spite of the sanctions.)

The Iranian ambassador to Moscow asked the Soviet Union to stop arms shipments to Iraq because the weapons were being used against Iran and were being given to "rebels," presumably the Kurds and Arabs of Khuzestan province.

Ayatollah Khomeini told a group of families of "martyrs", people killed during the Shah's regime or the revolution, that government ministries continued to use "satanic" symbols of the imperial regime, such as letterheads, stationary, and calling cards imprinted with the Shah's lion and sun symbol, and that many government offices were run by people loyal to the Shah. Khomeini asked why President Bani Sadr and the Revolutionary Council allowed imperial symbols to be used, why Shah loyalists remained in government offices, and why the government did nothing to compensate the "martyrs' families for their losses. Khomeini said all such symbols should be removed within 10 days or the people should take action and deal with the government in the same way they dealt with the Shah. Later, Khomeini's "bureau" issued an order to all government departments to eliminate imperial symbols within 10 days, and promised "severe punishment" for those who disobeyed.

A Tehran radio commentary criticized the Mujahidun-e Khalq for being a Communist front for the United States and for attacking its own offices to make it appear as though the government was trying to destroy the organization.

The Ahvaz Islamic court executed five men for sabotage, cooperating with Iraq, and possession of firearms, and three women for prostitution. The Mashhad court executed 12 men for drug smuggling and one woman for prostitution. One report said 200 people have been executed since May 21.

JUNE 28, 1980 — SATURDAY

Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat left Alexandria for Cairo to visit the Shah in a Cairo hospital. Al-Sadat said the Shah was "very seriously ill" and had contracted pneumonia.

"Students" holding the American hostages in Iran said that if the Shah died, the fate of the hostages would be left to Ayatollah Khomeini and the Majlis, but that they still expected the hostages to be placed on trial. The "students" had said the hostages would not be released until the Shah was returned to Iran.

Reuters press agency of Britain reported that Iran's President Bani Sadr said Iran must live with the hostage problem and turn its attention to resolving the country's economic difficulties. Apparently, Bani Sadr has given up his intention of solving the hostage crisis through negotiation and will leave the decision to the Majlis. Bani Sadr said he had given a letter of resignation to Ayatollah Khomeini to publish whenever the Ayatollah believes Bani Sadr should no longer be President. Bani Sadr did not say when the resignation letter was given to Khomeini, but since it followed Khomeini's statement yesterday that the President and the Revolutionary Council had lost their revolutionary fervor, it may signal an open break between the two leaders.

Tehran radio reported a meeting between Khomeini and several ministers and Revolutionary Council members in which the Ayatollah launched another tirade against "the old way of thinking" and "provocateurs" who remained in government positions and still supported the Shah. Khomeini, according to the news report, said that such people should be driven from office, even if they were ministers or the President himself. Khomeini repeated his attack on using the "imperial symbols" and said anyone who does not conform to revolutionary symbols should be treated the same as drug smugglers. Iranians charged with drug offenses are executed.

Bani Sadr's officer issued a circular ordering all government offices to get rid of letterheads, flags, envelopes, etc., bearing the imperial symbol and to report to the President within 48 hours on their progress in issuing the new Islamic revolutionary symbols.

The "Purge and Reform Committee of Government Departments," formed last year, issued a statement that it was collecting all the "signs of satan" stationary, plaques, flags, stamps, etc., bearing the Shah's imprint, and was going to "confront" inefficient bureaucrats, conspirators, rumor spreaders, "SAVAKists," and Shah supporters in government agencies, and ensure that "Islamic rules and practices" were applied in all government offices.

JUNE 29, 1980 — SUNDAY



Mrs. Barbara Timm returned to the United States from Paris, stating she had received permission from Iranian authorities to go on to Tehran but had cancelled her trip because of State Department "restrictions." She did not explain the nature of the "restrictions."

It was reported from Cairo that French, American, and Egyptian doctors were attending the Shah and that "minor" surgery might be necessary to relieve lung congestion. Egyptian President al-Sadat visited the Shah and said his condition was improved.

Iran and Hungary signed a trade and cooperation agreement calling for Hungary to complete some unfinished industrial projects and to provide food, medicines, industrial raw materials, electrical equipment, steel, and chemicals for Iran.

In an interview broadcast over radio Tehran, President Bani Sadr said he was not responsible for the ministers' failure to live up to the Islamic revolutionary standards because he did not appoint them. Bani Sadr said that Ayatollah Khomeini's criticism of the government not reacting to the peoples' needs was not his fault but the fault of regulations that created "obstacles" and because many of the ministers tried to solve problems by force. Bani Sadr said he needed the "tools" to govern effectively and that he did not have the "means" to solve problems. On Khomeini's complaint that the imperial symbols was still being used by Iranian government offices, Bani Sadr said he issued an order on June 8 to get rid of the symbols, but no one had followed his orders. The President pointed out that the economy had not collapsed and that industry and banking had revived because of his efforts and implied that these areas were more important than the concern over letterheads and envelopes. In response to the complaint that Shah supporters remained in many of the government ministries, Bani Sadr said that 4,000 people had been purged from the government under his administration. Bani Sadr also said that Iranians who collaborated with the April 24 American hostage rescue attempt were still at large in Iran.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh met with Ayatollah Khomeini to describe his efforts to rid the Foreign Ministry of imperial symbols.

The Oil Ministry reported that 480 workers had been purged from the oil industry because they were SAVAK agents, freemasons, and Shah supporters. Tehran University purged another 69 students and faculty, bringing the total to 558 purged since early May.

The Ministry of Education abolished the education department in Kurdistan.

Interior Minister Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani cancelled the rally permit for the Redayin-e Khalq (Marxist guerrillas) because he feared that the rally would lead to violence.

President Bani Sadr appointed Major Kasim Bojnurdi to be the commander of the Revolutionary Guards to replace Abu Sharif, who resigned on June 16. Abu Sharif will be the Guards deputy commander.

Iranian citizens seeking visas to return to Iran staged a sit-in at the Iranian consulate in Baku, in the Soviet province of Azerbaijan.

A bomb destroyed the electrical generator on the dock at the city of

Khorramshahr.

Iraq claimed Iranian tanks attacked an Iraqi border post. Iran claimed Iraqi tanks attacked an Iranian border post.

JUNE 30, 1980 -- MONDAY

It was reported from Tehran that one of the American hostages would be placed on trial for his involvement with an Iranian woman. The incident first appeared in a Tehran newspaper on Mar. 29 when an Iranian man surrendered to the police after killing his sister to protect the family honor when she allegedly became pregnant by one of the Marine guards at the embassy.

French and Egyptian doctors performed minor surgery on the Shah in Cairo to remove liquids from his left lung. The Shah's condition was described as satisfactory.

A Tehran radio commentary implied that President Carter wanted the Shah to die so that the hostages would be released and Carter could win the election. Without explicitly saying so, the commentary suggested that American doctors attending the Shah in Cairo were acting on Carter's orders to kill the Shah during the surgery. The commentary warned the United States that the ploy would not work and Iran would not release the hostages if the Shah expired.

President Bani Sadr told an audience of religious students that Iran was engaged in an "economic war" with the United States, and that one of the U.S. tactics was to create inflation that would destroy Iran. Inflation, the President said, was caused by the "economic blockade." Bani Sadr said the consequences of the Iranian revolution "may topple the American system."

Interior Minister Mahdavi-Kani banned all demonstrations and rallies until the Majlis begins its session and can "rule on the activities" of political groups. (The Majlis is still organizing itself and is expected to begin its formal session at the end of July. The Interior ban appears to anticipate political restrictions in Iran. Khomeini's recent attacks on leftist groups and the growing polarization into left and right camps, with the right clearly in control of the Majlis, reinforces speculation that leftist political groups will be suppressed.)

Various government "purge committees" announced more expulsions; the radio and television agency expelled 35 people, one-half of its administrative staff, the Transportation Ministry purged 325, and the Oil Ministry expelled another 162 (480 were purged from Oil yesterday).

Iran expelled a Soviet diplomat, First Secretary Vladimir Golvanov, for "exchanging documents with a foreign national."

The Bandar Abbas Islamic revolutionary court executed two men, both former SAVAK agents.

The Governor-General of Kurdistan province announced that the province, except for a few villages, was free of "insurgents" and was returning to normal.

JULY 1, 1980 — TUESDAY

The Shah has an "infected pancreatic cyst," according to a medical bulletin issued in Cairo.

Major Muhammad Kazem Bojnurdi, appointed by Bani Sadr on June 29 to be the commander of the Revolutionary Guards, refused to assume the post until "certain conditions are met." He did not give details.

Ayatollah Khomeini called for the "Islamicization" of the education system to ensure that students are taught morals and their "minds and souls are purified." He said the universities should not be centers of "robbery, lust, and good times."

Khomeini's "bureau" issued a statement that warned people not to destroy documents found in government offices in their drive to get rid of royal symbols and imprints.

The Oil Ministry purged another 400 people and the Transport Ministry purged 110. According to Tehran radio, in the past three days, 1,410 government workers have been purged because they were supporters of the Shah.

Doctors in Iran called a one-day strike for July 2 to protest the execution of Dr. Ismail Narimisa in Ahwaz on June 27; the doctor was charged with freeing prisoners and plotting violence. The doctors' strike will protest Narimisa's secret trial with no defense lawyer and no appeal and will call for the punishment of those responsible for his execution. The Health Ministry warned that striking doctors will be dismissed and turned over to legal authorities.

The Iranian army fought a day-long battle with Kurds and, according to the army spokesman, Iraqi troops in Kermanshah province.

JULY 2, 1980 — TUESDAY

In an interview with Le Monde, President Abolhassan Bani Sadr said the United States does not want to resolve the hostage issue because keeping the hostages in Iran was part of a larger U.S. "plot" aimed at overthrowing the Iranian regime and regaining a position in Iran. Bani Sadr said he was content to wait for the Majlis to decide on the fate of the hostages, although he believed they should be released and not stand trial.

Ayatollah Beheshti said at a press conference that the Majlis should finish its procedural affairs in two weeks, at which time it would be ready to consider approval of a Prime Minister and Government. After that, but he did not know when, the Majlis would take up the hostage issue. Beheshti, in answer to questions, said he did not know what effect the Shah's death might

have on the hostages. Another questioner asked why the Soviet diplomat was expelled for espionage on June 30 but American diplomats charged with espionage were being held and may be tried. Beheshti replied that the Soviet Union was not trying to "colonize" Iran but the United States was.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told another press conference that the U.S.S.R., using "agents" of the Tudeh Party, was trying to gain favor in Iran during the Iranian confrontation with the United States. He repeated his statement that Iran was neither pro-east nor pro-west. Ghotbzadeh said the U.S.S.R. and Iran should have an equal number of diplomats serving in their respective capitals, that the number of non-diplomatic Soviet personnel in Iran should be limited to two, and that the Soviet Union should close one or two of its consulates.

The "Ministry of Foreign Affairs Islamic Society" issued a statement that Ministry "officials" were "creating obstacles and frustrating activities of the Society" which was trying to correct "conditions" in the Ministry by getting rid of SAVAK agents, all ambassadors appointed by the Shah, Shah supporters, prostitutes, Freemasons, members of "misguided sects," and advisors that were agents of Ashraf and Shams, two of the Shah's sisters.

Ayatollah Husayn Ali Montazari, leader of the Qom religious community, endorsed Khomeini's call for a purge of "corruption and prostitution" and "pawns of the CIA and SAVAK." Montazari called for a march on July 4 to support Khomeini's purge. The staff of the Qom religious seminary, which Montazari heads, issued a statement condemning the Mujahidin-e Khalq (Islamic Marxists) because they mislead the youth of the country, strengthen pro-American factions, and play a destructive role by collaborating with supporters of the Shah. The statement also called for a march on July 4.

The doctor's strike shut down three-fourths of the hospital services in Iran. All surgery except emergencies was postponed. The Health Ministry re-issued its warning that striking doctors would be dismissed and turned over to the legal authorities. Iranian doctors were protesting the execution of a doctor on June 27.

Oil Minister Muinfar said he was pleased that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raised crude oil prices up to \$32 per barrel because now all OPEC member-states were at the same price level. Iran raised its price from \$30 to \$32 per barrel in April.

President Bani Sadr addressed other issues in the Le Monde interview mentioned above. On the Iranian economy, the President said unemployment was "virtually eliminated," that Iran would not need to import wheat, and that Iran would be self-sufficient in all food products in three to five years. He said the Government had failed to stop inflation. His other "failure" was the reform of the legal and justice system, but he would be addressing that problem in the next few weeks. Bani Sadr said he had stopped the rebellions in Kurdistan, Khuzistan (the Arabs), Azarbaijan, and Mazandaran (the Turkomen). He repeated an earlier statement that the American rescue attempt of April 24 was a "secondary" part of a larger plan to overthrow the Government and assassinate Iranian leaders, including Ayatollah Khomeini and himself. The President said he had restored discipline in the army but admitted that six "plots" to overthrow the Government had been discovered in the army in the past four months. He condemned, again, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and said the Soviet ambassador had told him that Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan as soon as American interference ended. Bani Sadr said Iran was buying arms from Bulgaria.

Bani Sadr said the United States had a plan to create a "social base" for a counterrevolution that relied upon "accomplices" to stir up unrest in Iran, including the purges of civil servants, "fanatics" attacking ethnic and religious minorities, and arrests of tribal leaders. Revolutionary Guards arrested tribal leaders along the Soviet border, from Azarbaijan to Baluchistan, which only disturbed the people and did not stop the Soviet threat, the President added. The key to the "American plot" was the economic sanctions which were supposed to deprive Iran of raw materials and spare parts, but Iran was receiving supplies indirectly, the President told Le Monde. Bani Sadr said the American plan was aimed at him personally.

(Bani Sadr implied that the American "accomplices" included Khomeini, who called for the purges, and the Islamic Republic Party of Ayatollah Beheshti, whose Hezbollahis (servants of God) attacked the Kurds and Mujahidun-e Khalq. Beheshti's religious cohorts control the Revolutionary Guards that arrested the tribal leaders, including the leader of the Qashgai; Bani Sadr intervened in the Qashgai incident to free the leader and condemned those responsible for his arrest. In the current round of Iranian political infighting, everyone appears to be linking their political rivals to the United States; the religious students in Qom tied the U.S. to the leftist Mujahidun, as did a Tehran radio commentary of June 27, and Bani Sadr indirectly linked the U.S. to Khomeini and the religious "fanatics" leading the purges.

JULY 3, 1980 -- THURSDAY

"Jumhuriyah Islami" (Islamic Republic, the newspaper of the Islamic Republic Party) published an article stating that Iran will release the hostages in exchange for a "ransom" from the United States to compensate for 25 years of intervention into Iranian affairs. The newspaper article also said the United States was "trying to get rid of the Shah" before the Majlis took up the hostage issue. (In the past, Iranians have called for the return of the Shah's wealth, but this is the first time a "ransom" has been mentioned.)

A report from Cairo said the Shah has suffered from typhus for two months, and that he was receiving antibiotics and intravenous feeding to fight an infection beneath his lungs.

"Hundreds" of Iranian women demonstrated in front of the presidential offices to protest a presidential order that women have to wear the chador (long dress and veil) in government offices.

Nine more people were executed in Iran, four of them by stoning, for sex-related crimes.

Ten Revolutionary Guards were killed in clashes with an unnamed adversary in Azerbaijan province.

JULY 4, 1980 -- FRIDAY

A spokesman for the Shah said in Cairo that the deposed monarch's

condition was "stable but serious." The spokesman denied stories circulating in Cairo that aides of the Shah were making burial plans. A Cairo newspaper reported that doctors at Maadi hospital had stopped the Shah's bleeding. (This was the first mention of a "bleeding" problem.) Another report from Cairo said the Shah was recovering slowly from the infection because of complications from his "previous case of cancer."

"Hundreds of thousands" of Iranians marched in Tehran in support of Khomeini's call for a purge of unresponsive government officials; the march was organized by Ayatollah Montazari of Qom. Marchers carried banners denouncing the Fedayin and Mujahidun (two Marxist groups), pledging support for Khomeini and Montazari, and condemning Israeli Prime Minister Begin and Egyptian President al-Sadat. There were no banners denouncing President Carter. At the rally at Tehran University, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei read a "resolution" of the marchers, demanding the Fedayin and Mujahidun be banned, demanding a purge of all "satans" still working in government offices, demanding "public chastity" of government workers, condemning those who oppose Khomeini's policies, supporting the radio and television authorities, calling for a "cultural revolution" at all levels of the society, demanding "resolute action" against the Kurds, and condemning the "filthy agents of Western colonialism" who were attacking the Islamic clergy. The resolution did not mention the hostages.

The Revolutionary Council issued a statement welcoming the call for a purge of people in government who placed "obstacles" in the way of the people. The statement asked why government ministries continued their "obstructionism, negligence, and pessimism" and pledged a stronger effort to cleanse the government of "pawns of corruption and treason." The statement said a plan that would change the whole administrative system was nearing completion and would be announced soon.

Ayatollah Montazari criticized the office of the Prime Minister (there is no Prime Minister) for not helping the people and asked if the Iranian people were aware of what was happening in the Foreign Ministry and the Iranian embassies overseas.

At the Foreign Ministry, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh announced that Iran told the Soviet Union to reduce the number of Soviet diplomats in Iran and to limit the number of non-diplomatic representatives to two people who could not be on diplomatic passports.

A Tehran radio commentary said Soviet spies disguised as diplomats were trying to gain influence over the country and that the Soviet Union was hypocritical for supporting the Iranian revolution. The Soviet "trick," said the commentator, was more dangerous than the United States "espionage" attempts. The commentator said the United States infiltrates spies disguised as journalists.

Eight unarmed Iranian students seized the Iranian embassy in Paris and held the ambassador and four or five embassy employees for 6 hours before French police entered the building from the rear and arrested the intruders.

The Shiraz Court executed 14 people.

JULY 5, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Maadi hospital officials released a bulletin that said the Shah's condition was "under medical control." APP reported from Cairo that the Shah underwent surgery again. Reuters reported speculation in Cairo that the Shah's health was "deteriorating." Reuters also reported that a crypt was being prepared in the Rifai Mausoleum, the burial place of the Egyptian royal family in the Citadel, the old fortress of Cairo.

A Tehran radio commentary said President Carter had decided to have the Shah killed, but to "create assorted illnesses and operations" to hide the assassination. According to the Tehran radio commentator, President Carter is "desperate" because opinion polls show him falling behind the Republicans, which the commentator said was a party "famous for their offensive attitudes," and to win back support among the American people, Carter will gain the release of the hostages by having the Shah die. The radio commentator said the ploy will not work because the fate of the hostages, and hence of President Carter's re-election, is in the hands of the Majlis, which will not release the hostages until the Shah's wealth is returned to Iran and until the United States meets all "other demands" of the Iranian people.

A Tehran radio report stated that Iragis, working for the CIA, had assassinated two Iranian students in Beirut.

The presidential cultural and press advisor presented an indictment to the public prosecutor to investigate Agence France Press, the French news agency, for distorting an interview with President Bani Sadr conducted by Eric Rouleau of Le Monde. All APP personnel are to be expelled from Iran.

Women protesting the presidential order that all women wear "modest" clothing gathered in front of the presidential offices. The middle and upper class women, dressed in Western clothes, were heckled by women dressed in chadors, and head-to-toe veil, and by men who called the protesters "prostitutes." Revolutionary Guards on the scene did nothing to stop the hecklers, but did not allow the women protesters to defend themselves.

Expatriate Iranians again marched to the Iranian consulate in Baku, in the Soviet province of Azerbaijan, to seek visas to return to Iran. Iranian ambassador to the Soviet Union Mukhri said many of the Iranians were Communists who fled Iran 30 years ago. An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman blamed the demonstrations of the past few days on the Soviet Union. The Soviet Foreign Ministry denied any involvement in the Baku consulate incidents.

Iranian Oil Minister Muinfar said the Soviet Union refused to pay a fair price for Iranian natural gas, \$4 per 1 million Btu's, which he said was priced the same as gas purchased by the United States from Canada and Mexico. The Soviets said the price was too high, and that Iran should try to sell its gas to the United States. The Soviets have offered \$2.20 per 1 million Btu's.

Tehran radio said Iraqi forces attacked several Iranian border posts in an all-night battle. Iraqi radio blamed the battle on the Iranians.

JULY 6, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The "students" announced that American hostages held in the cities of Arak, Mahallat, and Najafabad had been moved to new locations. They did not say how many hostages were held in the three sites, how many were moved, or to where they were moved. The "students" said the United States was trying to kill the hostages, hence the need to move them to new locations.

The Cairo newspaper al-Ahram said the Shah was in a "semi-comatose" state, that he had intermittent periods of consciousness, and that his condition was "very delicate." APP reported from Cairo that the Shah had three operations in the past week, had 2 days of internal bleeding, had lost weight, and was still running a high fever.

Two British subjects, Christine Powell, an Australian radio reporter, and Roger Cooper, a Persian literature scholar, were arrested and held overnight, before being expelled from Iran. The two told the British embassy that they did not know who had arrested them or why. Three Austrian citizens, working for an Iranian armaments firm, were arrested as spies for taking pictures of military equipment near Tehran.

After a Revolutionary Council meeting, Ayatollah Beheshti said the government departments would soon be "rationalized," apparently meaning reformed and reorganized. Ayatollah Mosavi Ardebili, the Prosecutor General, said the Revolutionary Council discussed and approved a reform of the judicial system. Hasan Habibi, another Revolutionary Council member, said the Council approved the bonus and retirement plan for government workers with 15 years service.

President Abolhassan Bani Sadr issued a statement addressed to "female Government employees" that they should "get in step with efforts toward a spiritual revolution" by wearing "dresses in accordance with Islamic standards." The "supervision of women's dress is the sole responsibility of Government officials," the President said.

Ayatollah Khalkhali suffered chest injuries in an automobile accident. Khalkhali, called the "hanging judge" in the Western press, claims the "mafia" was trying to kill him because of his anti-drug campaign, and there was speculation in Iran that the automobile accident was somehow connected to the "mafia."

The National Iran Oil Company reported that 930,000 barrels of crude oil per day were going through the Abadan refinery and another 102,000 barrels per day through the Isfahan refinery. Bulgaria signed an agreement for 1 million tons (40,000 b/d) of Iranian crude oil to be delivered to Bulgaria in the remaining 6 months of 1980.

Tehran radio said Iraqi forces shelled Iranian border posts near Qasr-e Shirin.

JULY 7, 1980 -- MONDAY

Majlis member Fakhradin Hejazi of Tehran said the hostages, who he called "spies and thieves," would be judged by a "Nuremberg tribunal."

The Shah's condition was reported as "satisfactory." Tehran radio, quoting a Saudi source, said the Shah would be moved to the United States.

soon, which would hasten the trial of the hostages.

The press attache of the Soviet embassy in Tehran gave a statement to Pars news agency that said the Soviets had received information that "hostile elements" intended to seize the embassy. The statement said the Soviet Union wanted to "draw the attention" of the Iranian authorities to the "dangerous character" of such acts, and demanded that appropriate measures be taken to "exclude such an eventuality." The Iranian Foreign Ministry issued a statement assuring the U.S.S.R. that "all necessary steps" would be taken to ensure the security of the embassy. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told the press that he had spoken with Soviet authorities on July 6 about the rumored attack on the embassy.

The three "Austrian spies" arrested near Tehran on July 6 were released. Two were West German and the other was Austrian.

The presidential office issued a reminder to all government agencies that contacts with foreigners or with foreign embassies should be coordinated with the Foreign Ministry to ensure that Iranian foreign policy was maintained.

The three-man purge committee, appointed by the President, issued a warning that the 10-day period to clear out all "vestiges of satan" was over, and that anyone still using imperial "symbols" on stationary, envelopes, etc., and that women not in proper dress would "suffer the consequences of disobedience." The Prosecutor-General issued a statement that any woman government employee not wearing "Islamic clothing" and anyone caught using the "vestiges of satan" imperial symbols would be fired from their jobs. The Prosecutor said "model Islamic office uniforms" would be presented soon and that everyone would be expected to wear them. He asked the people to report violators.

President Bani Sadr appointed Kamal Kharrazi to head the Pars news agency.

The Oil Ministry said oil sales were up 25% over last month. The Ministry said the shortage of motor lubricating oils continued and that Iran had to import 120,000 tons of lubricants from abroad. The Ministry was seeking ways to complete the petrochemical plant begun by a Korean firm but abandoned during the revolution in January 1979.

Iran radio reported more fighting with Iraqis along the border near Kermanshah, and said the oil pipeline to the Kermanshah refinery had been sabotaged by Iraqis.

JULY 8, 1980 — TUESDAY

The newspaper Donyaye Iran (World of Iran) published an article describing the hostages' living conditions, saying the hostages were well and were being given medical treatment, and that they spent their time reading, watching Iranian television, and exercising. (Donyaye Iran, which reflects the views of the conservative religious faction in Iran, published a similar article on June 27.) The article also said that only the "students" know the location of all the hostages. The same newspaper printed another article stating that the Majlis would not begin debating the fate of the hostages until October or early November, and may wait until after the U.S. Presidential election. (United Press International said several Iranian newspapers carried the story

of the Majlis delay until October-November.)

The Pittsburgh Press published what was purported to be a letter from one of the hostages, Jerry Miele, in which Miele supposedly admitted that he was a CIA agent, denounced the Shah, and asked for the Shah's return to Iran to stand trial. The State Department's Iran Working Group and Miele's sister said the letter was a fake.

Rumors circulated through Cairo (and Washington) that the Shah had died. MENA, Egypt's Middle East News Agency, said the Shah was alive, was steadily improving, and that "foreign radios" had started the rumor of the Shah's demise. Reuters quoted Egyptian doctors as saying there was no deterioration in the Shah's condition. Egyptian President al-Sadat visited the Shah and said he was "not seriously ill."

Reuters interviewed some 20 members of the Majlis to ask their opinion on what should be done with the hostages. All but two said the hostages should be placed on trial. One member said he wanted to see more proof of the crimes before he would vote for a trial, and Ayatollah Khomeini said the Majlis should turn the hostages over to Bani Sadr. One Majlis member said Pope John-Paul II should visit Iran to discuss a "Nuremberg" tribunal.

The Soviet news agency Tass reported the rumors of an attack on the Soviet embassy in Tehran and the Iranian assurances of protection.

The Iranian Interior Ministry repeated its June 30 warning against unauthorized political demonstrations until the Majlis decides the "fate of political parties, factions, and groups." In lieu of political rallies, the Interior Ministry said "informed individuals and responsible authorities will conduct" a series of "ideological and political discussions."

The Majlis continued examining the credentials of members. Ahmad Madani, a candidate for the Presidency and former head of the Iranian navy, and Kosrow Qashqai, leader of Iran's 200,000 Qashqai tribesmen, were ordered to appear before the Majlis "to be examined."

Majlis member Hasan Rowhani gave a speech broadcast by Tehran radio in which he attacked the Mujahidin-e Khalq and the Tudeh Party, saying they were "mysterious, efficient, and calculating" and that they had a long-range plan to take over Iran. Rowhani dismissed the Fedayin-e Khalq, the other leftist group, as "illiterate, emotional mercenaries" who posed no threat to the country. Rowhani also said Iran must begin exporting its revolution to Kuwait, Iraq, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and "all Muslim states."

Ayatollah Khomeini told journalists visiting Evan prison that his anti-narcotics campaign had broken up a drug-smuggling operation headed by Ashraf Pahlavi, the Shah's twin sister, and that because of his efforts both he and Ashraf were targets of the "mafia." Khomeini said the "mafia" had tried to attack Ashraf at her home in France and at her other home in Los Angeles.

Iranian radio reported an overnight attack on Iranian border posts by Iraqi forces. The radio also reported that Revolutionary Guards were fighting "assailants" (meaning Kurds) near Marivan. Bamdad newspaper reported that four Kurds had been executed in Kurdistan province.

A Vietnamese official, who arrived in Tehran yesterday, offered his government's cooperation with Iran in confronting the United States economic

sanctions against the two countries.

JULY 9, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

UPI reported that Victor Tomseth, one of three hostages held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry, was named as a CIA agent during a trial of an Iranian accused of being a SAVAK agent. The Iranian said Tomseth was his "control officer" and that he reported information about the revolution to Tomseth. While several of the Americans held hostage in Iran have been called "spies", Tomseth is the first hostage to be singled out during a trial.

Reza Esfahani, a Majlis member, told Keyhan newspaper that the hostages should be tried by a court composed of "representatives of other countries" so that world opinion would not believe that Iran was rendering a "one-sided judgement" against the hostages. Esfahani said the innocent hostages should be freed and guilty hostages "punished," but no hostage should be released until the United States met Iran's demands. He said the trial would not be against the American people but against the American Government, and that after the trial many people will lose confidence in the United States. Esfahani, who is also a deputy Agriculture Minister, said this year's Iranian wheat crop is so large that Iran may have trouble harvesting it.

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine Soviet-sponsored radio) broadcast a commentary in which it described a U.S. Treasury request to U.S. banks for an accounting of all Iranian assets in preparation for the Treasury Department's seizure of the assets. NVOI said the United States was "embezzling" Iranian funds, and cited as an example the Senate Armed Services Committee transfer of a \$41 million Iranian payment for Phoenix missiles to the U.S. Navy so the Navy could purchase the same missiles. NVOI said the Treasury Department would use Iranian assets to pay financial claims to the dependents of the eight men killed at Tabas during the rescue attempt, to pay families of the hostages, and to pay for CIA "subversive" acts against Iran. (The House Armed Services Committee on April 30 and the Senate Armed Services Committee on June 20 reported the Defense Department authorization bill, which included \$41 million for the U.S. Navy to purchase 150 Phoenix missiles ordered by Iran but not delivered, but the congressional committees did not "transfer" Iran's money to the Navy. On July 2, the Treasury Department circulated for comment a "proposed regulation" to place Iranian assets in interest bearing accounts. The inventory of Iranian assets mentioned by NVOI was completed months ago, although another phase of inventorying possible claims against Iran and Iranian assets was completed on May 15. There is no plan for disbursing Iranian assets as NVOI claimed.)

The Iranian Foreign Ministry issued a statement praising an Organization of African Unity resolution calling for the "return" of Diego Garcia to Mauritius. The Foreign Ministry statement said the United States was using Diego Garcia for its "plan" to "dominate" Africa and the Middle East.

The Ministry of Industry and Mines announced the nationalization of four pharmaceutical firms jointly owned by Iranian and West German firms. A West German pharmaceutical association said six companies were nationalized, five West German and one Swiss.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh commented that the rumors of a Soviet embassy

seizure had prompted Iranian authorities to take precautions to protect all foreign embassies in Tehran because foreign diplomats and embassies should be secure and diplomatic immunity should be respected.

The Abadan Revolutionary Guard warned "leftist" groups "following America's line" not to demonstrate or march to protest the execution of two doctors on June 27. The Revolutionary Guard warning said the two doctors were "American mercenaries" and that "leftists" protesting the execution "will be opposed in the strongest possible manner."

The "Oil Ministry Purge Committee" said eight oil workers were fired because they had worked for SAVAK. The "Purge Committee" warned women oil workers to wear "Islamic attire". Forty-three nurses at the Masjid Sulayman hospital in the oil fields area were fired for not complying with the dress order. Nine men were fired from railroad jobs in Khuzestan province.

The "student" followers of Khomeini, the group that seized the U.S. embassy in November 1979 and still holds the American hostages, issued a long statement condemning the Mujahidin-e Khalq, the Islamic Marxist group. (The statement was significant as part of the general condemnation of leftists currently underway in Iran and because the "students" have been described as leftists.)

Koumeleh, the leftist Kurdish group, said it had executed four of its Revolutionary Guard captives in retaliation for the execution of four Kurds yesterday.

Tehran radio reported more fighting along the Iraqi border and said members of the Kurdish Democratic Party had joined with Iraqi troops to attack a Revolutionary Guard post near Paveh.

JULY 10, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Tehran radio announced that one of the hostages, U.S. vice consul Richard Queen, would be released because of medical reasons. The radio broadcast a message from Ayatollah Khomeini to President Bani Sadr asking the President to make the necessary arrangements. Khomeini said he had been informed by the "students" holding the hostages that Queen was ill, could not be treated in Iran, and should be sent to a country "enjoying better medical facilities." Queen had spent "several" days in a Tehran hospital, according to the Pars news agency. The reports did not describe Queen's illness, did not describe his condition, and did not say where he had been held prior to his hospitalization.

A U.S. Federal Judge ruled in Washington that the nation of Iran was liable for U.S. assets seized by the Iranian government in June 1979, stating that Iran violated a 1955 treaty with the United States and violated international law by not offering compensation. The case involved several American insurance companies claiming \$35 million in compensation for their nationalized Iranian assets, which may set a precedent for other American firms with claims against Iran's frozen assets.

Bani Sadr announced that an Iranian Air Force "plot" to overthrow the government had been uncovered. According to the President's statement and a statement by Colonel Sadig Fakuri, head of the Air Force, the conspirators, who they said were cooperating with "U.S. imperialism," former Prime Minister Bakhtiar, the Israelis, and Iraq, were going to bomb Khomeini's house, the Presidential offices, the Peyzیه religious school in Qom, and several military installations in Tehran, and take over military bases and the radio/television station. Bani Sadr said he knew of the "plot" for a month but waited until he could catch the conspirators in the act.

Tehran radio reported that the Revolutionary Council had agreed on a choice for the Prime Minister. The report said the Council of Guardians, called for in the constitution to oversee the actions of the Majlis, would be appointed next week and that the Revolutionary Council would "end its work" at that time. The same Tehran radio report carried a quote from Ayatollah Khalkhali, the Islamic court judge responsible for sentencing many to death and currently in charge of the anti-narcotics campaign, in which the Ayatollah said: "If we wish to act in accordance with the decree of the Revolutionary Council, we should kill many, many people." (The ominous sounding statement did not appear to relate to the rest of the news report, and was not explained further.)

Muhammad Pirhoseyri, an aide to Bani Sadr, said the court system needed to be reformed because many judges were "unqualified and emotional" and made mistakes, such as executing innocent people.

Ahmad Madani, former head of the Iranian navy and the man who finished a distant second to Bani Sadr in the Presidential election, announced that he was surrendering his seat in the Majlis. Madani had been called before the credentials committee of the Majlis two days ago.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary that said Iran no longer distinguished between the United States and the Soviet Union because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The commentary added that the Soviet Union would be faced with the "rising tide of Islam" among the Soviet Muslim population.

Fifteen members of an Indian trade delegation arrived in Tehran for one week's discussions about Iranian purchases of trucks, tractors, construction equipment, electrical equipment, tires, watches, refrigerators, and spare parts.

Four West German pharmaceutical companies met with West German Government officials to discuss an appeal against the nationalization of their Iranian assets yesterday.

Iran stopped shipments of heavy fuel oil to Japan. Japanese companies had been buying about 100,000 barrels per day of the fuel oil for transshipment to other Asian countries. Japanese oil company officials speculated that Iranian declining oil production and the shortages of fuel oil in Iran were behind the move.

The Iranian charge d'affaires in Canada criticized the Canadian Government for allowing the United States to dictate its policies.

Tehran police and Revolutionary Guards used tear gas to break up a demonstration of street merchants protesting a Government order to clean up the streets of Tehran by removing the merchants' stalls. Police and Revolutionary Guards broke up a demonstration of young people blocking a highway near Maku.

The Iranian army appealed to the Kurds to return to their homes and surrender their weapons. The army statement said: "It is clear that this opportunity is open to you only before the cleansing of the region." (The warning may signal another military sweep through the Kurdish areas.) Meanwhile Peshmargas (pro-Government Kurds) and Iranian army personnel clashed with Kurds near Paveh. Iran claimed to have shot down an Iraqi plane attacking a border post. Iraq denied that it had lost a plane. Iraq accused Iranians of assassinating an Iraqi diplomat in Beirut.

JULY 11, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Richard Queen, accompanied by a Swiss embassy official, boarded a Swissair plane for Zurich. At Zurich, Queen was carried from the plane on a stretcher, examined by a Swiss doctor at the airport, and taken to a hospital. It was reported that two State Department doctors were enroute to Zurich to examine Queen, and that he might be transferred to a U.S. Army hospital in Frankfurt, West German. Queen's parents left for London enroute to Zurich to see their son. President Carter spoke briefly by phone with Queen in his hospital room in Zurich, and the President said the former hostage was in "excellent spirits."

There was no official announcement of Queen's medical problem. John Trattner, a State Department spokesman, said Queen had a "neurological problem." CBS reported from the Tehran airport that Queen said he "had a little problem with my brain. I think, it was a virus." Queen told ABC from his hospital in Zurich that he did not have a "brain tumor." UPI said he had a "nervous condition." Unconfirmed reports from Tehran said an Iranian doctor said Queen had a stroke which caused a paralysis of his legs and one arm. Tass, the Soviet news agency, said Queen was "mentally deranged."

Apparently, when Queen became ill, the "students" transferred him from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran to a Tehran hospital, where he was examined for three (one report said four) days before the "students" appealed to Ayatollah Khomeini to approve Queen's release. Khomeini instructed President Bani Sadr to arrange for the release. The "students" then released Queen to Bani Sadr, who in turn released Queen to the Swiss Ambassador. Richard Queen had been in captivity for 250 days. Previously, the "students" had released 13 (of 16) blacks and women, 3 on Nov. 19 and 10 on Nov. 20, because they were "oppressed" peoples.

The "students" at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran issued a statement that no more hostages would be released for medical reasons. The statement said Queen's illness was a "recurrence" of a previous illness, and that he was released for "humanitarian" reasons and not because Iran did not have adequate medical facilities. The "students" said treatment by Iranian specialists had no effect on Queen.

Seventeen officers of the Iranian 62nd Armored Brigade at Ahwaz were arrested for their role in the coup attempt discovered July 10. In Paris, former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar praised the "courage and determination" of those involved in the coup attempt. Ayatollah Montazari called for vigilance against the "U.S. and the rest of the superpowers" who are trying to overthrow the Government of Iran. Tass reported that the coup attempt was led by Bakhtiar and former Iranian army head General Oveyssi with the assistance of the United States and was staged from bases in Egypt and Oman.



Tass also reported that the United States was "plundering" Iran's frozen assets on orders from President Carter. Tass cited the ruling of the Federal judge on compensation claims of American companies and a U.S. House of Representatives "resolution" as proof that Iranian assets would be used to pay families of hostages, families of the rescue victims, and the Department of Defense for weapons ordered but not delivered to Iran.

Iran denied that it had nationalized four West German pharmaceutical firms. The German companies said the action "resembles expropriation" because they were "deprived of control" over their assets.

Iran's Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told reporters that Iran's foreign policy would undergo "drastic changes" aimed at "Islamizing the pillars of Iranian sovereignty."

Fifty supporters of Admiral Madani, who resigned from the Majlis on July 10, were arrested by the Revolutionary Guards at a party in Kerman.

Nine drug smugglers were executed, five in Mashhad and four in Kermanshah.

Tehran radio said 30 members of the Kurdish Democratic Party turned in their weapons and surrendered to the Revolutionary Guards in Paveh.

Tehran radio reported that an "exceptional air bridge" between the Soviet Union and Kabul, Afghanistan, was carrying in new tanks, armored personnel carriers and troops, and that Afghan-bound traffic from the Soviet Union had increased significantly over the past week.

JULY 12, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Richard Queen, accompanied by his parents and State Department officials, flew from Zurich to the U.S. Air Force hospital in Wiesbaden, West Germany, where he will undergo more tests.

The Iranian Ministry of Health issued a statement that said Queen was admitted to the Shohada hospital in Tehran on July 8 suffering from vomiting, vertigo, loss of hearing, and a loss of locomotion. The statement said a team of five Iranian neurological specialists examined him and decided to send him to a "better-equipped" hospital outside Iran. The Health Ministry said Queen suffered from the same "six months previous," which, if accurate, would have been in January 1980. The Ministry statement referred to Queen having been held in the "den of espionage," the phrase used in Iran to describe the U.S. Embassy.

The Washington Post carried a story that one of its reporters in Iran had visited a former SAVAK house in Isfahan where at least one American hostage is being held. The reporter said that "students" and Revolutionary Guards admitted that Americans were being held at the site. This is the first "confirmation" of the location of hostages outside the U.S. Embassy or the Iranian Foreign Ministry, although the "students" claimed to have moved most of the hostages out of the capital. Richard Queen apparently remained in Tehran during his captivity.

A religious court judge announced that former Air Force commander General

Mehdiyun and former Gendarmerie commander General Mohetti would go on trial next week for their role on the coup attempt discovered on July 10. Other news sources in Iran said former Air Force Chief of Staff General Bagheri had been arrested as well, but President Bani Sadr denied the report and said Bagheri had been instrumental in revealing the plot. Bagheri's house in Kerman was the scene of yesterday's arrest of 50 supporters of former Admiral Madani.

The Joint Staff of the Iranian army issued a reminder that arrests of army officers should be signed by the chief prosecutor and processed through the army chain of command. The statement also cautioned against believing rumors about the loyalty of the army.

A Tehran radio commentary said "six" foreign governments were involved in the July 10 plot to overthrow the government. As proof, the commentator cited the following "facts": a squadron of U.S. F-4s arrived at Cairo two days prior to the attempted overthrow; two "missile-carrying" U.S. warships arrived at Alexandria, Egypt, two days before the coup attempt; Egypt had given its "best facilities" to the U.S. "quick deployment force"; 25 U.S. warships and two U.S. aircraft carriers with 125 F-4s and 100 tanks approached the Iranian southern coast before the coup attempt; Iraq gathered "all its firepower along the Iranian border"; "most" Arab states in the Persian Gulf area began propaganda attacks against Iran two days before the attempt; large numbers of expatriate Iranian troops and "commandos" began arriving in Iran using tourist passports from Britain, West Germany, and other "U.S. allies"; and "European diplomats" began smuggling plans of Iranian installations out of Iran in diplomatic pouches.

Revolutionary Guard commanders were appointed to take over Iranian army, air force, and navy bases in southern Iran, apparently in the aftermath of the July 10 coup attempt.

Tehran radio reported that several people had been killed or wounded during the demonstrations in Maju on July 10. Apparently, the young people were protesting the lack of jobs.

The Oil Ministry announced that the oil pipeline near Naft-e Shahr, sabotaged on July 10, had been repaired. A bomb interrupted the oil flow through a pipeline near Ahvaz. The Oil Ministry issued a statement warning that anyone involved in "interference in management affairs" would be "rejected and prosecuted."

Tehran's electricity went off for two hours.

"Armed raiders" supported by "Iragis" attacked a Guard post near Paveh, according to Tehran radio. Other "raiders" attacked a border post at Qasr-e Shirin.

Three more "drug smugglers" were executed in Isfahan.



JULY 13, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Pars news agency reported that Iran purchased 250,000 tons of wheat, 100,000 tons of barley, and 100,000 tons of cement from Turkey. Last week, Iranian officials had said Iran would not need to purchase foreign wheat because the Iranian wheat crop was larger than expected.

The head of the Islamic Revolutionary Military Court announced that two generals, Said Mahdiyoun and Ahmad Mohagegi, confessed to their roles in the July 10 coup attempt, and that 300 other military personnel involved in the plot were under arrest. Bamdad newspaper reported that 600 had been arrested, 500 of whom were military.

Governor of the Central Bank Ali Reza Nobari criticized "Muslim fundamentalists" who were "plotting" against President Bani Sadr.

The "purge" committee of Khuzestan province listed departments where SAVAK agents, Shah supporters, and other undesirables had been purged -- 285 from the education department, 750 from Ahvaz University, 40 from the water department, 11 from the radio station, 19 from the gas company, etc. -- and said that over 1,000 other employees were under investigation.

A group called "Negab" (Sazman-e Nejat-e Qiam-e Bozorg-e Iran, the Organization for Saving Iran's Great Uprising) claimed credit for an assassination attempt on Ayatollah Khomeini. In a broadcast over the Free Voice of Iran, Negab said its members had attacked Khomeini's car with machine guns, but that Khomeini claimed he was injured in an automobile accident.

Ayatollah Khomeini cancelled all meetings for the month of Ramadan, which begins today. During Ramadan, Muslims do not eat or drink during the daylight hours, and most daylight activity slows almost to a standstill in Muslim countries.

Khosrow Qashgai, head of the Qashgai tribe, refused to appear before the Majlis credentials committee as he was ordered last week. The Majlis then voted to dismiss him from the parliament.

Iranian sources reported more fighting between Revolutionary Guards, Peshmargas, and the Iranian army and the dissident Kurdish "raiders" near Paveh. conspirators were killed, others wounded, many arrested, and the names of others known. (This was the fourth such "plot" uncovered in the past six months, and appeared to be, from the Iranian coverage of the event, a serious attempt to overthrow the Government.)

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told the London Times that Iran had given the Soviet Union 30 days to reduce its Tehran staff from 40 to 15 diplomats. Ghotbzadeh also said that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan was similar to the U.S. presence in Vietnam. Between 500,000 and 600,000 Afghan refugees are now in Iran, according to the Foreign Minister. Ghotbzadeh also condemned the recent executions in Iran because those executed were not given due process of the law. When asked of the future, Ghotbzadeh said "I am afraid of what comes after Khomeini dies."

JULY 14, 1980 -- MONDAY

Azadegan, the newspaper that reflects the views of the "students" holding the embassy and hostages, reported that one of the hostages had "confessed" to being a CIA agent and had named several of his collaborators, including Khosrow Qashgai, head of the Qashgai tribe recently expelled from the Majlis, and Amir Entezam, Deputy Prime Minister in the Bazargan cabinet. Azadegan published a transcript of a "student" interrogation of the alleged CIA agent. The Washington Post reported that an Azadegan reporter told a Post correspondent that the hostage described in the article was Thomas Ahern, the embassy's narcotics control officer. Ahern was named by the "students" as one of the CIA agents shortly after the embassy seizure.

Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani, former Interior Minister now a Majlis member and a Revolutionary Council member, said in an interview that "99 percent" of the Majlis members favor placing the hostages on trial unless the Shah and his money are returned to Iran for trial. Rafsanjani said the Majlis should not act on the fate of the hostages until after the U.S. Presidential election on Nov. 4 so that President Carter cannot use the release of the hostages to aid his re-election.

The Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers held a joint session to discuss the Majlis' selection of the six-man Council of Guardians, which will take over the responsibilities of the Revolutionary Council.

The Iranian Association of Lawyers called for the end of secret trials, called for the observance of legal rules and procedures, said accused persons should have defense lawyers and should be informed of the charges against them, and that court verdicts should be based on evidence and law. The Association charged that the current legal system violated the Iranian constitution. Meanwhile, 15 more people were executed for "promoting corruption" and drug selling.

Two Iranian air force pilots flew a helicopter to Turkey and asked for political asylum.

Bombs were found in the building housing the Austrian and Swedish embassies.

There were more clashes between Iranian and Iraqi forces along the border near Qasr-e Shirin and in Ilam province. Iran claimed two Iraqi planes violated Iranian air space.

JULY 15, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Doctors at the U.S. Air Force hospital in Wiesbaden, West Germany, diagnosed Richard Queen's illness as multiple sclerosis. Queen may return to the United States on July 18.

It was reported from Cairo that the Shah underwent surgery to remove an abscess on his leg. Other reports said the Shah's health was deteriorating.

President Bani Sadr said Iran's inflation was caused by the "blockade" (meaning the U.S. imposed economic sanctions) because "middlemen" were adding extra margins of profit and because of the shortage of spare parts.

The group established to investigate the July 10 coup attempt announced that all airports, sea ports, and land border crossing points would be closed for one week to prevent people involved in the coup attempt from escaping. Later, Ali Garmaudi, a spokesman for President Bani Sadr, said only the

President had the authority to close the borders, and that Bani Sadr was discussing the matter and might make a decision tomorrow. Following the spokesman's statement, the Revolutionary Council announced that the borders would be closed for two days. The President's office then issued another statement that the borders would be closed for two days.

In a speech broadcast over the clandestine "Radio Iran, former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar said he would return to Iran "very soon" as part of a revolution to overthrow Khomeini. Bakhtiar outlined the form of a new government, based on the 1906 constitution, with equal rights for women, autonomy for minorities, and a revitalization of the economy.

Former admiral, former presidential candidate, and former Majlis member Ahmad Aghadani said the Majlis would not last through its first term, due to end in May 1984, because Khomeini would call for new elections in "two or three years" after he realizes that the Majlis will not act according to his wishes. Aghadani said the Islamic Republic Party will try to abolish all other political parties.

Oil Minister Ali Akhbar Moinefar said Iran's oil exports were averaging 1 million barrels per day and domestic consumption a little less than 1 million barrels per day. Moinefar said exports increased 25% over last month.

Tehran radio reported several battles with Iraqi forces along the Iranian-Iraqi border.

JULY 16, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Ahvaz radio broadcast a commentary which described the international praise for the release of Richard Queen. The commentator said the gesture of releasing Queen was proof of the humanitarian base of the revolution. The commentary also said President Carter was "in retreat" because the rescue mission had failed, a "high ranking popular U.S. delegation" (meaning Ramsey Clark and his companions) had attended the Tehran conference in June in spite of Carter's disapproval, and now Iran had demonstrated its "humane" character by releasing Queen. The radio pointed out that Queen's release disproved the American notion that there were several "power centers" in Iran when there was only one source of power, Ayatollah Khomeini.

Shaykh Ali Tehrani, a noted religious leader, said the hostages should not be tried and should be released as soon as the United States released Iran's frozen assets.

A spokesman for the Shah said in Cairo that yesterday's reports that the Shah had been operated on were false. Other news sources in Cairo said the Shah had undergone surgery for a leg abscess.

Ayatollah Habibi said Iran initiated extradition proceedings to return the two Iranian helicopter pilots who fled to Turkey on July 14. The two men have asked for political asylum in the United States.

President Bani Sadr said the trial of the conspirators in the July 10 coup attempt would begin today or tomorrow. (It is generally understood that there are about 600 people under arrest for the coup attempt). Ayatollah Beheshti hinted that Ahmad Aghadani may be involved in the coup, and said that

several members of the National Front have been arrested.

Archbishop Capucci is in Tehran to investigate Iranian Government charges that a catholic girls school was a front for an Israeli intelligence operation. Capucci, who escorted the bodies of the eight Americans killed in the rescue attempt, said he was not involved in any current negotiations over the hostages.

Tehran radio replied to a recent statement by Anwar al-Sadat in which the Egyptian President said Iran would fall to the communists by years end. Radio Tehran said the same argument was used by the United States in the 1950's to justify U.S. intervention in Iranian affairs. The commentator said the U.S. claims of communist takeovers in Iran were comparable to the Soviet claims that U.S. interference led to the seizure of Afghanistan.

The Iranian Government stopped paying pensions to retired military officers living abroad.

Twenty-one people were given 15 lashes each for eating in public during Ramadan.

The Islamic League, headquartered in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, denounced Ayatollah Khomeini for a statement the Ayatollah made on June 28, in which he said that the "Mahdi (messiah) will appear and achieve what the prophets were not able to." Khomeini explained that the prophets were supposed to lay the foundations of justice but did not succeed. The Islamic League said Muhammad, the last of the prophets, did provide the foundations for justice in the form of the Quran and Kadith (traditions) and that Khomeini's statement denigrated Muhammad and the Quran and contradicted faith. The Islamic League "deplored" Khomeini's statement and his failure to retract it.

JULY 17, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Middle East News Agency reported for Cairo that the Shah's health had "improved slightly." Egyptian news sources continue to say that the Shah underwent surgery for a leg abscess on July 15, while spokesmen for the Shah continue to say that no surgery was performed.

A group calling itself the "Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Pakistan" said in Tehran that the Pakistan embassy became the CIA headquarters after the U.S. Embassy was seized in November 1979. The Pakistan embassy denied the story and asked the Iranian Government for protection.

At midnight, July 16/17, Iran's borders and ports reopened to traffic, after being closed for two days to prevent members of the July 10 attempted coup from leaving the country.

The Majlis elected six lawyers to be members of the Council of Guardians. Six more religious law scholars are to be appointed by the "leader," that is, Khomeini. The Council of Guardians, according to the constitution, is to ensure that laws passed by the Majlis conform to Islamic law and principle. Supposedly, the Council of Guardians is to take over the duties performed by the Revolutionary Council.

According to the Kuwait News Agency, President Bani Sadr issued an "order"

to the radio and television authorities to broadcast an interview with Ali Reza Nobari, head of the central bank, in which Nobari criticized Muslim fundamentalists and the clergy for using "drastic" tactics to implement "Islamic order" in Iran. The television station had refused to broadcast the Nobari interview unless it was censored, KUNA reported, until the President's intervention. Before the broadcast, a station commentator criticized both Bani Sadr and Nobari for their positions against the clergy. KUNA also reported that Bani Sadr complained to the Islamic Republic newspaper, the voice of the clergy dominated Islamic Republic Party, for not printing a speech in which he said that he, Bani Sadr, discovered the July 10 coup plot. Islamic Republic then printed the Bani Sadr speech, but buried inside the newspaper. The Kuwait News Agency reported the Bani Sadr feud with the television station and the IRP as another example of the growing rift between the clergy and the secularists.

The Iranian embassy in Bonn, West Germany, denied rumors circulating locally that Ayatollah Beheshti had transferred funds from Iran to German bank accounts.

The Iran air line office in Beirut was destroyed by a bomb.

Nine Revolutionary Guards were killed and three wounded in an ambush in Baluchistan province. Tehran radio said "assailants" launched the attack, but did not suggest who the assailants were. Baluchistan has been quiet this year except for some minor disturbances during the election in May. Last year, Baluchis staged an anti-Government uprising.

JULY 18, 1980 -- FRIDAY

"Students" holding the American hostages announced that hostages had been moved from the city of Hamadan to another, secret location in order to "foil the plot of the American agents." The announcement did not say how many hostages were held at Hamadan or how many had been moved. According to the "students," hostages have been transferred from four of the 16 cities names as sites for holding the hostages following the rescue attempt of Apr. 24.

Richard Queen arrived in the United States from Germany, where he underwent medical examinations after his release from Iran on July 11.

Ayatollah Mosavi Khoini told the Kuwait News Agency that he planned the seizure of the American embassy on Nov. 4, 1979, and that Ayatollah Khomeini was not informed of the plan until after the "students" had taken over the embassy. Khoini also said he was asked by Bani Sadr and Ghotbzadeh to keep the "students" under control and out of government affairs.

A spokesman for the Shah said his health was not deteriorating, that the Shah was not in a coma, and that his condition was "stationary." Cairo newspapers continued to report that the Shah's health was declining and that he had been in a coma for three hours.

Five people (first reports said four men and a woman) attacked the Paris building where former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar lives, killing one policeman and a woman tenant and wounding three other police officers. One of the attackers was wounded; the wounded man and two others were captured by police. Two attackers escaped. Bakhtiar and his family were not

injured. French police said the attackers were not Iranians but carried Syrian and Lebanese passports. In Iran, Ayatollah Khalkhali, who claims to have sent death squads out to kill the Shah and his supporters, said he knew nothing of the Bakhtiar attack, although Khalkhali told the Majlis on July 15 that Iran "should take action" against Bakhtiar. Tehran radio broadcast a report that the "Guards of Islam Group" claimed credit for the attack on Bakhtiar.

Ayatollah Habibi announced at the end of a Revolutionary Council meeting that some Council committees may meet again and the Council may meet on July 20 for a formal last session, but otherwise the Revolutionary Council was terminated and the Council of Guardians would assume its duties. The Council of Guardians is to hold its first meeting on July 19 and the Majlis is to hold its first "open and official" session on July 20, according to Habibi. Since it was formed in May, the Majlis has been involved with procedural affairs and formulating regulations for its operation.

President Bani Sadr said in a speech that he had found out about the July 10 coup attempt through an air force officer over a month ago and had alerted the "intelligence forces" and the Revolutionary Council of the scheme. The President said the American act of freezing Iran's assets had not caused the devaluation of Iranian currency or inflation in Iran, as intended by the United States, because Iran purchased a large amount of gold on the international market and used the gold to support the currency. Bani Sadr said Iran made a profit on the gold dealings. Bani Sadr also criticized the Iranian press for publishing "inflammatory propaganda" against him.

Oil Minister Muinfar denied reports from London and New York that Iran lowered the price of its oil in order to attract buyers. Muinfar said the price of some lower grades of crude oil were lowered between 10 cents and \$1 per barrel to match other Persian Gulf crudes, but that Iranian light crude remained at \$35.37 per barrel.

Sporadic fighting between Iran and Iraq continued along their common border. In the past two weeks, such exchanges have become more frequent and more sophisticated, moving from small arms fire to tank and artillery exchanges.

JULY 19, 1980 -- SATURDAY

MENA reported from Cairo that the Shah's health improved, that his temperature dropped, and that he walked briefly in the hospital corridor.

The trial of those implicated in the July 10 coup attempt began at Evin prison, near Tehran. The public and reporters were barred from the trial in spite of the previous announcements that the trials would be open; Iranian television filmed the proceedings for broadcast at a later date. Ayatollah Khomeini said the accused should be sentenced to death. General Zahir-Nezhad, commander of the gendarmerie and the Iranian army ground forces, said the coup attempt was just a preliminary part of a larger plan to overthrow the government. General Zahir-Nezhad said the United States would try to land 100,000 troops as part of the larger plan, but the landing would fail because the 20-million-person Iranian people's army would outnumber the Americans by 200 to one.

French police arrested the other two would-be assassins involved in the attack on former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar on July 18. Early reports from Paris said the five were Palestinians, led by PLO official Abu Mazin, but PLO officials in Beirut said Abu Mazin (real name Mahmud Abbas, a founder of al-Fatah) was in Damascus and the PLO had nothing to do with the attack on Bakhtiar. French police later said one was an Iranian, two were Lebanese, and two were Palestinians, who had been hired by Iranian "authorities" to kill Bakhtiar. Islamic Republic newspaper in Tehran reported that the French police had "tortured" the assailants, had reacted "violently" to the attack, and that France was involved in the "plot" against the Islamic revolution in Iran. The newspaper, which reflects the Iranian clergy views, called for a public trial of the assassins. The "Guardians of Islam" group, which claimed credit for the attack, warned France that if Bakhtiar was not expelled from France that French interests in the Middle East would be in danger. Radio Iran, the clandestine radio which supports Bakhtiar, said the assassins were trained in Libya and sent to kill Bakhtiar by Iran's President Bani Sadr. In Paris, enroute to Nicaragua, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the assassins were not Iranians, were not connected with the Revolutionary Guards, and were organized by Bakhtiar himself; the Foreign Minister did not explain why Bakhtiar organized the group that tried to kill him. Ghotbzadeh cancelled the trip to Nicaragua and returned to Tehran.

President Bani Sadr appointed Morteza Rezai to be the commander of the Revolutionary Guards; the appointment was confirmed by Ayatollah Khomeini.

Oil Minister Muinfar said Iran purchased \$150 million in spare parts for the Iranian oil industry from several countries.

The Energy Ministry asked Iranians to stop all use of electricity between 9 and 11 p.m. each night.

Revolutionary Guards battled elements of the Kurdish Democratic Party near Urumiyeh, according to Tehran radio.

JULY 20, 1980 -- SUNDAY

A crowd commemorating the deaths of 25 Revolutionary Guards marched to a Revolutionary Guard post in the city of Qom where, according to Iranian radio, some of the American hostages are being held. The report did not say how many American hostages were in Qom.

In a speech to the Supreme Council of Judges, Ayatollah Khomeini said the Majlis should be "100% religious and Islamic" and that the cabinet to be named must be "revolutionaries" and should be investigated to ensure that they are Islamic. Khomeini said none of the current Ministers are revolutionaries, and that "we cannot tolerate those people who have been educated in Europe" in the Majlis or the cabinet. The Ayatollah mentioned Iran's past mistakes, such as not closing the borders after the revolution and that Iran should have "cast aside or strangled all the opposition groups." He criticized the army for not "mopping up" the dissidents in Kurdistan and Baluchistan, and said the Majlis should appoint a delegation to visit all Iranian embassies abroad because the embassies did "nothing but eating, drinking, pleasure and prostitution." (Khomeini's speech appeared to be a call to arms in the brewing battle between the secularists and the

fundamentalists and a blessing for an attack against the secular leftist "opposition," the Fedayin, Mujahidin, and Tudeh party. In the past few weeks, religious elements in Iran have been only criticizing the left and the secularists and calling for more "purges." Khomeini's speech may signal the start of a conservative oppression in Iran.)

Five of the conspirators in the July 10 coup attempt were executed at Evin prison after a one-day secret trial.

The Majlis elected Ayatollah Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani to be the permanent Speaker of the parliament. (Rafsanjani was a member of the Revolutionary Council and the Interior Minister until his election to the Majlis, and is considered to be one of "inner circle" of religious leaders along with Beheshti, Montazari, Bahonar, and others.) The Majlis is now officially in session, having completed its preliminary organization meetings. Tehran news sources say the Prime Minister and cabinet will be named in the next two or three days.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh denied any connection between the Iranian government and the attempt to kill former Prime Minister Bakhtiar in Paris. The "Islamic Guards Group" issued a statement in Tehran criticizing Ghotbzadeh for trying to blame the "old regime" for the attack on Bakhtiar; the "Islamic Guards Group" claims credit for the attack.

Tehran radio said two Iraqi fighter planes violated Iranian air space but were driven off by anti-aircraft fire. Tehran radio reported several Iraqi ground attacks along the border area near Qasr-e Shirin.

JULY 21, 1980 -- MONDAY

Richard Queen, the released hostage, told reporters in Washington that he would not discuss the other hostages for fear of endangering them. Queen said he was kept secluded in a darkened basement during the early days of captivity but later moved to another room where he was able to read and talk to other hostages. Queen said the food was adequate and that he and the other hostages were treated "fairly well." He said his captors were "fervent Muslims, very anti-communist" and as far as he knew were students. Queen said the two visits by American clergymen on Christmas and Easter were welcome and moving experiences.

Iranian authorities arrested three journalists, Karl Sorensen of Denmark, Scott Chisholm of New Zealand, and Hami Sami Cosar of Turkey. No reason was offered for the arrests.

Tehran radio announced that the 200 foreign nationals involved in missionary work with religious minorities in Iran had no right to "indulge" in political affairs and their activities would be "supervised" to ensure that they did not become "spies."

AFP reported from Paris that police sources revealed that PLO head Yasir Arafat gave the order for the assassination attempt on former Prime Minister Bakhtiar at the request of "Iranian authorities." Arafat denied any connection with the Bakhtiar assassination. French police said the AFP report was false. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and Ayatollah Khomeini, the only Iranian officials to speak out on the assassination attempt, have denied

that Iran was directly involved. The Islamic Republic newspaper, voice of the religious-oriented Islamic Republic Party, however, appeared to support the attempt when it castigated the French for mistreating the assassins and for using "violence" to stop the attack. Jalaladin Farsi, Khomeini's candidate for President until he was disqualified because his parents were not Iranian, said in Tehran that he had endorsed the assassination attempt, that the plan had been presented to him and others and that they, but not the government, had approved it.

Bakhtiar said in Paris that he was not involved in the coup attempt of July 10, and that Khomeini must be overthrown from within Iran. Bakhtiar also said that the Soviet Union was not a direct threat to Iran, but that the Soviets were using the Tudeh party to subvert Iran.

In Evin prison outside Tehran, a second group of five men implicated in the coup attempt went on trial, charged with trying to establish an "American social-democrat system" in Iran.

The Majlis elected assistant speakers, secretaries, and other officers. It was announced that President Bani Sadr will take the presidential oath of office before the Majlis tomorrow. Hanan Habibi, formerly a spokesman for the now defunct Revolutionary Council, said the Council of Ministers (cabinet) met for the last time today, awaiting the appointment of a permanent Prime Minister and cabinet on July 23. Ayatollah Khomeini told the 12-man Council of Guardians, about to assume their Islamic oversight duties in the Majlis, not to pay attention to "progressive and affluent classes" when deciding if Majlis laws conformed to Islamic principles.

Muhammad Montazer, head of the Foreign Ministry office for liaison with liberation groups, said the Afghan rebels were receiving assistance from the United States and Saudi Arabia.

The Revolutionary Guard said two Iraqi planes attacked an Iranian border post at Naft Shir, but were driven off by Iranian F-4s.

Six more people were executed for drug smuggling and various other crimes; one of them received 100 lashes before he was shot.

JULY 22, 1980 — TUESDAY

Richard Queen told reporters that he and the other hostages he had contact with did not know of the Apr. 24 rescue attempt, and that there was no noticeable change in their treatment after the rescue attempt. Following the rescue attempt, the "students" said they had moved the hostages to 16 locations; obviously Richard Queen was not moved out of the U.S. Embassy compound in Tehran. Tehran radio reported on May 7 that the "students" said the hostages had been told about the rescue.

The Swiss embassy in Tehran informed the State Department that the Iranian Prosecutor-General denied any knowledge about Cynthia Dwyer and said the office had "no record" of her arrest. Dwyer, an American free-lance journalist, was arrested by Revolutionary Guards on May 5, held at Eshratbad army barracks until May 10, and then moved to Evin prison, but has not been heard of since. In May, the Iranian Foreign Ministry told the Swiss ambassador, representing American interests in Tehran since the diplomatic

break on Apr. 7, that Dwyer had been detained and that her case had been turned over to the Prosecutor-General.

Two more journalists were arrested in Tehran, John Conner of Britain and Simon Maxwell of New Zealand. Later, Conner, Maxwell and Scott Chisholm, arrested yesterday, were released. The other two journalists arrested yesterday, Sorensen of Denmark and Sami of Turkey, remained in jail.

All foreign missionaries were ordered to report to the Ministry of Guidance.

Ali Akbar Tabatabai, a press attache at the Iranian embassy in Washington during the Shah's rule, was assassinated at the front door of his Washington suburban home by a black man disguised as a U.S. Post Office mail carrier. Tabatabai had been active in anti-Khomeini affairs in the United States and was the principal officer of the Iran Freedom Foundation.

A PLO spokesman said in Beirut that the Islamic Republic Party and the Revolutionary Guards were behind the Bakhtiar assassination attempt. The PLO announced that it was sending two representatives to Paris to cooperate with the French authorities investigating the attack.

President Bani Sadr asked Ayatollah Khomeini to approve the appointment of his son, Ahmad Khomeini, as Prime Minister. The Ayatollah refused, saying Ahmad was a "servant" of Iran and should be free to perform other duties. Meanwhile, Bani Sadr took the oath of office before the Majlis. The Majlis voted to change its name from the "Consultative Assembly" to the "Islamic Consultative Assembly." Several Majlis members gave speeches criticizing the Foreign Ministry.

Five more Iranian army and air force officers were executed for their role in the aborted coup attempt. Six more officers went on trial at Evin prison.

Taghi Shahran, a leader of the Mujahidun-e Khalq (Islamic Marxists), went on trial for the 1975 murder of Sharif Vaghefit, another leader of the Mujahidun.

Tehran radio said Iraqi forces shelled the oilfield at Naft-e Shah, setting fire to one oil well. Revolutionary Guards and Kurds clashed near Baneh. Peshmergas, pro-government Kurds, battled anti-government Kurds near Marivan. Iranian and Iraqi forces exchanged artillery fire near Paveh.

JULY 23, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

The Washington Post reported that about 12 of the hostages, including Richard Queen, were taken to a courtyard in the Tehran embassy compound for a mock execution shortly after the Apr. 24 rescue attempt. Another source told the Post that the mock execution took place before the rescue attempt.

Al-Sharq al-Awsat, the London Arabic language newspaper, reported that the hostages would be released on Aug. 13, the Muslim holiday of Id al-Fitr, the "small feast" that ends Ramadan, the month of fasting.

In Paris, Shahpur Bakhtiar said Ali Akbar Tabatabai was killed because he was a "nuisance" to the Khomeini regime and was active in anti-Khomeini

circles. Bakhtiar said Tabatabai had been "very useful" to Bakhtiar and his followers. In Washington, where Tabatabai was killed on July 22, the police and the FBI implicated four American men in the assassination, one of whom appeared to be a Khomeini supporter who was employed by the Iranian embassy, and since the Apr. 7 diplomatic break, by the Iranian interests section attached to the Algerian embassy.

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the Iranian court system, said in reference to the Tabatabai killing that any group that set out to kill "non-believers" would not "present any inconvenience from the Islamic law point of view." On other subjects, Beheshti said that Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and National Orientation Minister Nasir Minashi were not revolutionaries and should not have been appointed to their posts. Beheshti confirmed that the IRP had proposed the name of Jalaladin Farsi to be Prime Minister.

Ghotbzadeh said he would not resign as Foreign Minister since the government would be dissolved in a few days when the new Prime Minister was named. Ghotbzadeh said he would not be involved in the new government.

Bani Sadr delayed naming the Prime Minister (he was supposed to offer the name to the Majlis today), but did not explain why or when he would tell the Majlis his choice.

The "students" issued a communique appealing to Bani Sadr to name young people and members of the "student" group to the new government in order to avoid perpetuating the "old order."

The Revolutionary Guards seized the offices of the newspaper Bamdad. A Revolutionary Guard spokesman said the paper would not be published and that he "hoped all other papers will be treated the same."

A bomb in a Tehran shopping arcade killed six and wounded 100. Forgan, the religious extremist group, claimed credit for the bombing "as an act of revenge," apparently for the Forgan members executed recently.

Ayatollah Khomeini rejected a suggestion that his picture be placed on Iranian stamps and money.

Four men were executed in Abadan for conspiring with the Iraqis.

Tehran radio reported another battle between the Revolutionary Guards and Kurds near Paveh.

JULY 24, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, the Greek Orthodox bishop who was involved in the Easter services for the hostages and who escorted the bodies of the eight Americans out of Iran after the rescue attempt, said in Rome that during his just completed visit to Iran he had suggested to Iranian leaders that the hostages should be released at the end of Ramadan. The Ramadan release story surfaced yesterday in London.

The Kuwait News Agency reported that the Intercontinental Hotel in Iran, where most foreign journalists stay, was the subject of a "vigilant watch" by Iranian officials, that the journalists were having trouble sending their

dispatches, and that many of the foreign journalists were considering leaving Iran. Meanwhile, correspondents Sorensen of Denmark and Cosar of Turkey, arrested on July 21, were transferred to Evin prison, according to Iranian reports. KUNA also reported an unconfirmed story that Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and Orientation Minister Minashi were under surveillance for anti-revolutionary activity.

The Soviet news agency Tass, citing Turkish news sources, reported that Ghotbzadeh met with American officials during the Socialist Internationale meeting in Oslo in early June and that the Iranian Foreign Minister met with Bakhtiar in Switzerland on June 20.

Ghotbzadeh sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim protesting Iraqi "aggression" toward Iran and calling attention to the "40,000" Shiite refugees expelled from Iraq now being cared for in Iran.

At dawn, 20 Iranian air force officers and enlisted men were executed for their roles in the July 10 coup attempt, according to Tehran radio. The secret trials of the coup conspirators continue at Evin prison. Taghi Shahrani, the Mujahidun leader charged with a 1975 murder, was executed at Evin at the same time as the air force personnel. Shahrani's secret trial began on July 22, and apparently ended on July 23 with an expected guilty verdict.

Tehran radio announced the names of several people being investigated for various crimes and asked any Iranians with "complaints" against the suspected people to write to the prosecutor at Evin prison stating their "testimony," "evidence," or complaint.

According to Iranian radio, Iraqi and Iranian tanks battled near Qasr-e Shirin.

JULY 25, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Iranian militants denied the report that surfaced in London that the hostages would be released at the end of Ramadan. The London-based Arabic paper that ran the story, Ash-Sharq al-Awsat, however, insisted on the authenticity of its sources.

Ayatollah Khomeini addressed military leaders in Tehran and condemned corruption in the armed forces. He said that there was a need for solidarity, cooperation, and order, and that those within the military who did not adhere to revolutionary principles should be purged. He suggested that it was not the responsibility of the revolutionary courts, but rather of the military itself, to clean out the ranks of the armed forces.

There was a report from Japan that Iran is ready to renew oil contracts with several Japanese firms.

Ayatollah Isfahani, leader of the purge campaign in the Iranian government, suggested closing all the government ministries and forming new, more efficient organizations.

Three persons charged with drug and sex offenses were executed before a firing squad in Dezful.

JULY 26, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Bani Sadr proposed 33-year-old Mustafa Mir-Salim as Prime Minister, several days after his first choice, Ahmad Khomeini, was rejected by his father, the Ayatollah. Mir-Salim is the Deputy Minister of Interior and the head of the police force. One Majlis member proposed that the Majlis as a body appoint the Prime Minister, which would mean a further diminution of Bani Sadr's presidential powers.

A trial for six persons accused of plotting against the government began in Tehran.

Reuters reported that a Tehran newspaper printed the charges against missing American journalist Cynthia Dwyer. No official Iranian confirmation was obtained.

Two detained journalists, a Dane and a Turk, were transferred from their hotel to Evin prison north of Tehran. The repeated efforts of the Danish and Turkish embassies to see the two journalists were met with no response.

The Islamic Revolution Prosecutor in Khuzistan announced the closure of the Ahwaz oil workers' Islamic Society. The group was charged with cooperating with counter-revolutionary groups.

Tehran radio reported that the Islamic Students of America and Canada condemned the anti-Khomeini rally planned for July 27 in Washington, D.C. The rally had been organized by former Iranian official Tabatabai, who was killed in a Washington suburb on July 22.

It was reported that the charge d'affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Tehran met with the Speaker of the Iranian Consultative Assembly Rafsanjani to discuss bilateral relations and Iranian gas shipments to the Soviet Union.

A provincial domestic radio broadcast that two F-14s of the Iranian air force would be using the airstrip in Shiraz for two days.

JULY 27, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The Shah died at 10:17 GMT, in a Cairo hospital, of circulatory shock. News of his death came first on French radio. Cairo radio interrupted its programs at 10:58 GMT. Iran radio, an hour later, announced that "the bloodsucker of the century has died."

Further details were made available when President al-Sadat of Egypt held a news conference: he said no life support equipment had been used, at the Shah's request. The funeral will take place on Tuesday, July 29, at the Rifa'i Mosque in the Citadel in Cairo. Sadat said he was not formally inviting any Islamic heads of state, and that the Shah's family would remain in Egypt. A 7-day mourning period went into effect in Egypt.

The White House released a short statement of condolence that made no

mention of past U.S. ties with the Shah's government. Reports indicate that U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Alfred Atherton will attend the funeral, as will former President Richard Nixon.

China and the Soviet Union reported news of the death with no commentary. The United Kingdom expressed sorrow, saying the close relations and friendship between the Shah and England would not be forgotten.

An aide to Bani Sadr said the death made no difference to the fate of the hostages, a view that was shared by some hostage relatives in comments on American television. Other news reports in the United States suggested that officials hope this will create some new movement in efforts to release the hostages.

An aide to Ayatollah Khomeini, who also believes that the death does not affect the hostages, stated that the Shah was killed by America. Reports from Shiraz said that when news was received, people went into the streets and celebrated.

Two pro-Khomeini groups and two anti-Khomeini groups demonstrated in Washington, D.C. Washington police arrested 192 of the pro-Khomeini demonstrators (172 men and 20 women) for disorderly conduct during a clash between the rival groups.

Executions were carried out in Kerman and Karaj.

In Shiraz, Revolutionary Guardsmen discovered an office of Khalq, the fedayeen organization that has claimed responsibility for the deaths of some of Khomeini's associates.

Armed attacks in border regions near Iraq were reported.

The production level of the oil refinery at Abadan fell below 600,000 barrels per day. Officials said equipment was being repaired and levels should return to normal soon.

Iran's Foreign Minister accused the French police of knowing in advance about the plot to assassinate former official Shahpur Bakhtiari in Paris. He protested the inaction of the French police authorities.

The trial of another seven accused of involvement in the exposed coup attempt began in Tehran.

The Turkish journalist being held by Iranian authorities was released to the custody of the Turkish embassy.

JULY 28, 1980 -- MONDAY

Plans were made for the Shah's funeral in Cairo. It was confirmed that U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Alfred Atherton will be the official representative of the American government at the Tuesday service. Other nations sending official representatives include Israel, France, and China. Former King of Greece Constantine and former U.S. President Nixon will also be in attendance.



The Speaker of the Iranian parliament Rafsanjani predicted that Majlis committees could begin considering the hostage issue, now that the Shah is dead. Other Majlis members said it might be a month before such activities could take place, while yet others continued to speak of a trial for those accused of espionage.

Uncertainty surrounded the nomination of Mr. Mir-Salim as Prime Minister of Iran. Bani Sadr met in closed session with the consultative assembly of the Majlis and requested a postponement of the vote on his nominee. Some conservative Majlis members predicted that his confirmation was unlikely.

An editorial in the daily newspaper Islamic Republic repeated the theme that the United States killed the Shah. The editorial said it was out of exasperation with the Iranian revolution and that once again the CIA had made a mistake.

The police commander of Khuzestan reported firing along the Iraqi border. A rumor circulated in Paris and Tehran that Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh had resigned and left Iran. His personal secretary denied the story.

JULY 29, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Speaker of the Majlis Rafsanjani criticized the American police who clashed with Iranian demonstrators in Washington on July 27, and said that their behavior will affect the fate of the hostages, since it "shows America's nature."

The Shah was buried in Cairo with full military honors. President Sadat was the only serving head of state attending the Islamic funeral.

The Tehran newspaper Ettala'at said the Ayatollah Khalkhali was the only logical choice for Prime Minister. Khalkhali, a judge, is known for having ordered hundreds of executions in the revolutionary courts. In related developments, the speaker of the Majlis said that Bani Sadr's candidate, Mir-Salim, had not yet been rejected, and Ayatollah Khomeini refused to appoint a representative to the selection process, saying that it was the responsibility of the President and the Majlis.

Ghotbzadeh, in a taped interview on domestic radio, denied that he had resigned his post of Foreign Minister.

Greek Catholic Bishop Monsignor Hilarion Capucci will go to Tehran bearing a message from the Pope, the Vatican announced.

There was continued fighting along the Iran-Iraq border. Tehran radio broadcast that because of speculation that the Shah's death would improve the chances for the release of the hostages, the exchange value of the dollar increased in all foreign markets and the price of gold declined.

JULY 30, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

A letter dated July 2 and signed by 187 members of the U.S. House of

Representatives was read to the Iranian parliament. The letter expressed the concern of the Members of Congress for the fate of the hostages and the bilateral relations between the United States and Iran. Speaker of the Majlis Rafsanjani, who said he received the letter from the Swiss charge d'affaires, informed the Swiss that the United States has taken measures to intensify the crisis, but he indicated that the Majlis will be considering the hostages issue soon.

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the ruling Islamic Republic Party, indicated that a special constitutional solution may be required to find a candidate for Prime Minister. Beheshti, who is known to favor Jalaladin Farsi for the post, would not tell journalists if his solution involved restrictions on the role of the President.

An extensive list of espionage charges against detained American journalist Cynthia Dwyer was published in a Tehran newspaper. The detailed article chronicled her meetings and contacts in Iran since her arrival in the spring, and made repeated references to alleged "illicit relationships" with other journalists. A trial or court proceeding against her was not mentioned.

In Washington, 172 Iranian demonstrators continued to be held in jail and they refused to identify themselves. Deportation proceedings have begun against them. Tehran radio reported their detention, and said that other Iranians were conducting a hunger strike "in front of the presidential palace in America."

Shahpur Bakhtiar discussed the recent assassination plot against him in a Paris interview. He said he is convinced that the plot was orchestrated by Khomeini, with the help of his Syrian and Palestinian advisers. He said he has continued to lead a group seeking to overthrow Khomeini, and that he has contacts with all the opposition groups in Iran except the Muslim fundamentalists, associates of the former Shah, and the pro-Soviet factions, who are controlled by Moscow.

In Langarud, in Gilan province, Khalq (guerrilla) and Tudeh (Communist) offices were reportedly discovered and ransacked by the people.

Continued fighting was reported along the Iraqi border.

JULY 31, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti said that a trial of the American hostages was only one of several choices open to the Majlis. The head of Iran's court system did not say what the other choices were.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, newly elected Speaker of the Majlis, said the letter from 187 Members of the U.S. Congress was a "first step that could permit clarification of the hostage problem" and a "point of departure" for a study of the hostage issue. The letter was read to the Majlis yesterday. A Tehran radio commentary said the letter was a "confession of weakness." A National Voice of Iran radio (clandestine from the Soviet Union) commentary spoke against any renewal of relations between Iran and the United States as suggested in the letter.



In Washington, police dropped the disorderly conduct charges against 20 Iranian women demonstrators and released them to the Immigration and Naturalization Service to have their visas checked. The 172 men charged with disorderly conduct remained in the custody of the Washington police. The Iranian demonstrators continued to refuse to give their names. Some 50 other Iranian students began the second day of their "hunger strike" in front of the White House. News sources in Iran reported that Iranian students appealed to the Iranian government to "pressure" the United States not to try the Iranian students arrested in the Washington demonstration. Iranian news sources claimed the Washington demonstrators were being mistreated, beaten, insulted, and that several were "critically ill" due to their treatment at the hands of the Americans.

Radio Moscow chastised the United States for propaganda attacks against Iran and criticized Iranian radio for saying the Soviet Union was an imperialist power. Moscow denied giving money to the Shah, saying that payment from Iranian gas shipped to the U.S.S.R. was used for "productive purposes."

Archbishop Capucci arrived in Tehran with a message from the Pope, supposedly asking that Catholic schools in Iran be allowed to remain open.

A Majlis deputy told an Iranian newspaper that Khosrow Qashgai, head of the Qashgai tribe and a member of the Majlis, was a CIA agent because he had sent a letter to someone at the U.S. embassy in which he proposed starting a newspaper with "democratic aims" that would advocate a "democratic government." The same deputy said Iran should apply economic sanctions against the United States.

The Oil Ministry announced that all oil companies operating in Iran would be amalgamated into one company. It is not known how this move will affect the French, Italian, American and West German firms engaged in joint ventures with the National Iran Oil Company.

The Revolutionary Guards restricted travel in the Kurdish areas and along the Soviet and Turkish borders; people will need travel permits issued by the Revolutionary Guards.

An explosion damaged the office of the Ministry of National Guidance in Kermanshah. A bomb destroyed the Iranian embassy in Vienna; Iranian officials blamed Iraq. Tehran radio said Iraqis attacked the Iranian embassy in Beirut and Iranian border posts near Qasr-e Shirin. Iran invited Iraqi officials to discuss their border problems.

Ayatollah Khomeini warned Iranians against breaking the Ramadan fast, stating that the "harshest punishment" would be given to those arrested for eating during daylight hours.

Eleven men were executed for their role in the coup attempt of July 10. Two men were executed in Tehran for other crimes, four in Dezful, and three in Hamadan. Two men were executed in Abadan for being Iraqi agents.

AUGUST 1, 1980 — FRIDAY

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said the Majlis would address the hostage issue

in the "near future" and that the hostage problem would be resolved in the "next weeks." In an equally ambiguous statement, President Bani Sadr said the Majlis would take up the hostage issue after the cabinet is named and after the Shah's wealth is returned to Iran. In his Friday sermon in Tehran, Ayatollah Khomeini commented on the U.S. Congressional letter sent to Rafsanjani by asking rhetorically: If the United States wants peace with Iran why did it send "mercenaries" to attack the country; and if the United States wants friendship with Iran, why did the American people beat and mistreat Iranian students in the United States?

Farah Diba, the Shah's widow, said that in his dying statement the Shah named Crown Prince Reza to succeed him and asked to be buried in Iran with the military officers executed for the July 10 attempted coup.

In Washington, disorderly conduct charges against 172 Iranian men were dropped and the men released, only to be arrested by U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service agents. The Iranians were taken to the Otisville, New York, federal prison, where deportation proceedings will begin. Twenty Iranian women, also released and re-arrested by INS, were taken to the New York city federal jail. The Iranian demonstrators can be deported if they fail to answer INS questions. Thus far, the Iranians have refused to give their names. INS officials say that if the Iranian students answer questions and are not in violation of their visas, they will be released. Washington, D.C., police officials said the Iranians had been released because they had been in custody for five days, the usual sentence for disorderly conduct.

The Tehran newspaper Ettelaat reported that a Soviet helicopter violated Iranian air space on July 26, near Bileh Savar in West Azerbaijan. Iran protested to the Soviet government.

Tehran radio reported that a "counterrevolutionary" base was destroyed near Baneh, in Kurdistan, and that a column carrying food and fuel between Sanadaj and Marivan was attacked by Kurdish rebels.

AUGUST 2, 1980 — SATURDAY

Four hundred Iranian students began a hunger strike in a Tehran mosque in support of the students being detained in the United States. Other Iranians demonstrated in front of the American embassy in Tehran in support of American blacks and American Indians, who the Iranians said were the "oppressed" of America. A communique from the militants holding the American hostages in Iran said the Iranian women demonstrators in the United States were offered released as a reciprocal gesture for the militants' release of the American women and blacks in November 1979, but that the Iranian women rejected the reciprocal gesture and vowed to remain with the male demonstrators. The "student" communique also said the "brutality" of the American police was shown on American television and that the American people "realized the truth" about the Iranian student demonstrators. The communique said that U.S. armed forces personnel, dressed in civilian clothes, beat the demonstrators in front of the White House, using flag poles with American flags attached as weapons so that the Washington, D.C. police would not stop them. Tehran radio reported that two C-141 cargo planes were standing by at Andrews Air Force base near Washington to fly the Iranian demonstrators out of the United States. (C-141s were used to transport the male Iranians to the Otisville, New York, federal prison yesterday.) Tehran radio also said

that the Iranian representative to the United Nations asked for U.N. intervention to stop police attacks against Iranian students in the United States. Tehran radio said the Iranian students in the New York prison uncovered a "plot" to add vitamins to their water.

For the third day in a row, Tehran radio reported heavy Iraqi attacks against Iranian outposts in Ilam province.

Nine people were executed in Kurdistan.

AUGUST 3, 1980 — SUNDAY

President Bani Sadr told a West German newspaper that the U.S. economic sanctions increased the cost of Iranian imports 20-25%, and that the sanctions were hurting Iran. (This appears to be the first such admission of the U.S. sanctions' effect on Iran by an Iranian official. Bani Sadr's statement may be an accurate description of the economic affects of the sanctions, but it is possible that he is trying to convince the Iranian Majlis and people that delaying the release of the hostages prolongs solving Iran's economic problems.) Meanwhile, Iranians demonstrated in the town of Germi to demand a trial of the hostages.

Radio Tehran reported that the Iranian student demonstrators had been transferred from Washington to a "military" prison in New York. (The actual transfer to a federal, not "military," prison was on Aug. 1.)

The London Sunday Times reported that the late Shah's twin sister Ashraf met ex-General Oveysi in Egypt to plan an attack on Iran, and that Iranian troops for the attack were stationed, or to be stationed, in Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Jordan, and Iraq. (The Arab states denied that any Iranian forces were in their countries.) The Times said the attack would take place about Oct. 31, the day Reza, the Shah's oldest son and heir to the throne, becomes 20.

Archbishop Capucci delivered a message from Pope John Paul II to Ayatollah Khomeini, asking that Catholic schools in Iran be allowed to remain open. After meeting with Capucci, Khomeini said that "Mr. Pope" should support the oppressed of the world and not the Americans, British, and Soviets who had controlled Iran for 50 years. Khomeini also said that "Mr. Pope" should ask why Iranian "boys and girls" were being tortured in American prisons.

Radio Iran (clandestine anti-Khomeini) said two F-4 Phantom fighters had been shot down by Kurds and that "Russian poison bombs" were being used by the Iranian government against the Kurds.

AUGUST 4, 1980 — MONDAY

Iran's President Bani Sadr told a West German television correspondent that the Shah's death did not alter the hostage situation. In another interview with a West German newspaper, Bani Sadr answered a question on Iran's conditions for the release of the hostages by saying: "The character of the ruling system in the United States must change." Later, Bani Sadr

told a Japanese newspaper that the Majlis would address the hostage problem in the "near future" after confirming a cabinet.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, proposed that the Majlis appoint a committee to "prepare the trial of the American hostages." Rafsanjani said the United States "organized this hostage problem for their elections and to repress out revolution." Hasan Ayat, a power in the IRP, said United States policy toward Iran would be on trial, not the hostages themselves.

Bani Sadr repeated his statement of yesterday that the U.S. economic sanctions were causing a 20-25% increase in the cost of Iran's imported goods, which in turn caused inflation in Iran, and added that the Iranian army, which he called "sick," was in need of spare parts being denied to Iran by the "economic blockade."

The Iranian representative to the United Nations visited the New York jail where the 20 Iranian women arrested during the July 27 demonstration in Washington are being held. The visit was not reported in Iran. A spokesman for the Iranian U.N. delegation refused to confirm or deny that the Iranian representative visited each of the women. The 172 Iranian men remained at the Otisville, New York, federal prison. Three of the men remained hospitalized because of their hunger strike. About 30 others were under doctors' treatment and either were being encouraged or forced to take medication. About 30 others broke their self-imposed fast. Deportation proceedings against the Iranian men and women are continuing, although a few have broken their silence and given their names to INS officials. In London, Iranian students began a hunger strike in front of the U.S. embassy in sympathy with the Iranians held in the United States. About 150 Iranian demonstrators tried to approach the U.S. embassy, but were stopped by British police. Twenty of the Iranians were arrested during the attempt. In Iran, there were a series of marches and demonstrations supporting the Iranian students in the United States -- in Tehran, Ahwaz, Abadan, Shiraz, and other cities. Radio Iran (clandestine anti-Khomeini) said the Iranian demonstrators in the United States were paid by the Iranian government and compared Khomeini's claims that the Iranians now in U.S. jails were being "tortured" with the fate of "20,000" Iranians held in Iranian jails without charges or legal counsel.

Former Prime Minister Bakhtiar, interviewed in Paris by the London Times, said he favored establishing an exile provisional government based on the 1906 constitution. Bakhtiar said he had visited Iraq twice since he left Iran in January 1979, denied organizing the attempted coup of July 10, 1980, and said he had no contact with General Oveysi, the man rumored to be organizing an anti-Khomeini army outside Iran. In Iran, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said that Bakhtiar and the French government knew of the assassination attempt on Bakhtiar in advance and allowed the assassins to fall into a trap. Ghotbzadeh said the Iranian government did not know of the assassination attempt before it took place on July 18.

The Free Voice of Iran, another anti-Khomeini clandestine radio station, reported that President Bani Sadr deposited large sums of money in Paris banks in his wife's and daughter's names.

Die Welt of West Germany published a story that Iranian army officers were planning a "putsch" before the end of the year.

The Majlis inquiry committee released 22 documents which, it said, proved

that Ahmad Madani (former head of the Iranian navy, former governor of Khuzestan province, unsuccessful candidate for President, and former Majlis member) was "pro-American" and "pro-Bakhtiar."

Ayatollah Husayn Ali Montazari told a "Jerusalem Day" rally that all Muslim countries should embargo oil shipments to any nation that supported Israel's permanent annexation of Jerusalem as its capital.

A mob attacked the Tudeh (Communist) party office in Anzali and another mob attacked the Tudeh and Fedayin offices in Langarud, near Rasht.

Tehran radio reported fighting between Revolutionary Guards and Kurds near Urumiyeh and Marivan.

AUGUST 5, 1980 — TUESDAY

Tehran radio reported that the Iranian representative to the United Nations visited the 20 Iranian women being held in a New York federal jail. (The visit took place Aug. 4.) The women, one of whom was in a hospital, were described as weak from their hunger strike, and gave the Iranian representative vivid descriptions of their "savage" treatment at the hands of the Washington, D.C., police and INS agents, according to Tehran radio. The radio also said one of the male students lost the sight of his left eye because of the "beatings." Fifty textile workers began a sit-in at the Vatican embassy in Tehran to demand that the Pope "intervene" with Britain and the United States to stop the mistreatment of Iranian students. Tehran radio reported that 120 Iranian students were wounded and 72 were arrested during the Iranian demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy in London on Aug. 4. Tehran radio said the British police used whips on the students and trampled the students with horses. The Iranian government controlled news services also reported that 31 Iranians were arrested in San Diego, California, after police "attacked" an Iranian student group participating in a hunger strike in support of the 192 jailed Iranians. There were marches and other support demonstrations in the Iranian cities of Masjid Sulayman, Behbahan, Firuzabad, Shiraz, Kazarun, Abadah, and Borazjan, in addition to the estimated 300,000 who marched on the U.S. embassy in Tehran. The Soviet Union broadcast, in Parsi, a commentary that the treatment of the Iranian students in the United States was another example of American racism, similar to what was happening to blacks in Chattanooga and Miami. In Washington, John Trattner of the State Department said the United States would welcome a U.N. investigation into the treatment of the students (Iran asked Secretary-General Waldheim for an investigation yesterday).

In the late evening, the students held in New York federal prisons gave their names to the INS authorities and were released. Two of the students were found to be in violation of their visas and were released on bond pending a deportation hearing.

The Washington Post reported that David Belfield, charged with the murder of Ali Tabatabai on July 22 in Washington, had fled the country and was in Iran.

In Iran, the Majlis voted 176 to 1, with 7 abstentions, to expell Ahmad Madani. Madani resigned from the Majlis three weeks ago. Several Majlis members called for Madani's arrest as an American sympathizer and SAVAK

agent.

Twelve more men implicated in the July 10 coup attempt went on trial in Tehran.

Iran's President Bani Sadr said France was providing "training centers" for subversives trying to overthrow the Iranian government.

Moscow radio repeated the London Sunday Times story of Aug. 3 that the Shah's sister Ashraf was conspiring with General Oveysi to overthrow the Iranian government, but added that Ashraf and Oveysi were cooperating with Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service.

The Revolutionary Guards announced that it was sending a 15-man delegation to Kurdistan to "purge" the province, apparently the first time the Revolutionary Guards have been directly involved in such "purgings." In the city of Ramshoraz, the "purge" committee asked citizens to supply "evidence" against people to be purged.

Tehran radio said 300 Iraqi Kurds sought refuge in Sanandaj.

The Revolutionary Guards of Khuzestan sent a message to the American people telling them to overthrow their government.

AUGUST 6, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

Ettelaat, the Tehran newspaper, reported that a bill would be introduced in the Majlis soon that will call for the immediate trial of the American hostages. Ettelaat said the Majlis would consider the bill quickly because of the treatment given to the Iranian students in the United States. Ayatollah Beheshti said the arrest and release of the Iranian students in the United States "might" have an effect on the U.S. hostages "before and after the trial." Beheshti's comment implied that a trial would take place and that the harsh (in Iranian eyes) treatment of the Iranian students in the U.S. would be to the detriment of the Americans held in Iran.

Following the Tehran radio announcement that the 192 Iranians in the United States had been released, a Tehran radio commentary implied that the students had defeated the United States, that the "savage" Washington, D.C., police and the "ruthless and cruel police" of the Immigration and Naturalization Service "were forced to retreat" by the Iranians. Iranian sources monitored reflect the same theme, that the Iranian students "defeated" the United States, that the episode was another example of American weakness and decline, and that the whole world now realized the justice of the Iranian cause. A statement by the "Islamic Society of Students in the United States and Canada" broadcast over Tehran radio said the United States "backed down" before the "mighty word of the Imam" (Khomeini), that the United States was "forced to withdraw the accusations and charges," and that the students had withstood "savage torture in the medieval jails" and the "whips of the bloodsucking U.S. imperialism." The statement described the United States as the "heart of blasphemy" and the "ungodly" American people as having "black and rotten hearts." The statement ended with a call to Iran to "arise and take revenge" against the United States, which under the circumstances could pose a new threat to the 52 American hostages held in Iran.

The 31 Iranians held in San Diego and the 72 held in London refused to give their names to authorities and began a hunger strike. The 50 Iranians sitting-in at the Vatican embassy in Tehran ended their demonstration, saying the United States had "submitted to the will" of Iran and was "on its knees." The Iranians staging a hunger strike outside the White House in Washington vowed to continue their vigil. Iranian students in New York said they would stage a demonstration at the United Nations.

French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet denied that France was providing training facilities for anti-Khomeini Iranians, as Bani Sadr charged yesterday.

President Bani Sadr said a Prime Minister would be named in two days. Ayatollah Beheshti told the press that the Majlis was close to a decision on a Prime Minister.

Iranian Banking director Ali Reza Nobari said the Shah's wealth held overseas amounts to \$20 billion which Iran would try to reclaim. Nobari also announced that foreign banking interests, primarily American, British, and Japanese, nationalized on June 8, 1978, would be compensated at 20% their value. Nobari estimated that the foreign banks had invested about \$100 million in Iranian banks (which meant they would receive about \$20 million). Ali Qoddusi, Prosecutor-General of Iran, issued a statement that Iranians would need permission from his office to collect rents, income from land, or profits from shares or sales of shares. Qoddusi said such forms of income "must be avoided" and said that all stock market or stock exchange transactions were "annulled" as of August 23, 1978. He did not say how Iran could annul transactions that were two years old.

In Washington, an FBI spokesman confirmed the Washington Post story of yesterday that David Belfield, charged with the July 22 murder of anti-Khomeini activist Ali Akbar Tabatabai, apparently had fled the United States within three days of the murder. The FBI could not confirm the Post allegation that Belfield, also known as Dawud Salahuddin, was in Iran.

AUGUST 7, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the Iranian supreme court, said at a press conference that a resolution of the hostage issue would have to wait for the Majlis.

Secretary of State Muskie said that the United States considered offering to exchange the Iranian students arrested in the July 27 demonstrations in Washington for the U.S. hostages held in Iran, but feared that offering such a quid pro quo would in effect endorse the Iranian seizure of the embassy and the hostages.

United Press International reported that Ayatollah Reza Taghavi, described as an aide to Khomeini, said during a visit to the Philippines that the American "spies" would be tried and that the trial would prove there was a connection between the United States and the attempted coup of July 10.

Foreign Minister Sadeg Ghotbzadeh appeared before the Majlis to answer questions about his handling of foreign affairs. He said Iran needed a clear

foreign policy, not just the "neither east nor west" policy announced after the revolution. Ghotbzadeh said he was trying to implement a foreign policy derived from inferences in Khomeini's speeches and needed firm guidelines. The Foreign Minister asked the Majlis: "Do you want to respect international conventions or not?" The Majlis was openly hostile to the Foreign Minister, who has said he will not serve in the new government to be named soon.

AFP reported that President Bani Sadr will name Muhammad-Ali Rajai to be Prime Minister. Rajai was education minister in the Bazargan government and is now a leader of the Islamic Republic Party.

Ayatollah Khomeini appealed to the Majlis members to quit bickering and unite to solve Iran's problems. The Ayatollah hinted that the Iranian press "created discord" and should be controlled.

Tehran news sources reported that "thugs" tried to prevent the Iranian students from leaving a New York mosque where they went for prayers and medical treatment after their release from jail on Aug. 5. An angry crowd gathered outside the mosque preventing the Iranians from boarding buses for Washington. New York police finally escorted the Iranians out of the city. Pro-Khomeini Iranians staged another march in Washington and were pelted by eggs, tomatoes, and abuse by Americans. The Iranian students ended their hunger strike at the White House when their 7-day permit expired. In London, the Iranian charge d'affaires visited the Iranian students arrested in front of the U.S. Embassy on Aug. 4.

The Washington Post reported that U.S. Government agencies were investigating reports that some \$5 million was smuggled into the United States to pay for the Iranian student demonstrations.

Thirteen military officers implicated in the July 10 coup plot were executed at Evin prison. A former general in the Iranian army was executed for cooperating with SAVAK. Twelve other army officers were acquitted on the coup charges.

The Kermanshah gendarmerie defused three bombs on an oil pipeline.

Pro- and anti-government Kurdish groups clashed in Mahabad.

AUGUST 8, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Moscow radio quoted Ayatollah Reza Sajjadi as saying that the American hostages would go on trial soon.

Iranian students demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. The U.S. Embassy was protected by Syrian troops who are part of the Arab League force maintaining the Lebanese truce. Twenty-four Iranians were arrested by Rome police for demonstrating against the United States at the Vatican. Iranian students demonstrated against the United States in Berlin, Cologne, Stockholm, and London.

In Paris, former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar announced the formation of the "Iranian National Resistance Movement" to oppose the Khomeini regime. Former head of the Iranian oil ministry and fellow Paris exile Hasan Nazih said his group, the "National Movement to Save Iran," formed on June 20,

1980, may cooperate with Bakhtiar's group since the two shared similar goals and principles.

Iran's ambassador in Moscow, Muhammad Mokri, said Iran may recall him and leave only a charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union unless the U.S.S.R. agreed to stop shipping arms to Iraq, arms which are being used against Iran. Mokri said other points of disagreement between the two countries were the Soviet refusal to allow Iran to open a consulate in Dushanbe, in Central Asia where many ethnic Iranian Muslims live, the Soviet refusal to allow Iran-bound goods to be transhipped across the Soviet Union, the stalemated gas price negotiations, and a general deterioration of relations.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani announced after a closed-door session of the parliament that the members had approved the nomination of Muhammad Ali Rajai to be Prime Minister. Under the Iranian constitution, President Bani Sadr is supposed to introduce the choice for Prime Minister to the Majlis for a vote of confidence, which he is expected to do tomorrow, but Bani Sadr, Khomeini, Beheshti, Rafsanjani, and others have been negotiating over the Prime Minister for two months. Rajai's name was offered to the closed session of the Majlis two weeks ago along with 13 other names after the Majlis rejected informally Bani Sadr's first choice Muhammad Mir-Salim and Khomeini rejected his second choice, the Ayatollah's son Ahmad. In an interview, Rajai said he would not name a coalition cabinet, that all the members must be followers of Khomeini.

Eleven men implicated in the July 10 coup plot were executed. Two other men were executed for "corruption on earth."

AUGUST 9, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Iranian students demonstrated at the U.S. consulate in Hamburg, West Germany. The 22 Iranians arrested yesterday for demonstrating against the United States in the Vatican were released by Rome police after they broke their one-day silence and gave their names. Iranians demonstrated in London while 68 of their fellow students remained in British jails, refusing to give their names. Tehran radio broadcast descriptions of the Aug. 8 Iranian student march in Washington, saying that police tried to impede the demonstrators while pretending to protect them from angry American "mobs." Tehran news sources also reported the "strike" of U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service employees who claimed the Iranians were released from the New York federal prisons without complete verification of their alien status.

Ayatollah Khomeini told a "Jerusalem Day" rally that Muslim peoples across the world should replace governments which were afraid of the great powers. Khomeini called the Soviet Union a "big satanic power," a phrase usually limited to the United States.

President Bani Sadr "introduced" his choice for Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Rajai, to the Majlis. The Majlis is expected to approve Rajai formally within a few days. In a separate speech, Bani Sadr attacked his critics, and many of the President's followers marched through Tehran calling for the ouster of Hasan Ayat, a leader of the IRP and a frequent critic of the President.

The "Islamic Revolution Tribunal of the Army" issued a statement that only it had the authority to try military personnel accused of crimes. Apparently, the warning was aimed at the Revolutionary Guards and local courts which have been arresting military personnel for complicity in the coup attempt and spying for Iraq. Two men, one of them an army sergeant, were executed as Iraqi spies in Kermanshah.

The Red Crescent Society purge committee asked citizens to file complaints against Society members. The Red Lion and Sun Society, affiliated with the International Committee of the Red Cross, changed its name to Red Crescent after the revolution. Most Muslim countries use the Red Crescent name. The Lion and Sun were ancient Iranian symbols associated with the Shah's reign.

Baghdad radio reported an attack by anti-Khomeini Arabs on a train in Arabistan province -- Iranians call the province Khuzestan while Arabs call it Arabistan. Tehran radio reported an Iraqi attack near Qasr-e Shirin and another attack near Abadan.

AUGUST 10, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Ms. Jean Wadell of Britain, the secretary to the Anglican Bishop in Tehran, was arrested on spy charges. The bishop had fled Iran last year after being accused of spying, and the bishop's son was murdered three months ago. Ms. Wadell was injured on May 6 by a bomb.

Forty Iranian students began a hunger strike at the British embassy in Tehran to protest the continued detention of 68 Iranians in London.

Iran Radio (clandestine, anti-Khomeini) broadcast a report that Mehdi Bazargan, Prime Minister until the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in November 1979, had been arrested by Iranian authorities. According to Iran Radio, Bazargan was arrested for criticizing Ayatollah Khomeini.

Ayatollah Khalkhali, head of the anti-narcotics campaign, said that 400 prisoners would be released from Qasr prison to commemorate Id al-Fitr, the "Great Feast" celebration on Aug. 12 that ends Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting.

Tehran radio said the Majlis would vote to accept Muhammad Ali Rajai as Prime Minister on Aug. 11.

Tehran radio reported a battle between the gendarmerie and Kurds near Nagaden, in West Azerbaijan, and more clashes between Iraqi and Iranian forces near Qasr-e Shirin.

AUGUST 11, 1980 -- MONDAY

The Qatari newspaper al-Bayan reported in its Aug. 8 edition that officials of Iran and the United States had agreed that Iran would release the hostages sometime between the second week in August and the second week in September in exchange for the United States' releasing frozen Iranian assets, a U.S. promise of non-interference in Iranian affairs, and an end of

the economic sanctions. The story was not confirmed by any other source.

Iranian Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said that any adverse action against Iranian students in the United States "will affect the fate of the hostages."

Tehran radio reported that Mrs. Barbara Timm, mother of hostage Kevin Hermening, asked the Iranian authorities for permission to visit her son in Iran. Mrs. Timm visited her son in Tehran in April at the time of the U.S. rescue attempt, and reportedly tried to visit Iran again in June. Tehran radio said that Mrs. Timm promised the U.S. Government not to make "propaganda" statements in order to receive permission to travel to Iran.

Iranian students continued their demonstrations in front of the U.S. and British embassies in Tehran, protesting the treatment of Iranian students in San Diego and London.

The Iranian Majlis approved Muhammad Ali Rajai as Prime Minister of Iran. According to the constitution, Rajai has 10 days to present his cabinet to the Majlis for a vote of confidence. In an interview, Rajai said he did not have a specific program, but that he would form a program with the help of "revolutionary institutions." Rajai said he and his cabinet would follow the policies of Ayatollah Khomeini. The interviewer asked Rajai: "What is your perception of the Imam's (Khomeini) policy?" Rajai answered: "The policy of the Imam is that which the people have followed. These people have elected these deputies to the Majlis. The deputies know what the policy of the Imam is. We are from among the very same deputies and I have been selected in this very context. Thus, the matter is clear and specific, which the people know, the Majlis knows, and we know as well. I hope that it will be made clear for those who do not know it in practice in the future."

Baghdad radio reported that the Government of Iraq had given political asylum to four Iranian military men after they flew an Iranian cargo plane to Iraq on Aug. 5.

Ayatollah Khalkhali said that 400 prisoners had been released from Qasr prison as a gesture for the end of Ramadan.

Pars news service reported more fighting between Iraqi and Iranian armed forces in the border area of Qasr-e Shirin.

#### AUGUST 12, 1980 -- TUESDAY

One hundred Iranian students began a sit-in at a government building in Manila to protest the Philippine police arrest of 13 Iranians during a "Jerusalem Day" demonstration yesterday.

It was reported in Italy that all Roman Catholic priests and nuns would be expelled from Iran within one month in retaliation for the Iranian students arrested at the Vatican on Aug. 8. Later, Vatican diplomat Annibale Bugnini and Archbishop Hilarion Capucci said after a meeting with Iran's President that Bani Sadr gave them assurances that everyone, including Catholics, would enjoy religious freedom in Iran.

BBC correspondent Alex Brodie was expelled from Iran, apparently for broadcasting reports considered unfavorable by the Foreign Ministry. In his

final broadcast, Brodie noted that only two major news services still had correspondents in Iran and that those journalists left in Tehran were, more or less, restricted to hotels.

Ayatollah Khomeini met with Beheshti, Bani Sadr, members of the provisional cabinet, and all the members of the Majlis. He spoke of the need for unity and an end to the party politicking and the importance of selecting an "Islamic" cabinet. Khomeini said Iran was "beset" by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Ayatollah Khalkhali, head of the anti-narcotics campaign, announced that all prison sentences were reduced by one-half and that life sentences were reduced to 15 years to commemorate Id al-Fitr, the end of Ramadan.

Morteza Movahedi-Zadeh, head of Iran's commercial delegation, left for Brazil to negotiate the purchase of sugar, corn, sesame oil, soya oil, beef, and poultry. Movahedi-Zadeh said Iran would soon receive 60,000 tons of steel from Hungary, and that other shipments of wheat, rice, barley, sugar, cement, steel, and other products were being delivered to Iran.

Radio Iran, the clandestine anti-Khomeini station, said that the United States and Iran were holding contacts and that relations between the two nations were improving. Radio Iran also reported that Ayatollah Khomeini moves to a different location each day to avoid assassins. The Free Voice of Iran, another anti-Khomeini clandestine station, said that the Hezbollahis, the conservative "servants of God," planned to seize the British embassy and 12 British diplomats in Tehran in retaliation for the 68 Iranians held in London. FVOI also reported that Khomeini sent terrorists to Paris to threaten the heads of five French firms involved in the construction of nuclear equipment to be sold to Iraq. Another FVOI report stated that a "well informed individual" in the Iranian court system revealed that 110 men secretly were executed yesterday for their roles in the July 10 coup attempt and that Iranian authority secretly executed 50 people each day during Ramadan.

Pars news agency reported that the Iranian army and Revolutionary Guards killed 155 Kurds near Baneh in another "mopping up" exercise.

#### AUGUST 13, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Muhammad Beheshti, head of Iran's supreme court and a power in the Islamic Republic Party, said that if the Majlis decides to place the American hostages on trial, the supreme court will decide on the form the trial will take.

The British Foreign Office reported from London that two British citizens, a doctor and his wife, had been arrested by the Revolutionary Guards in Yazd on spy charges. Britain has warned its citizens to leave Iran following the Iranian student arrests in London. In Tehran, another group of students began a new sit-in and hunger strike at the British embassy.

Pars, the Iranian government news agency, described a letter sent by Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in which Ghotbzadeh accused the Soviet Union of providing guns and money for the Kurds, of trying to subvert the Iranian revolution through the Tudeh party,

of refusing to allow Iran to contact Iranian Muslims in Tadjikistan, and of not telling the Soviet people of the Islamic character of the Iranian revolution. Ghotbzadeh reminded the Soviet Foreign Minister of the Soviet occupation of Iran during World War II and that the Soviet Union had participated in the Shah's crowning. Ghotbzadeh called the Soviet Union a "big satan." Later, the National Voice of Iran radio station, which broadcasts from the Soviet Union, said Ghotbzadeh was an American agent.

Ayatollah Beheshti warned President Bani Sadr that he had no voice in naming the Defense and Interior (which controls the police) Ministers and that, despite his having been named commander-in-chief by Ayatollah Khomeini, Bani Sadr would have no authority over the Defense and Interior Ministers in the new cabinet. Beheshti also said that Iran needed a strong government to "impose legal and social order," to "radicalize" Iran's foreign policy, and to pursue the cultural revolution.

A Majlis deputy from Ahwaz, Adel Asadinia, said he had "evidence" that Ayatollahs Shariat-Madari and Qumi were involved in the attempted coup of July 10, calling them "enemies" of Iran who worked for the United States. Asadinia also condemned the "nationalists" for not being Islamic, naming Bazargan, Foruhar, Qashgai and Madani and the National Front Party as CIA agents.

The Khuzestan purge committee issued a warning to women government workers to begin wearing "Islamic attire" within 48 hours or they would be "dealt with severely."

Tehran radio reported that the Revolutionary Guard base near Urumiyeh was attacked by Kurds.

AUGUST 14, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The Ambassadors of Austria, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, and Greece met with Speaker of the Majlis Rafsanjani to ask the Iranian Government to release the American hostages. Rafsanjani said he would refer the request to the Majlis.

The New York Times reported that intelligence sources in Washington had seen General Husayn Fardust, head of Iran's new intelligence organization, in Washington just prior to the murder of Ali Akhbar Tabatabai on July 22. An FBI spokesman said such reported sightings of Iranians connected to the Khomeini regime circulate frequently but often are unfounded.

Iranian students demonstrated again at the British embassy in Tehran to protest the continued detention of Iranian students by British police. A student spokesman said Iranian students would hold a demonstration in Berlin, West Germany.

Ayatollah Khomeini said the Soviet Union plays into the hands of the United States by giving arms to Iraq, which allows Iraq to follow U.S. orders and attack Iran. Khomeini also said that the U.S.S.R. received U.S. permission beforehand for the invasion of Afghanistan.

In a speech, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh defended the Foreign Ministry, saying that 800 of the 2,000 employees had been purged for not being Islamic,

a higher percentage than any other Iranian Government agency. Ghotbzadeh condemned his critics, who he called "opportunists" trying to associate themselves with the Government, for slandering him in the IRP newspaper. Ghotbzadeh also said the Tudeh Party was controlled from Moscow, and was not a revolutionary Iranian party.

Kayhan newspaper printed a story in Tehran that Ayatollah Beheshti had uncovered another plot to overthrow the Government.

United Press International reported that Iranian oil exports had dropped to between 500,000 and 900,000 barrels per day, most of which went to Soviet Bloc countries. The UPI story said Iran had no new contracts with Western nations for oil deliveries after July 1.

AUGUST 15, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Several American newspapers printed stories about a series of columns by columnist Jack Anderson, scheduled for publication next week, in which Anderson claims that President Carter is planning an invasion of Iran in October in order to win votes in the upcoming Presidential election. The White House denied that any such plan was under consideration by the President.

In Iran, President Bani Sadr said in a speech that a "candidate for the U.S. Presidency" was a "symbol of facism" who claims that he will "conquer" Iran if he is elected. Bani Sadr did not mention the candidate by name.

Tehran radio announced that a British "spy" had been arrested who was connected to the aborted coup attempt of July 10 and was part of an espionage network involving the Anglican church. [The "spy" description fit Mrs. Jean Wadell, secretary to the Anglican Bishop in Tehran, who was arrested on Aug. 10.]

The U.S. State Department announced that 1,300 visas had been given to Iranians on "humanitarian" grounds since April.

Fifteen men were executed in Tehran and three were executed in Isfahan for their roles in the July 10 coup attempt. Four other men were executed for other crimes in Tehran. Two Iraqi "spies" were executed in southern Iran.

Tehran radio reported a clash between the Kurds and the Revolutionary Guards near Baneh. Tehran radio claimed 67 Kurds were killed and that the Kurds had shot down one Iranian Government helicopter.

AUGUST 16, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said he had received a message from the U.S. Government asking for the release of the U.S. hostages held in Iran since Nov. 4. The message also defended the treatment of the Iranian students in the United States, according to Rafsanjani. The speaker of the Majlis said the message, the letter from 187 Members of the U.S. Congress, another from two U.S. Congressmen, and the letters from the nine Western Ambassadors would



be "examined" by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Majlis.

A commentary broadcast over Moscow radio said the Western press was praising Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh while criticizing the Iranian Government, and then went on to call Ghotbzadeh's letter to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko a "fantasy of illusions," a "distortion of facts," and "discredited imperialist propaganda." The commentary appeared to be suggesting that Ghotbzadeh was pro-American and wrote the letter to Gromyko at the request of the United States. The Moscow commentary said Ghotbzadeh "slandered" the Soviet Union by equating Soviet socialism to American capitalism, and warned that such "insults" could lead to a deterioration of Iranian-Soviet relations, which were not in the best interests of Iran.

In a speech to dignitaries from Urumiyeh, Ayatollah Khomeini said he was "not quite as well now" as he had been in the past. Khomeini's office issued a statement later requesting people to get appointments to see Khomeini in "consideration to the Imam's condition." Apparently, Khomeini's health is failing.

President Bani Sadr escaped unhurt from a helicopter crash near Islamabad, in central Iran. Bani Sadr called his near miss a "miracle," and Khomeini said his escape proved that Bani Sadr had the "grace of God."

The Revolutionary Court summoned Ahmad Madani to appear before the court to assist the investigation into accusations that Madani was involved in the plot to overthrow the Government. Some reports from Iran said Madani was in hiding.

Tehran radio reported that a new plot to assassinate Iranian leaders had been uncovered in Sari, in Mazandaran province near the Caspian Sea. It was not clear if this new conspiracy is linked to the plot discovered by Ayatollah Beheshti and reported on Aug. 14.

Revolutionary Guards, elements of the Iranian army, and Peshmargas (pro-Government Kurds) began another clearing operation near Marivan, according to Tehran radio. Shiraz radio reported that Hasan Jafari, a leader of the "disturbances" in Fars province, had been arrested and asked people in the area with "complaints" against Jafari to contact the Revolutionary Guards.

AUGUST 17, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The London-based Arabic newspaper al-Sharq al-Awsat reported that Palestinian and other Arab diplomats were trying to persuade Iran to release the American hostages.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani denied that he had said the letter from the 187 Members of the U.S. Congress could be a "starting point" for discussions on the release of the hostages. (Rafsanjani made the statement on July 31.)

Shokrollah Zenali, the Majlis deputy from Behbahan, said the Majlis would vote unanimously to place the 52 American hostages on trial.

Britain suspended operations of its Tehran embassy because of the continuing demonstrations. The British reduced the Tehran embassy staff to

less than a dozen and recommended that all British subjects leave Iran.

Iran broke diplomatic relations with Chile because the Chilean Government was "oppressive."

The Majlis rejected the credentials of Eshaq Farahmandpur, the Majlis deputy representing the Jewish community, because he had been associated with the Shah's Government and had worked for Jewish organizations that supported Israel.

AUGUST 18, 1980 -- MONDAY

Diplomatic representatives from Japan, the Netherlands, Italy, and Belgium presented letters calling for the release of the American hostages to Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani, who said he would refer the letters to the Majlis. The Dutch Ambassador also requested permission to visit the hostages, but Rafsanjani said Iran was reluctant to allow visitors because of previous visits, the hostages had passed information to the visitors that assisted the attempted rescue. Later, Rafsanjani told a press conference that the hostage issue was not urgent, that the Majlis had other business to attend to, and that the Majlis would take up the hostage problem after dealing with more pressing matters. Rafsanjani said the Majlis members would not accept "reconciliation" on the hostage issue.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry informed the Soviet Union that a Soviet consular office must be closed, either in Rasht or Isfahan. The Iranian ambassador to Moscow closed the Iranian consulate in Leningrad.

The London Times correspondent and a Pakistani journalist were arrested in Tehran.

Pars news agency reported that Prime Minister Rajai said he would announce the new cabinet on Aug. 21.

AUGUST 19, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Iranian Foreign Ministry sent a protest to Britain demanding the release of the Iranian students held in London jails. Italian authorities dropped the charges against 12 Iranians held after the anti-American demonstration at the Vatican. Iranian students demonstrated in front of the Pan American airways office in Paris.

A Revolutionary Guards spokesman told AFP, the French news service, that the United States was supporting the tribal revolt in Fars province in southern Iran. The Revolutionary Guards said the "rebels," which include the Qashgai, are being led by Ahmad Madani, the former Majlis member now under court order to appear for an investigation into his "pro-American" and "Pro-Shah" activities. Madani, who finished second to Bani Sadr in the Presidential election of January 1980, was formerly the Governor of Khuzestan province, and was head of the Iranian navy.

A road construction firm warehouse filled with dynamite exploded near



Gachsaran, between Shiraz and Ahwaz, killing 90 people and injuring another 40.

AUGUST 20, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Il Secolo XIX, the Genoa daily newspaper, reported an interview with Hilarion Capucci, the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Jerusalem, in which he said he was about to begin a "mediation effort" to resolve the hostage crisis. The newspaper said Capucci's effort was believed to be connected to the Vatican. Capucci, who spent three years in an Israeli jail for smuggling guns for the PLO, is in Rome reporting on his Tehran visit on behalf of the Roman Catholic schools in Iran. Capucci escorted the bodies of the eight Americans killed in the Apr. 24 rescue attempt.

Ayatollah Beheshti, Iran's supreme court chief and head of the Islamic Republic Party, told a news conference in Tehran that the American hostages are not "of primary importance" to Iran and that the Government will be "responsible for the issue" after the cabinet is appointed. Beheshti's comment could be interpreted as meaning the cabinet, and not the Majlis, will decide the fate of the hostages. Beheshti also said IRP members in the Majlis could act independently so long as they were in harmony with IRP principles.

Tehran radio reported that the Majlis, in its open session, agreed to a Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission recommendation to reply to the letter sent to Speaker Rafsanjani by 187 members of the United States Congress because the reply would be reported in the Western press giving Iran an opportunity to have its "demands" broadcast to the world. The Majlis also considered the credentials of Oil Minister Muinfar.

Iranian bank director Nobari told the Islamic Republic, the IRP newspaper, that Iran's deteriorating economic situation was leading Iran to a "dead end," and that the current budget deficit was caused by political, not economic, decisions. Part of the budget deficit was caused by declining oil exports, down to 570,000 barrels per day for the month of June 21 to July 21, Nobari added. Nobari noted that the Oil Ministry reported oil exports for the month ending July 1 as one million barrels per day. Nobari criticized the absence of a jobs program, and also criticized the Foreign Ministry for not having a strategy to deal with the United States.

Iranian news sources reported that Komeleh and Fedayin-e Khalq groups (both leftist) attacked a Revolutionary Guards post near Kermanshah.

AUGUST 21, 1980 -- THURSDAY

In Rome, Archbishop Capucci told reporters after his meeting with Pope John Paul II that he would be returning to Tehran on Aug. 23 and would "probably" deal with the issue of the American hostages. Capucci acted as a mediator between the Italian police and the Iranian students arrested on Aug. 8, convincing the students to cooperate with the police in order to be released from jail; they were freed on Aug. 19. Capucci delivered a letter from the Iranian students to the Pope urging the Pope to use his influence to

solve the problems of the world.

Tehran radio reported that the Revolutionary Guards commander in Rasht arrested a Soviet "spy" who had been in contact with Iranian leftists and expelled the Soviet from Iran.

Iranian Oil Minister Muinfar said oil production for the month of July 23 to Aug. 22 averaged 1.7 million barrels per day, of which 700,000 barrels per day was exported as crude and 300,000 barrels per day was exported as refined products after processing in Iranian refineries. (Yesterday Iranian bank director Nobari said oil exports for June-July averaged 570,000 barrels per day total.) Muinfar said oil revenues averaged \$26 million per day for the July-August period, and would total about \$13 billion for the March 1980-March 1981 year. Muinfar pointed out that the Iranian budget for the year called for \$23 billion in expenditures, which would leave a \$10 billion deficit.

Tehran radio quoted President Bani Sadr as saying the 1,800 U.S. Marines enroute to the Indian Ocean area to join the U.S. Navy task force were sent as part of a planned attack on Iran. Other forces would attack Iran from Iraq and Turkey, Bani Sadr said.

Jumhuri-e Islami (Islamic Republic, the Islamic Republic Party newspaper) reported that 53,000 Egyptian troops were stationed in Iraq as part of an Egyptian-Iraqi-American plan to attack Syria and Iran, for the purpose of forcing Syria and Jordan to "sign" the Camp David agreements and allow Israel to annex southern Lebanon and to overthrow the Islamic government of Iran.

Radio Moscow broadcast a commentary in English that said the United States planned to invade Iran in mid-October using U.S. forces attached to the Indian Ocean task force and "mercenaries" stationed in Egypt. The commentator said the United States would use bases in Israel, Egypt, Kenya, Oman, and the Somali Republic, and that Pakistan would send 10,000 troops to join the attack. The American hostages would be the "pretext" for the attack, but the real reason, according to the commentary, was to overthrow the Iranian Government and install a "puppet" government already formed in exile. The commentator said it was "very unlikely" that the conflict triggered by the American invasion "would be limited to Iran," suggesting that the Soviet Union and other nations might be drawn into a wider war. The commentator cited "American journalists" as the source for the report, obviously referring to columnist Jack Anderson's disclosures of last weekend. President Carter ordered the attack on Iran, according to Moscow radio, in order to gain public support for his re-election on Nov. 4.

Tehran radio reported that Prime Minister Rajai was ready to name his cabinet, but may have to wait until the next open session of the Majlis on Aug. 24. AFP reported from Tehran that Rajai was not ready to name the cabinet because of political disagreements over some of his Ministerial selections.

Ayatollah Montazari said after a meeting with Ayatollah Khomeini that because of the shortage of doctors in Iran, doctors with ties to the Shah should not be purged.

AUGUST 22, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The Voice of Lebanon (conservative, Christian) quoted "Arab diplomatic sources" in Beirut as reporting that five American hostages had been killed trying to escape from the U.S. embassy in Tehran. (The Beirut report was broadcast at 1:15 a.m. EDT.) Tel Aviv radio reported (3:30 a.m. EDT) that the Iranian Foreign Ministry told an Associated Press correspondent that no American hostages had been killed. AFP reported from Hong Kong (4:30 a.m. EDT) that the Iranian Foreign Ministry denied that five American hostages had been killed trying to escape. Reuters reported from Tehran (6:00 a.m. EDT) that a "student" at the U.S. embassy denied that any Americans had been killed or that there had been an escape attempt. Tehran radio reported (1:00 p.m. EDT) the "student" and Foreign Ministry denials. A U.S. Department of State spokesman noted that the U.S. Government has had no direct contact with the hostages since late April, and could not verify their condition, but also noted that the Iranian Foreign Ministry and the "students" had denied the story from Beirut.

Ayatollah Montazari said in his Friday sermon in Qum that the Iranian students in Britain should end their sit-in and hunger strike. Later, the Iranian students protesting at the British embassy in Tehran ended their hunger strike and sit-in. Montazari also mentioned Ayatollah Khomeini's health again, asking the Iranian people to stay away from the Ayatollah's home and to keep their requests for an audience with Khomeini to a minimum.

News reports from Kermanshah said the Revolutionary Guards were involved in another major battle with Kurdish "assailants."

AUGUST 23, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Archibishop Capucci left Rome for Tehran to "try to mediate the hostage issue." Capucci told reporters he had received assurances from the Iranian Government that Roman Catholics would be allowed to practice their religion without interference from the Iranians.

An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman questioned why the Soviet Union decided to close the Soviet consulate in Isfahan rather than the one in Rasht. The spokesman said there were 2,000 Soviet citizens in the Isfahan area to be served by the consulate but only 200 Soviets in the Rasht area. The spokesman suggested that the Soviets preferred to retain the Rasht consulate for "strategic" reasons since the city is close to the Soviet border and because Rasht is a stronghold of the Tudeh Party.

Tehran radio broadcast a report by a Pars correspondent who had called the Iraqi embassy in Tehran to verify a story of Aug. 21 that 53,000 Egyptians troops were stationed in Iraq in preparation for an attack on Iran. According to the Pars correspondent, the Iraqis said one million Egyptians were in Iraq helping with development programs.

A communist affiliated radio station in Cyprus reported that the United States was flying Hercules cargo planes filled with U.S. troops and military equipment into the British air base at Akrotiri as part of a plan to invade Iran. The radio said that Britain and the United States had agreed on a plan to partition Iran after the invasion.

According to Pars, Prime Minister Rajai will wait for President Bani Sadr

to return to Tehran before presenting his cabinet for the President's approval. Bani Sadr is visiting the Iran-Afghan border area, where he told journalists that Iran will help the Afghan rebels, and perhaps fight with them against the Soviets if necessary.

Tehran radio confirmed an APP report that a bomb had been discovered and defused in the Evin prison office of Ayatollah Khalkhali, the head of the anti-narcotics program.

Ahwaz radio reported fighting between Mujahidun-e Khalq and "Imam Khomeini's fedayin" in Abadan. A Sharia (religious) court magistrate said that the leftist groups, the Mujahidun, Fedayin-e Khalq, Tudeh Party, Paykar, and others, were attacking the farmers and workers in Khuzistan province and that all activities by the leftist groups were banned until the "Majlis can determine their fate." The magistrate said the people could "use any means necessary" to stop the leftists from disturbing the province.

Ahwaz radio also reported that an explosion on the Abadan-Mahshahr gas pipeline had caused no damage, but that a fire had burned for 14 hours before being brought under control.

Tehran radio reported an Iraqi artillery attack on Iranian border posts at Qasr-e Shirin and an Iraqi rocket attack at Javanrud. The radio also praised Cobra helicopter pilots for their role in stopping a "counterrevolutionary" attack against a Revolutionary Guard post in West Azarbaijan. The radio warned people in the northern district to evacuate their homes while the Iranian army, the Revolutionary Guards, and the gendarmerie cleared the area of counterrevolutionaries.

AUGUST 24, 1980 -- SUNDAY

APP, the French news agency, reported that the delay in naming a cabinet was due to disagreements between Prime Minister Rajai and President Bani Sadr. Rajai said on Thursday, Aug. 21, that he would wait until the next Majlis open session scheduled for Sunday, Aug. 24, to announce the cabinet, and then on Saturday, Aug. 23, said he would wait until Bani Sadr returned from a visit to the provinces. Bani Sadr returned to Tehran today and met with Rajai at the same time the Majlis was meeting. Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani told reporters there was a disagreement between the Prime Minister and the President. Rajai sent a letter to the Majlis saying he would introduce the cabinet on Tuesday, Aug. 26. Hasan Ayat, the Islamic Republic Party leader, said the cabinet would not be considered en masse, but that the Majlis would discuss each candidate, a process which could delay approval of the cabinet and postpone the Majlis consideration of the hostage issue. Meanwhile, Rajai appointed Naser Razai to be head of the cabinet.

Tehran radio reported that Iran asked the Soviet Union to close the Rasht consulate and reopen the Isfahan consulate. The Soviets had chosen to retain the Rasht consulate when asked by Iran to close one of the two, but the Iranians suspected the Rasht consulate of cooperating with the Tudeh Party.

According to Tehran radio, an investigation had proven that the Anglican Bishop of Iran was the head of an espionage network operating in several Iranian cities and had provided money (\$500 million according to the radio) and weapons to Iranian army officers involved in the July 10 coup attempt.

Tehran radio said the Anglicans were also involved with the Bahais and the CIA, and that one of the spies was a converted Jew. The Anglican Bishop fled Iran last year, his son was murdered in May, and his secretary was injured in an assassination attempt in May and arrested as a spy on Aug. 10.

Major Abbasi, the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party militia, was killed by Revolutionary Guards, according to Iranian Government news sources. The Iranian army was placed on "maximum alert" along the Iraqi border in preparation for an Iraqi air attack. The army also declared Kurdistan, Ilam, and Kermanshahan provinces to be black-out areas.

AUGUST 25, 1980 -- MONDAY

The "students" holding the American hostages announced that hostages had been moved from the cities of Qazvin, Shiraz, Gorgan, and Zanjan to new, undisclosed locations, in order to foil what they called an American plan to invade Iran and free the hostages. The "students" claimed that the so-called invasion was to take place before the American elections and before the Majlis acted on the fate of the hostages. In their announcement, the "students" said that if the United States attempted to invade Iran, the "attackers will be dispatched to hell," which appeared to mean the invasion force. In its reports on the "student" statement, Tehran radio said the "attackers and spies will be dispatched to hell," which appeared to mean both the invasion force and the hostages would be killed. Reuters, UPI, and other news services carried the story as a "student" threat to kill the hostages if the United States attempted any military actions against Iran. After the April 25 rescue attempt, the "students" said the hostages had been disbursed among 16 different cities in addition to the U.S. Embassy and the Iranian Foreign Ministry in Tehran.

In an interview published in Time magazine (edition dated Sept. 1), Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said he had written a letter to the Majlis last week in which he opposed a trial of the hostages. Ghotbzadeh said the United States held \$8.5 billion in Iranian assets which should be returned, minus any amounts owed to American companies. Ghotbzadeh also said that American companies which promised raw materials or technical aid or which had not delivered goods already paid for should also meet their contractual obligations. The Foreign Minister said the Moscow-directed Tudeh Party was behind the "political sabotage" among the "radical youth" of Iran. The Soviet Union wants Iran "cornered and helpless" so that it can "bludgeon Iran to its knees" and "impose" its will on Iran, according to Ghotbzadeh. The Foreign Minister also said that Rajai was "incapable" of running the country and that Iran will have "some slight chance of success" if the hostage issue is resolved.

Tehran radio said Prime Minister Rajai would introduce his cabinet to the Majlis on Tuesday, Aug. 26. The radio said Rajai and President Bani Sadr did not agree on the appointment of an Interior Minister.

Iranian emigres in Bonn, West Germany announced the formation of an anti-Khomeini group called the "Iran Freedom Front."

The Iranian Information Ministry said it had a letter from an Anglican priest to the CIA which said the Anglicans received explosives from the United States to use in the July 10 coup. (The Iranian Anglican Archbishop's

secretary, a doctor, and his wife, all Anglicans, remain in Iranian custody on "spy" charges.) Six Italian Roman Catholic priests were expelled from Iran after espionage charges were dropped. Four other priests, also charged with spying, were released from jail and remain in Iran.

AUGUST 26, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Washington correspondent of al-Anba, the Kuwaiti newspaper, reported that the United States would release Iranian funds within the next 40 days in exchange for the release of the hostages.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said the hostage issue was influencing the American Presidential elections. Rafsanjani said the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission was discussing a reply to the letter to the Majlis from 1987 members of the U.S. Congress, but the Majlis Speaker said he did not know if the Foreign Affairs Commission was discussing the hostages. Rafsanjani disagreed with Ghotbzadeh's statement in last week's letter to the Majlis that Iran was violating international law and diplomatic practice, and added that the United States violated international law more than any other country. Rafsanjani said he agreed in part with Ghotbzadeh's statement that the Soviet Union was trying to subvert Iran, and also said that the Soviet Union did not want Iranian friendship as proven by Soviet arms shipments to Iraq. Rafsanjani said President Bani Sadr and Prime Minister Rajai had not agreed on the appointment of an Interior Minister.

The "students" holding the American hostages announced from Shiraz that the hostages in that city were being moved to another location because it was feared that the United States would try to kill the hostages.

Tass, the Soviet news agency, broadcast a diatribe against Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh for being "pro-American."

AFP reported an interview with Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh in which he said the Government had little chance of success and will remain in power only by oppressing the people. Ghotbzadeh said the people of Iran will reject the Government when Khomeini dies. The Foreign Minister, who repeated that he would not serve in the new Government, added that current members of the new Government were guilty of corruption, just as the Shah's Government was. Ghotbzadeh said the economy was failing.

President Bani Sadr asked the present cabinet to stay on the job until the new cabinet is named; apparently, several of the current Ministers had offered their resignations. Bani Sadr also said that he disagreed with Rajai's choice for Interior Minister.

Khomeini mentioned in a speech that his doctors told him not to make too many speeches. Meanwhile, Radio Iran, the anti-Khomeini clandestine station, said that there had been two attempts in the past month to blow up Khomeini's house.

Moscow radio broadcast a commentary in Farsi praising Soviet-Iranian industrial cooperation, pointing out the success of joint electrical power generating plants.

Ten men were executed in Isfahan for their roles in the July 10 coup

attempt. One man was executed in Arak for belonging to the Rastakhiz Party, the Shah's political party.

AUGUST 27, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

John Dwyer, husband of Cynthia Dwyer, arrested last May, received a letter from his wife, the first indication that Ms. Dwyer is alive and well.

Ayatollah Beheshti told the press that the hostages were not Iran's first priority and that Majlis was concerned about other issues. Beheshti said the hostage issue should be solved and that the only reason to continue holding the hostages was to explain to the world the cruelty of the United States.

After a seven hour meeting which began Tuesday night, Bani Sadr, Rafsanjani, Rajai, Ahmad Khomeini, the Ayatollah's son, Ayatollah Mosavi Ardabili, the prosecutor general, and Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani, Council of Guardians, could not agree on the cabinet Rajai was supposed to name yesterday. Later, Rajai met with Ayatollah Khomeini to discuss Iran's problems, including the cabinet.

Khomeini told an audience that his doctors told him to stop making speeches and cut down on his public appearance. Khomeini also said that the nation's press should publicize Islamic principles and "spread divine ethics," which would help in the general purification of the Iranian society.

The Governor-General of Bushehr province closed all ports in the Persian Gulf province and banned ships from leaving "for security reasons." No other explanation was offered.

Iraqi and Iranian troops clashed again near Qasr-e Shirin. Reuters and Tehran radio reported that the Iranian forces used ground-to-ground missiles in the confrontation; the missiles were described as small battlefield missiles, the first time such weapons have been used in the Iraqi-Iranian border conflict.

Tehran radio reported more fighting between Government forces and Kurdish rebels in West Azarbaijan.

Prime Minister Rajai responded to a congratulatory telegram from Afghan leader Babrak Karmal by saying that Iran expected to see the day when the Afghan people would chose their own Government without the interference of a "foreign power," obviously meaning the Soviet Union.

AUGUST 28, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Majlis member Abdolhusayn Jalali of Neyshabur said it was not in Iran's interest to continue to hold the hostages, and that the Majlis should debate the fate of the hostages and decide quickly on what is to be done with them.

Finance Minister Ahmad Salimi said it was time to resolve the hostage issue.

A British court sentenced 52 Iranian students arrested during the anti-American demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy in London to be deported. The deportations will begin next week and will be carried out over the next two months. The Iranian students said they would not appeal the decision.

The National Voice of Iran radio (clandestine, Soviet) broadcast a commentary condemning both an "American invasion plan" and Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh's alleged attempts to negotiate the release of the hostages. NVOI said Ghotbzadeh had met with U.S. officials to secure the release of the hostages and to plan the overthrow of the Iranian government.

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko replied to Ghotbzadeh's letter of Aug. 11, saying the Iranian Foreign Minister had misstated facts, had made baseless claims, and had used an undiplomatic tone not suitable for communications between sovereign states. Gromyko's letter, quoted over radio Moscow, reminded Ghotbzadeh that the Soviet Union prevented Germany from overrunning Iran in World War II and that the Soviet presence prevented the United States from invading Iran and crushing the revolution.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary concerning the Arab nations foreign ministers meeting taking place in Saudi Arabia, saying that Egypt, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia were cooperating to create special police forces to keep order and stop Islamic revivals in their countries. Tehran radio said the three Arab states were planning a "reprisal" against Iran. The commentator said Iran should take an "offensive military posture" against Iraq and should begin "offensive political moves" against the other states, which the commentator said were working with the United States in planning an invasion of Iran.

The Majlis confirmed the credentials of Ahmad Salamatian, who had been charged by an IRP member with associating with Marxists and cooperating with SAVAK. Salamatian is a confidant of Bani Sadr. His "victory" in the Majlis was seen as a vindication of Bani Sadr and a setback for the fundamentalists.

Ayatollah Khomeini told a group of Iranian students that he should not be speaking to them because of his health. Tehran radio broadcast an appeal to the people to stay away from Khomeini's house in order to protect his health. The radio offered an endorsement of sorts for Ayatollah Montazari by calling him the "true follower of the leader" and saying the people should obey his plea not to bother Khomeini. Montazari is favored by the IRP and the fundamentalists to succeed Khomeini as the "guide" to the revolution.

Seven men were executed for their roles in the July 10 coup attempt. Amnesty International estimated that 80 people involved in the so-called coup have been executed since July, and that more than 1,000 have been executed since January 1979, when Khomeini came to power.

AUGUST 29, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Iran's President Abolhassan Bani Sadr told the Paris daily Le Matin that holding the hostages made Iran a hostage of the United States. Bani Sadr said Iran must break its dependence on the United States and cannot do so until there are no more ties between the U.S. and Iran, including the hostages. Bani Sadr also said the U.S. plans to invade Iran.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani told the Pars news agency that the Majlis is a legislative body and cannot decide to try the Majlis members whose credentials are rejected, but added that the Majlis may make recommendations to the judicial authorities. (If applied to the American hostages, Rafsanjani's comment would suggest that the Majlis cannot decide to try the hostages either, but would recommend that the judicial authorities hold such trials. In the past, Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the Supreme Court, has said that a hostage trial would be conducted by the court and not by the Majlis.) Rafsanjani also told the Pars correspondent that there were only two Majlis members' credentials left to examine, which should be finished by the end of the week (presumably the week ending Sept. 5, which means the Majlis could not address the hostage issue until the following week at the earliest). But then the Speaker of the Majlis said that it may be unconstitutional for the Majlis to act without filling the vacant seats. (Some 30 seats from Kurdish areas were not filled because of the fighting there and several seats have been vacated because the Majlis rejected the credentials of those elected.) The Speaker also said that the Council of Guardians would decide when the elections should be held to fill the vacancies. (It is possible that the Majlis will not address the hostage issue until all the Majlis members have been elected, which could take several months.) Then, Rafsanjani said that the hostage issue should be discussed by the Majlis at the first opportunity.

Ayatollah Montazari told the Friday audience in Qom that the United States would be defeated if it tried to invade Iran. Montazari criticized the Ministry of National Guidance and the Foreign Ministry for not taking action against foreign propaganda aimed at Iran.

A Tehran radio commentary said the CIA, Mossad (the Israeli intelligence service), and other intelligence agencies used religious groups in Iran, such as the Anglican church, to contact dissident army officers and tribal leaders to try to overthrow the Iranian government. The commentator said placing the American hostages on trial would disgrace the United States in the eyes of the world, and then criticized the Iranian Foreign Ministry for opposing a trial.

In reporting the British trial of the Iranian students, Tehran radio said the Iranians were charged with being "anti-American" and living an Islamic life and following Khomeini.

Eleven were executed for involvement in the July 10 coup. Five others were executed for other crimes. Three Iranian army generals were arrested for their cooperation with the Shah. Two of the generals were turned over to the Revolutionary Court for trial.

Tehran radio reported more fighting between Iranian and Iraqi forces near Qasr-e Shirin.

AUGUST 30, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Bani Sadr told the Tehran Times, the English-language daily, that the hostages made Iran a hostage to the United States (repeating his statement to Le Matin yesterday). The President supported Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh's statement that the hostages should be released, but criticized Ghotbzadeh for not saying so earlier. Bani Sadr said the use of "brutal force" to ensure

internal order was wrong and not better than the practices used by the Shah. The law must be applied as it is written, and not as people choose to interpret it, said the President.

Finance Minister Reza Salimi said AFP misquoted him on Aug. 28 on the need to release the hostages. What he really said was that it was time to decide the fate of the hostages.

The Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission began drafting a reply to the letter from 187 U.S. Congressmen.

After his weekly meeting with the president, army chief of staff General Fallahi said the 1,800 U.S. Marines recently posted to the Indian Ocean were no threat to Iran as long as they remained at sea. Fallahi said the U.S. force was part of a larger plan to attack Iran, which included the Iraqi attacks on Iranian border posts.

Iraqi and Iranian forces exchanged artillery fire at Qasr-e Shirin for the eighth day in a row.

The Revolutionary Guards began a drive on Mahabad, in the Kurdish area. According to Reuters, the battle for Mahabad appeared to be the climax of the government's attempt to end the Kurdish rebellion now in its fourth month. Mahabad is the last urban stronghold of the Kurds.

Bani Sadr said he would introduce the new cabinet to the Majlis on Aug. 31.

AUGUST 31, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Tehran radio reported that a religious procession in the northeastern town of Mashhad began from "a place where several of the American spies are kept." Mashhad was one of the 16 cities named after the Apr. 24 rescue attempt at locations for hostages.

The Algerian charge d'affaires met with Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani, according to Tehran radio, to present two messages, one from the Algerian government and one from a "U.S. Harvard University professor," both dealing with "solving the hostage issue."

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said he would read the draft reply to the 187 U.S. members of Congress to the Majlis on Sept. 1. The reply was drafted by the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission.

Reuters reported that another British citizen, Mr. Andrew Martin Pyke, had been arrested in Tehran for spying. Pyke was working for a helicopter service company. Iranian authorities released Tony Allaway, the London Times correspondent arrested last month. Still in custody are Jean Waddell, John Coleman, and Audrey Coleman, all connected with the Anglican church.

Prime Minister Rajai sent a letter to the Majlis introducing his cabinet. The Majlis will begin considering its vote of confidence in the cabinet on Sept. 2. President Bani Sadr told the Islamic Revolution newspaper that he did not approve the cabinet. Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani was named Minister of Interior, which controls the Iranian police. Husayn Musavi, the editor of Islamic Republic, the IRP newspaper, was named Foreign Minister. No Defense Minister was named. Rajai will be the Education Minister as well as Prime Minister.

**CONTINUED**

**3 OF 5**

SEPTEMBER 1, 1980 -- MONDAY

The Swiss charge d'affaires in Tehran delivered a letter from Secretary of State Muskie to Prime Minister Rajai. Rajai said he would respond to the letter soon. According to the New York Times, Muskie asked for an early release of the hostages, now that the Majlis has been formed, a Prime Minister named, and a cabinet announced. The Department of State acknowledged that the letter had been delivered, but did not disclose the contents.

The Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission response to the letter from 197 Members of Congress was read to the Majlis. According to Reuters, the response said the United States should return the Shah's wealth to Iran, the United States should acknowledge its role in supporting the Shah, and the United States should compensate Iran for the "material and spiritual losses" suffered by the Iranian people under the Shah. Such steps, said the reply, would "prepare the ground for a resolution of the crisis."

Ettelaat newspaper editorialized that the release of the hostages would not end Iran's political isolation, and that the Majlis should take up the hostage issue as soon as the cabinet is formed because the economic sanctions were causing "severe pressure" on Iran.

Radio Tehran broadcast a commentary opposing those who hold the opinion that seizing the hostages was a mistake or that the hostages should be released. The commentator said the Nov. 4 seizure was good for Iran because it stopped the provisional government of Mehdi Bazargan from "turning toward the West." The hostage seizure, according to Tehran radio, prevented the revolution from being diverted from its correct path and triggered a second-stage revolution that broke U.S. "colonial" dominance over Iran. The hostages are Iran's "only weapons" against the "treacheries and crimes" of the United States and should be placed on trial, said the commentator.

The Iran Central Bank took possession of all jewelry and gold from the Shah's palaces, apparently to use as backing for the Iranian currency.

The public prosecutor of Khuzistan province banned all marches and demonstrations in Masjid-e Sulayman, the city in the heart of the oil producing area, because of "suspicious movements." The prosecutor did not explain what the "suspicious movements" were.

The Revolutionary Guards issued a warning against mass emigration of Jews under the guise of package tours sponsored by travel agents.

The Prosecutor General of Iran closed the Tudeh Party publishing houses and ordered Tudeh officials to report to his office within 48 hours to explain a series of articles that appeared in Mardom, the party newspaper.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1980 -- TUESDAY

A State Department spokesman said the United States would be willing to discuss Iran's grievances against the United States, but that the United States would not apologize to Iran for friendship with the Shah and would not return the Shah's wealth. Iran is free to follow normal court procedures to claim the Shah's assets, the spokesman said. When asked to confirm a rumor that Secretary of State Muskie, in his letter to Prime Minister Rajai delivered yesterday, offered to travel to Tehran to negotiate with the Iranian government, the State Department spokesman said he would not discuss the contents of the letter.

The Islamic Republic Party newspaper Islamic Republic commented that the "path would be open" to resolving the crisis if the United States returned the Shah's assets.

The Soviet news agency Tass quoted Oil Minister Muinfar as saying that the U.S. economic sanctions against Iran had failed. Muinfar, according to Tass, said Iran cut back its oil production as part of a conservation program and not because of a shortage of spare parts or lack of foreign technicians.

After another late-night meeting, which included President Bani Sadr, Prime Minister Rajai, Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani, Council of Guardian member Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani, Prosecutor General Ayatollah Ardabili, Ayatollah Muhammad Yazdi, Ayatollah Muhi al-Din Anvari, and Ali Akbar Parvaresh, Rajai said an agreement had been reached on the formation of the cabinet and its policies. Later, Rajai announced the government's program to the Majlis, which included a just distribution of wealth, priority for rural and "backward" areas, participation in government by the people through Islamic councils, decentralized government with more authority resting in the provincial governments, continuation of the cultural revolution, industrial and agricultural self-sufficiency, and just educational opportunities. Rajai said Iran's defense would be based on the "consolidation of the security pillars on the bases of enlightenment and guidance as well as on military and security organs." The Prime Minister said Iran would stress relations with Asia, Africa, and Latin America, would support liberation movements of oppressed peoples, and would support the "struggle for the liberation of Jerusalem and against zionism."

Reuters quoted Bani Sadr as saying that the cabinet was young, inexperienced, and unfit for office.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The Tehran newspaper Ettelaat reported that a collection of "spy documents" captured during the seizure of the U.S. Embassy would be published soon.

Ettelaat also quoted Ayatollah Musavi Khoini, who is closely associated with the "students" holding the hostages, as saying that "our struggle with the United States will continue even if we are restored the assets of the defunct Shah." Khoini said that Iran wanted more from the United States than just the Shah's wealth, but did not go into details, according to Ettelaat.



Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the supreme court and a power in the Islamic Republic Party which controls the Majlis, said the reports of an impending U.S. invasion of Iran were only a form of U.S. political pressure against Iran.

Le Matin of Paris published an interview with President Bani Sadr in which he said that trying and sentencing the hostages would "enable the United States to intervene in Iran for a long time to come" and that holding the hostages deprives Iran of "international opportunities." Bani Sadr said the United States would act against Iran if "one hostage is sentenced to death." The president believes the United States is "prepared to sacrifice 50 people if this saves the entire system.... It is the United States which created the hostage problem and which is still preventing its solution," the president said. Le Matin quoted Bani Sadr as saying that a U.S. "nuclear" ship had entered the Persian Gulf and was threatening Iran. On domestic Iranian issues, Bani Sadr told Le Matin that Iran is divided into two camps, a conservative group that wants to preserve the existing social order and which would restore the "old regime" without the Shah, and a group that wants to institute fundamental changes in Iranian society. Bani Sadr said he was in favor of changes and had fought against the conservatives in the Revolutionary Council to nationalize the banks, increase foreign trade, develop industry, start an agrarian reform program, and increase workers' wages. The conservatives want to keep power for themselves while the president wants to give power to the people, Bani Sadr said.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary attacking Bani Sadr and other moderates, saying they wanted to release the hostages because they lacked the courage to confront the United States. According to the commentator, seizing the embassy provided the catalyst for getting rid of the provisional government of Mehdi Bazargan, which was "weak, lax, and liberal." The embassy seizures "exposed hirelings and spies" in the Iranian government, such as "government spokesman" (Ghotbzadeh) and the "governor of Khuzistan and commander of the navy" (Madani). The commentary implied that the embassy seizure had been planned as a way to rid Iran of the Bazargan government and start the "second phase of the revolution."

Tehran radio announced that the "Islamic Revolution Prosecutor-General" had cancelled all previous orders, which included warrants for arrest, bans on demonstrations, indictments, and summons to appear in court. The radio announcement did not explain further what the action would mean or why it had been issued.

Four more men charged with taking part in the abortive coup of July were executed in Ahwaz.

According to Iranian news sources, Iraqi and Iranian forces exchanged artillery fire at Qasr-e Shirin.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Ayatollah Rafsanjani read a letter to the Majlis from one of the Iranian students detained in Britain for demonstrating at the U.S. Embassy in which the student asked the Majlis to delay its consideration of the American hostage issue until all Iranian students had been released from British, American, and other jails. Rafsanjani warned Britain to stop its "biased"

treatment of the Iranian students or Iran and "our friends in Muslim and non-Muslim countries" would take "appropriate diplomatic action" against Britain.

Tehran radio repeated its claim that Iraq was cooperating with the CIA, Israeli intelligence, and Egyptian and Israeli military personnel to train an army to invade Iran.

Moscow radio broadcast a report in Parsi (Persian) that the United States was preparing an attack on Iran under the guise of trying to free the hostages.

Another Soviet radio commentary criticized Iranian newspapers for repeating a story that appeared in the Sunday Times of London on Aug. 31 that the Soviet Union had transferred 70,000 Tajiks to train Iranian leftists. The Tajiks of Central Asia speak Parsi, are Muslims, and are racially related to the Iranians.

The National Voice of Iran radio (clandestine, Soviet) accused France of training "fugitives" to overthrow the Khomeini regime, and said Iran should ask France to extradite Shahpur Bakhtiar and Golan Ali Oveysi, the leaders of the "counterrevolutionaries."

Baghdad radio said the Iranian leaders were fomenting the Iran-Iraq border skirmishes to divert the Iranian people's attention away from the lack of progress at solving any of Iran's domestic problems.

The Iranian newspaper Ettelaat reported that Iran had repeated its request to the Soviet Union to stop supplying arms to Iraq. Another newspaper, Engalab-e Islami (Islamic Revolution), reported that the Soviet Union had offered arms to Iran but Iran had rejected the offer.

The Iranian army reported that it had responded to an Iraqi attack against Iranian border posts at Qasr-e Shirin and Naft-e Shah by shelling an Iraqi post at Khanaqin.

Oil Minister Muinfar told the press that Iran could raise its oil production to pre-revolution levels (about 5 million barrels per day) if it wanted to, but that current levels (2 million barrels per day, according to Muinfar) were sufficient to furnish Iran's foreign exchange needs. Muinfar told correspondents on Sept. 1 that there was a shortage of spare parts for the oil industry, but in the news conference today said there was no shortage of spare parts.

About one year ago, Ayatollah Khomeini sent Ayatollah Husayn Nuri to all Iranian embassies overseas to root out "reactionaries" and stop the corruption of Iranian diplomats. Today, the Foreign Ministry charged that Ayatollah Nuri had lived "extravagantly" in the best hotels during his investigations of the embassies. Nuri denied the charge, and said he had a list of "first-quality cars, palaces, and carpets" owned by Iranian diplomats and a report on their "lavish" living standards.

Nine people were executed, six of them for setting the Rex Theatre fire in Abadan on Aug. 20, 1978, which killed 430 people. The Rex fire became a symbol for the revolution that overthrew the Shah six months later.



SEPTEMBER 5, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Keyhan, the Tehran daily newspaper, published the text of the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission reply to the letter of the 187 Members of the U.S. Congress. The Foreign Affairs Commission said it was aware of the "crisis" in the U.S. Government caused by the seizure of the U.S. Embassy and the "world crisis" caused by the Iranian "defeat" of the United States, which the committee said was worse than the U.S. "defeat" suffered in Vietnam. The solution to the hostage issue, said the Foreign Affairs Commission, was up to the U.S. Government. The Commission said the United States should accept responsibility for the "deeds of the Shah's regime," should acknowledge that it participated in those "deeds," and agree to assume "liability for damages to life, wealth, and property" suffered by the Iranian people. The Congress should investigate the past deeds of the U.S. Government and the "legitimate claims" of Iran as a first step toward reducing the danger of the crisis, which the Commission said could "blow up" the Middle East. The Commission also said that it had "evidence" that the United States was planning another intervention in Iran.

Iran repeated its request to the Soviet Union to close the Rasht consulate and reopen the Isfahan consulate.

In an interview, General Fallahi, head of the Iranian army, said that Iraq may invade Iran. Fallahi said Iran attacked Iraqi border posts yesterday to counter an Iraqi attack on Iranian posts. Radio Baghdad said Iran initiated the attack.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The "students" holding the American hostages issued a statement which said that the hostage issue should be resolved by the Majlis.

The Majlis' Foreign Affairs Commission said the whole Majlis, and not just the Commission, should investigate the hostage issue.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told AFP that the United States should free Iranian assets, drop all claims against Iranian assets, renounce U.S. actions against Iran made before the International Court of Justice, offer guarantees on a fair judgment for the disposal of the Shah's property in the United States, restore the Shah's family holdings to Iran, end the economic blockade of Iran, and admit "previous interventions" in Iran. Ghotbzadeh told AFP that he had information that Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan was "trying to block a solution" to the hostage crisis. Ghotbzadeh called the British "barbarians" for the way they treated the Iranian students arrested for demonstrating at the U.S. Embassy in London and said the British are "not truly civilized."

Foreign Minister-designate Husayn Musavi told a Tehran University audience that the new cabinet's first task was to eliminate the values imposed on Iran by the "great powers." Musavi criticized those Iranians who said the success of the new government would depend upon a quick release of the hostages and denied that he would advocate release.

Tehran radio reported that "evidence was discovered" that the Vatican was

cooperating with the United States and the United Kingdom in spying on Iran.

Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh announced that he would sue former Iranian ambassador to Paris Amir Alai and the Paris daily newspaper Le Monde for printing Alai's statement that Ghotbzadeh received a \$1 million check from the United States for "services toward liberation of the American hostages." Supposedly, the check was mailed to Ghotbzadeh in care of the Iranian embassy in Paris. Ghotbzadeh said he would "love to have the check" which he said he would cash in the name of the Government of Iran.

The Iranian embassy in Moscow issued a statement criticizing Soviet news agencies for "slandering" Iranian government leaders.

The Kuwait News Agency (KUNA) reported that Bani Sadr said he felt duty-bound to remain in the Office of the President although he would like to quit. KUNA reported that Bani Sadr and Rajai reached an agreement on the cabinet after the Majlis threatened to summon Bani Sadr to explain his delay in approving the cabinet. KUNA also reported that Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said the cabinet was too young, too inexperienced, and did not have a program or a policy.

Iranian news sources reported that Bani Sadr and Rajai met to discuss the cabinet and that Bani Sadr accepted 15 of the 21 ministers named by Rajai.

Ayatollah Khalkhali escaped unhurt when his automobile was ambushed near the Caspian Sea. Khalkhali is the head of the anti-narcotics program.

Iraqi sources said Iran used tanks and artillery to bombard Iraqi border posts near Khanagah. An Iranian army spokesman said Iran retaliated for an earlier Iraqi attack.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The "students" at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran issued a statement cautioning forces outside the Majlis from trying to determine the fate of the hostages. (The "students" appear to be concerned that someone other than the Majlis will decide the fate of the hostages. In recent days, they have issued similar statements supporting the Majlis' jurisdiction over the hostages and rejecting the possibility that any other person or group, without naming the other group, should have a voice in the hostages' future.)

Oil Minister Muinfar said that if the economic sanctions were lifted, Iran would produce more oil and use the revenues to buy more foreign goods. Muinfar said current Iranian oil production was 1.7 million barrels per day, of which 1 million barrels per day were being exported (700,000 as crude and 300,000 as refined product).

According to the New York Times, former U.S. Ambassador to Iran William Sullivan states in an article to be published in Foreign Policy magazine that U.S. Presidential advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski urged the Shah to use force to stop the revolution in November 1979, while both Sullivan and the CIA advocated arranging a deal between the Iranian army and the Khomeini forces that would have kept the army intact and opened a contact between the United States and Khomeini. According to the Times, Sullivan recommended that the United States contact Khomeini while he was in Paris, but Brzezinski

overruled the recommendation and sent U.S. Army General Huyser to Tehran to convince the Iranian army to support Prime Minister Bakhtiar.

Pars news agency reported from London that four Iranian students would be deported on Sept. 9.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry complained about Soviet press treatment of Iran, and particularly about the Soviet press comments regarding Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh. In Moscow, Tass reported the story from Paris that Ghotbzadeh received \$1 million from the United States to help free the hostages. Tass said Ghotbzadeh was an agent of the U.S. Government.

President Bani Sadr said he approved 14 of the 20 ministers named by Prime Minister Rajai. Bani Sadr did not approve any of the finance or economic ministers. Rajai sent his list of 20 ministers to the Majlis, which included Col. Javad Fakuri as Defense Minister (left blank on the first list of Aug. 31), but did not name a Minister of Trade (which was included in the Aug. 31 list).

Tehran radio reported another joint military operation against the Kurds near Baneh and Sardasht.

Iranian military sources said Iranian artillery shelled Iraqi border posts near Qasr-e Shirin and shot down an Iraqi helicopter. The Iranian military said Iranian phantom jets and helicopters repulsed an Iraqi air attack along the border.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1980 -- MONDAY

The Iranian government commemorated "black Friday" with speeches and rallies. (On Sept. 8, 1978, Iranian armed forces, under direct command of the Shah, fired on anti-Shah crowds gathered in Shohada square in Tehran, killing several hundred of the demonstrators. The incident, called "black Friday" by the anti-Shah forces, triggered more anti-Shah demonstrations and became a rallying cry in the movement that led to the Shah's overthrow and the rise of the Khomeini regime.)

Tehran radio broadcast a report that unnamed groups planned to sabotage the rally at Shohada square. President Bani Sadr broadcast an appeal an hour later for the people to disregard the warning and to take part in the Shohada square rally.

In his speech to the Shohada square gathering, Ayatollah Khomeini, prayer leader at Tehran's largest mosque, said that the United States was "behind all the bloody tragedies" in Iran. Khomeini added that President Bani Sadr should approve the cabinet named by Prime Minister Rajai.

Bani Sadr, in his speech to the Shohada square gathering, said Iran's most important danger is the United States. Bani Sadr also attacked what he called a "minority group" which was trying to gain "absolute sovereignty" over Iran's government.

At the "black Friday" rally in Qom, Prime Minister Rajai read Secretary of State Muskie's letter (delivered to Rajai on Sept. 1 by the Swiss embassy), interspersed with Rajai's own comments on Muskie's statements. According to

the Prime Minister, Muskie said he hoped he could work with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister (Musavi) to search for a constructive solution to U.S.-Iranian problems, that the naming of the new Iranian government would provide the opportunity to open a new chapter in U.S.-Iranian relations. Rajai responded that no new relations with the United States are possible as long as Iranian students are being mistreated in the United States and as long as the United States continues to sponsor Iraqi attacks against Iran. Rajai quoted Muskie as saying that the United States believed no foreign powers should interfere with the rights of the Iranian people. Muskie appealed for the return of the hostages to their families. Rajai answered by calling for U.S. "repentance" for its past "sins" and a "confession" of those "sins." Rajai said Muskie offered "assurances of high respect" for Iranian independence, territorial integrity, and the principle of non-interference in Iranian affairs. Rajai rejected Muskie's "assurances" and said it was "too late" for such "guarantees." The Prime Minister quoted Muskie as saying that the United States was willing to discuss its problems with Iran as equals. Rajai responded that the United States and Iran could not be equals because the United States was at a "low ebb." Quoting the Muskie letter, Rajai said the United States wanted to open "regular channels of communication" either directly or through third parties, such as the Swiss and Algerian embassies. Rajai answered, "We do not compromise or make deals."

Radio Iran (clandestine, anti-Khomeini) said Iran "hired" four Soviet radio jamming experts to jam Radio Iran broadcasts, but the jamming had failed to stop the anti-Khomeini messages.

Ayatollah Khomeini issued an order to all military courts to report the names of any Iranian military personnel arrested to their commanding officers. The order also said the courts should not arrest soldiers without following proper procedures. The Ayatollah's order said trials should be secret and made public only if an accused is found guilty.

The Iranian army continued its "mopping up" against "counterrevolutionaries" near Sardasht (south of Mahabad, on the Iraqi border). Iran radio appealed for extra medical units to report to the Sardasht area of Kurdistan province and for other medical units to report to Ilam province (the Iraqi border region) and Khuzistan province (the oil-producing area with a large Arab population).

Tehran radio reported one early morning battle between Iraqi and Iranian forces near Qasr-e Shirin.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Reuters reported from Tehran that the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission recommended that the Majlis begin debate on the hostage issue on Saturday, Sept. 13.

Ayatollah Musavi Khoini, Deputy Speaker of the Majlis, said releasing the hostages would not stop U.S. plans to "loot our oil and wealth." Musavi Khoini said releasing the hostages would be a sign of Iranian weakness and would encourage the United States to "make more demands."

The United Kingdom closed its Tehran embassy, and four of the five

remaining British diplomats left for London. One British diplomat will remain in the Swedish embassy to represent British interests. Britain did not break diplomatic relations with Iran. A Foreign Ministry spokesman in London said the embassy was closed and the diplomats withdrawn as a protective measure against a possible seizure.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary on the British embassy closure, saying that the British fear of their diplomats being taken hostage was only an excuse. The real reason for the British withdrawal, according to Tehran radio, was that the British were caught spying through the Anglican church. The commentator said the British had incited Iranian crowds to seize the embassy and take the hostages on orders from the White House, in order to use the seizure for propaganda purposes, but the ploy had not worked.

Soviet radio reported, in Parsi (Persian), that the U.S. economic sanctions were part of an American plan to restore the monarchy in Iran with Reza, the late Shah's son, as the new Shah. The Soviet broadcast implied that the United States would invade Iran, citing as evidence the U.S. naval task force stationed in the Indian Ocean, the U.S. search for bases in the region, the creation of the rapid deployment force, the "fact" that the United States was training "mercenaries" in Egypt, and U.S. "support" for "counterrevolutionaries" fighting the Iranian government. The Soviet broadcast also said that President Carter had invited Farah, the late Shah's widow, to live in the United States. According to the Soviet radio, Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan sent "General Walters" to Europe to meet with Iranian emigres to promise full support for their anti-Khomeini movement, if Reagan is elected. The Soviet commentator said that it does not matter whether Reagan or Carter is elected, either one will support the overthrow of the Khomeini government and the restoration of the monarchy. The radio said the coup will take place on Oct. 31, 1980, Reza's 20th birthday.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said President Bani Sadr was "acting like the leader of an opposition group" in the President's speech yesterday. Rafsanjani, interviewed by Tehran radio, said the President's remarks against the fundamentalists would upset Ayatollah Khomeini, who has a bad heart. Rafsanjani added that "we cannot support a liberal government," implying that Bani Sadr wanted a liberal, not religious, government.

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the supreme court and leader of the Islamic Republic Party, said Bani Sadr should name the "minority group" he mentioned in his "black Friday" speech, and asked rhetorically if the President meant the Islamic Republic Party.

The Sharia magistrate (religious court judge) of Khuzistan province banned all political activity in the province because of the "possibility" of air attacks by the Iraqis. The magistrate said the Majlis would decide when and if political activity could resume in Khuzistan.

Four men were executed in Ahwaz for their roles in the July 10 coup attempt. Seven men, all Bahais, were executed in Yazd as spies. There were other reports that 21 other Bahais had been arrested in the past month and that other Bahais had been executed since July. Bahais are a universalist religious sect founded in 1844 in Iran, but who are not recognized as a religious minority by the Iranian government (Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians are recognized).

An Iranian army spokesman said an Iranian P-14 shot down an Iraqi MiG jet

fighter during an air battle near Qasr-e Shirin. Tehran radio reported that an Iraqi MiG was downed but said it was shot down by ground anti-aircraft fire. Tehran radio also said that an Iranian plane was downed by the Iraqis. Water and electric power were knocked out in the Qasr-e Shirin area because of a major tank and artillery battle between Iraqi and Iranian forces.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

The "students" issued a statement criticizing Iranians who believe that the American hostages and the embassy should not have been seized or who say that holding the hostages isolates Iran and causes economic problems.

A West German news agency interviewed Ayatollah Musavi Khoini, Deputy Speaker of the Majlis, in which he said the hostages should be "punished" for being spies and for United States crimes against Iran, such as the plundering of Iran's mineral wealth, destruction of Iran's agriculture, and involvement in the killing of "several thousand" Iranians. The hostages will be tried and punished, said Khoini, unless the United States makes reparations for the damages inflicted upon Iran. The hostages will be reprieved if the United States makes reparations. The hostage problem is not a priority issue for the Majlis, and the Majlis will wait until the United States acts on the reparations, said the Deputy Speaker. Asked if the hostages would be allowed to see their families, Khoini said that the United States complicates such visits because it "assaulted and abused" Iranian students in the United States and kept them "chained hand and foot." The Ayatollah said there would be no dialogue with the United States until the United States releases the frozen "\$20 billion" in Iranian assets, stops harassing Iranian students in the U.S., and drops the economic sanctions against Iran.

The Majlis approved Prime Minister Rajai's program and 14 cabinet members. (Rajai sent the first cabinet list to the Majlis on Aug. 31 and a revised list on Sept. 7.) Tehran radio reported the vote as 169 in favor of the cabinet and program, 14 against, and 10 abstentions. AFP reported the vote as 169-14-14. Rajai told the Majlis during its open session that there was "no hope" of an agreement between the Prime Minister and President Bani Sadr on the remaining seven cabinet members. Rajai also told the Majlis that he wanted to create a "Ministry of Directing Others to do what is Religiously Lawful and Avoid Deeds Which are Sinful," but could not decide if the Ministry should be under the Prime Minister and the Majlis or the religious leaders of Iran.

President Bani Sadr appointed Ali Akhbar Muinfar to head the Iranian delegation to the OPEC meeting scheduled for Sept. 15. Muinfar is a member of the Majlis and the Oil Minister in the present cabinet; his replacement in the Rajai cabinet was not one of the 14 ministers confirmed today.

Ayatollah Goldpaygani sent a telegram to Ayatollah Khomeini asking him to intervene in the Iranian domestic political quarrels or the revolution would be "seriously threatened."

An Armenian bishop from north Iran met with Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani to ask for aid for Armenian schools and to discount rumors that Armenians were fleeing Iran. Rafsanjani repeated the government's position that religious minorities were protected in Iran.

Seven men were executed for treason, corruption, and other crimes.

The Revolutionary Guards announced that the "counterrevolutionaries" were fleeing Sardasht and that the Guards were in control of the area. Tehran radio reported another battle between government forces and "bandits" near Kharasht and a "bandit" ambush of a government convoy near Nagadeh.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn told the Iraqi cabinet that Iraq would regain "every inch of Iraqi soil usurped by the Persians." Husayn said Iraq did not want war with Iran and did not covet any Iranian territory. The Baath Party newspaper al-Thawrah said the Iraqi government submitted a memorandum to the Iranian government requesting that Iran withdraw from 76 square kilometers (29 sq.mi.), that Iran was supposed to return under the 1975 Algiers agreement on boundaries. Al-Thawrah reported that Iraq "launched an operation" to regain the territory. The Iranian Foreign Ministry denied the Iraqi claim to the territory, stating that the territory in question had been given to Iraq in 1975. Meanwhile the fighting between Iraqi and Iranian forces continued, with the Iranians claiming to have shot down four Iraqi MiG's and four Iraqi helicopters in "recent days." Tehran radio said Iranian F-4's bombed Iraqi tank and artillery concentrations near Qasr-e Shirin.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The "students" issued another statement recalling that Ayatollah Khomeini had approved the seizure of the American embassy and hostages and had stated Iranian demands that the Shah and his wealth be returned in exchange for the release of the hostages. The "students" said they will "continue on the Imam's path" and criticized those who did not follow Khomeini and said that seizing and holding the hostages was a mistake or that Iran was isolated from the world because it continued to hold the hostages. The statement ended with a warning that the "students" will "take action" if the United States uses military force against Iran.

In a speech to Prime Minister Rajai and 10 of the 14 cabinet members approved thus far, Khomeini told Iran's leaders to give up their selfish ways, stop arguing among themselves over government positions, and begin acting on behalf of the people. Khomeini said that if the bickering continues, the Iranian people may overthrow the government.

In an appeal for unity, Ayatollah Montazari reminded Iranians that "60 or 70,000 died, and 100,000 were wounded" in the revolution. Montazari said the economy was crippled, Iran was at war with Iraq, universities were closed, and factories were closed because of a lack of materials caused by the U.S. economic blockade. With all these problems, Montazari said, Iranians should not be involved in petty differences. Montazari then criticized Bani Sadr for the Sept. 8 speech, saying the President suffered from "suspicions." Bani Sadr should avoid anything that brings despair to the nation, Montazari said, and should follow the will of the Majlis.

The Revolutionary Guard commander issued a statement criticizing Bani Sadr's Sept. 8 speech.

Ayatollah Khalkhali, head of the anti-narcotics program and previously head of the Islamic court that executed hundreds after the revolution, said

Bani Sadr was "sowing discord" by making his complaints public.

Bani Sadr said he will remain President and will not resign.

Iraq claimed to have shot down two Iranian planes. Iran claimed to have shot down another Iraqi MiG, bringing the total to six in the "past few days."

APP reported that PLO head Yasir Arafat will try to mediate the Iraqi-Iranian dispute.

India announced that the Iranian delegation to the OPEC meeting in Vienna on Sept. 15 will seek concessional prices for Indian oil purchases.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1980 -- FRIDAY

In a statement announced over Tehran radio, Ayatollah Khomeini said that if the Shah's wealth is returned to Iran, if all financial claims against Iran are cancelled, if the United States offers a guarantee of no military or political intervention in Iranian affairs, and if the freeze on Iranian assets is dropped, "the hostages will be set free." Khomeini then said it was the duty of the Majlis to decide on a course of action for the hostages that will be beneficial to Iranian interests. Khomeini said the hostages had been treated well but that the United States had lied about their treatment, and Iranian students in the U.S. and Britain had been tortured and insulted.

(Note: Khomeini's statement listing the four conditions for the release of the hostages was a first; conditions for a hostage release had been set by the "students", the Foreign Minister, the President, and others, but not by the Ayatollah. Khomeini had endorsed the original "student" demand for a return of the Shah and his wealth. It appeared as though Khomeini was also telling the Majlis that their "decision" should follow his suggestion. The "students" said after Khomeini's radio broadcast that the conditions were the "minimum" demands and that they would obey the Majlis and the Ayatollah and release the hostages if the United States accepts Khomeini's conditions. Additional conditions mentioned in the past by others have included an "apology" for U.S. involvement with the Shah, "repentance" for past "sins," reparations for "damages" and losses suffered by the Iranian people during the Shah's reign, ending the economic sanctions (which may be included in the Ayatollah's conditions of unfreezing the assets or ending political interference), providing spare parts for Iranian military and industrial institutions, repudiating the International Court of Justice decision against Iran, recognizing Iran's neutrality, extraditing Bakhtiar, Oveysi, and other anti-Khomeini expatriates, and extraditing the Shah (obviously moot since his death on July 27) and members of the Shah's family to stand trial in Iran.)

In response to the Khomeini statement, President Carter said the United States would remain cautious and would watch events in Iran to see what develops. A State Department spokesman also cautioned against expecting too much, and recalled that Iranian actions had raised false hopes in the past, such as the UN commission visit in Feb. 1980 or the Christmas and Easter visits by clergymen.

In his statement, Khomeini also castigated the United States for sending "spies and traitors" into Iran to create internal disputes, for launching a

propaganda campaign against Iran which charged that the Iranian government was unable to govern the country, and for "forcing" one of its "pawns" (meaning al-Sadat of Egypt) to divide the Islamic world by declaring that Khomeini was a heretic. Khomeini said that Iran was almost self-sufficient in agriculture, suggesting that the economic sanctions had failed, that the Iranian army was able to defend the country, and that U.S. plans to invade Iran would fail. Khomeini said Iran was "at war" with the United States and would rather die than live in disgrace at the hands of the United States.

Iraq said that an Iranian attack against the Iraqi positions "liberated on Sept. 10" had failed, and that an Iranian F-4 Phantom had been shot down, four Iranian tanks destroyed, and two other Iranian tanks captured. (The "liberated" territory referred to the 29-sq.-mi. border enclave claimed by Iraq and seized in the Sept. 10 battle.) Iranian sources said 200 Iraqi tanks had tried and failed to penetrate Iranian lines, and that Iranian tanks and planes had attacked Iraqi military posts on the Iraqi side of the border.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The Algerian ambassador in Tehran delivered a letter from the families of the hostages to Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani. Contents of the letter were not divulged.

Reuters new service quoted a Majlis source as saying that the Majlis may add conditions to the four listed by Ayatollah Khomeini yesterday. The source, according to Reuters, said the Majlis probably would ask for an American apology for its involvement with the Shah, and added that that "we already compromised because we did not ask for a trial." (It was not clear whether the "we" was the Iranian nation, the Majlis, the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission, the religious leaders, the government, or someone else, but in context appeared to refer to the Majlis and may suggest that the Majlis had agreed not to seek a trial of the hostages.)

Hasan Ayat, IRP leader and associate of Ayatollah Boheshti, said Khomeini's statement did not change anything, that a trial of the hostages had not been ruled out. AFP quoted Ayat as saying that if the United States satisfied the conditions set by Khomeini, the United States also would have satisfied Prime Minister Rajai's call for "repentance."

The Islamic Revolution newspaper, which frequently supports Bani Sadr and secularist positions, printed a letter former Minister Ghotbzadeh sent to the Majlis "last month" in which Ghotbzadeh said "only a handful" of the 52 American hostages "can be proven to be spies." Between 3 and 11 of the hostages are spies and the rest are "ordinary employees" or Americans caught in the embassy while getting their visas renewed, Ghotbzadeh said. All hostages should be released by the end of September, Ghotbzadeh told the Majlis, so that their continued detention will not "encourage the election of Ronald Reagan." According to the newspaper, Ghotbzadeh told the Majlis that an American guarantee of no further intervention in Iranian affairs was "useless," because if holding hostages prevented intervention, all nations would seize American diplomats as hostages.

Pars new agency reported that Iran told the Soviet Union to close the Rasht consulate by Sept. 20. (On Sept. 5, the Iranian Foreign Ministry said the Soviets had 48 hours to close the consulate.)

Iraq reported more battles in the Qasr-e Shirin area, and claimed to have shot down two Iranian F-4 Phantoms, destroyed three Iranian tanks and one armored personnel carrier, and captured one tank. Iran claimed to have destroyed an Iraqi border post, downed two Iraqi helicopters, and destroyed five Iraqi tanks. There was also an Iraqi-Iranian clash along the border in Khuzistan province, to the south of the Qasr-e Shirin fighting. Iran claimed to have recaptured the territory seized by Iraq on Sept. 10. The helicopter carrying Bani Sadr and Rajai on an inspection of the border area was attacked by Iraqi planes, according to Tehran radio, but there was no damage.

Former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar said in Paris that he was not involved in a plan to overthrow the Iranian government or to establish a government-in-exile with Crown Prince Reza at its head.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The Foreign Affairs Commission recommended that the Majlis discuss the hostage issue in open session. (In Iran, various factions have been arguing over the best way to address the hostage question: appoint a special Majlis committee to study the matter and report back to the Majlis, debate the hostages in open session of the Majlis, debate the issue in a closed session of the Majlis or entrust the issue to the Iranian Foreign Affairs Commission.) Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said an open debate on the Commission's recommendation would begin on Tuesday, Sept. 16. Meanwhile, the Majlis discussed the reply to the letter sent to the Majlis by 187 U.S. Congressmen, and sent the reply back to the Commission for further refinements. The reply will be sent to the U.S. Congress as soon as the Commission completes the rewriting. Rafsanjani said he expected the Congress to publish the reply so that the American people could understand Iran's viewpoint. Failure to publish the reply, Rafsanjani said, would be an act of bad faith on the part of the Congress.

The Swiss ambassador delivered a letter from two Members of the U.S. Congress to Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani. The Washington Post said the letter was from Representatives Lee Hamilton and Benjamin Gilman seeking better communications between the U.S. and Iran. Later, the Swedish ambassador met with Rafsanjani to discuss the hostages and other issues.

Iran sent an envoy to London to protest the deportation of Iranian students arrested for demonstrating at the U.S. embassy. Twenty Iranian protestors have been deported from the United Kingdom thus far.

The president of the Islamic revolutionary court of the Iranian army issued an order declaring all previous orders issued by the court on arrests and detentions to be null and void.

General Fallahi, head of Iran's army, said Iran did not recognize the 1975 Algiers agreement on the Iraq-Iran border, that Iran would not concede any territory to Iraq, and that Iran would regain the territory seized by Iraq in the recent fighting. (A series of agreements between Iraq and Iran, beginning at the turn of the century, has delineated the borders, but the controversy between the two nations had continued, often degenerating into warfare. At the OPEC meeting in Algiers in 1975, Iraqi and Iranian foreign ministers announced their acceptance of a compromise on the borders. General

Fallahi's statement appears to repudiate that agreement.) Meanwhile, fighting between Iraq and Iran spread southward along the border to the Basra area, where Iraq claimed the Iranians used ships in the Shatt al-Arab (the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers) to shell Iraqi positions. In the north at Qasr-e Shirin (the Iraqis call the area Zayn al-Qaws), Pars news agency said two Iraqi MiGs were shot down, bringing the total to nine MiGs destroyed in "recent days." Pars denied the story yesterday that the helicopter carrying Bani Sadr and Rajai was attacked by an Iraqi plane.

The Egyptian Foreign Minister denied Iranian reports that Egyptian soldiers were fighting for Iraq in the border war with Iran.

A report from Delhi, India, said the PLO was mediating the Iraq-Iran dispute.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1980 -- MONDAY

President Carter said in Texas that Khomeini's listing of conditions for release of the hostages "might lead to a resolution of this problem in the future." The President also said he would not discuss in public the conditions he would or would not accept, that such discussions should be limited to actual negotiations with the Iranians.

In Washington, Secretary of State Muskie was more cautious in his appraisal of the Khomeini conditions, and said Americans should not raise their hopes for a quick release of the hostages. Muskie repeated his previous statements that the United States was pursuing several channels in trying to open negotiations with Iran. Muskie denied a story in a Montreal newspaper that the United States had been negotiating with former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh through European intermediaries for the past three months.

Tehran radio said the letter from the hostages' families to the Majlis asked for a "face to face" meeting between the families and Iranian officials to discuss the fate of the hostages.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani told a press conference that the Majlis would add "more detail" to Khomeini's conditions and would "go further" in asking the United States to "condemn" its policy and actions in Iran during the reign of the Shah. Rafsanjani said the Majlis would seek an American apology. The Speaker said the Majlis would begin the discussion tomorrow of the Foreign Affairs Commission proposal for an open debate on the hostages. (The Iranian parliament will discuss how to handle the debate on the hostages, not the fate of the hostages themselves.) Rafsanjani repeated his earlier statement that he hoped the U.S. Congress would publish the Majlis reply to the congressional letter and would not "censor" it.

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) reported that the United States planned an October invasion of Iran for the purpose of freeing the hostages and installing a puppet government in Tehran.

At the the OPEC meeting in Vienna, Iran vetoed the election of Iraq to be chairman of the organization for the year. Algeria was elected chairman as a compromise.

Iraq claimed its forces sank one Iranian ship and set two others afire in the Shatt al-Arab estuary. Iran claimed that Iraqi gunboats fired on Iranian targets, but did not mention losing any ships. Iran claimed to have downed three Iraqi MiGs and destroyed four tanks along the border near Kermanshah. Iraq claimed to have destroyed an Iranian oil installation near Naft-e Shah.

Nine men were executed for their roles in the July coup attempt.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1980 -- TUESDAY

President Carter said there was "no prospect at this time for an early resolution" of the hostage problem. President Carter pointed out that Iran now had a government with which the United States could negotiate, rather than the several sources of authority in the past.

The Majlis voted to establish a special committee to study the hostage issue and make recommendations to the whole Majlis on what to do with the hostages. However, the Majlis did not decide how to form the committee, and will meet again to select one of the following methods: (1) elect the members of the special committee from among the Majlis members; (2) appoint the nine members of the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission to serve as the special committee; (3) appoint one member from each of the 28 Majlis Commissions; or (4) appoint the chairmen of the Foreign Affairs, Defense, Justice, Interior, and Economy Commissions, plus the Majlis Speaker and Deputy Speaker. Ayatollah Khomeini, the Deputy Speaker, said the Majlis must first decide what "line" it will follow in resolving the hostage issue, a "hard line" or some other "line" so that the special committee will know what to recommend to the Majlis.

Sadiq Ghotbzadeh, speaking as a "private citizen," although he is acting as the administrator of the Foreign Ministry until the cabinet is fully formed and approved, denied the story in La Presse of Montreal that he had been involved in secret negotiations with the United States for the past three months. Ghotbzadeh said Iran "has dropped the idea of a trial" for the hostages and that Khomeini's statement on conditions for a hostage release "broke the deadlock" on the hostage issue. The former Foreign Minister said he expected direct U.S.-Iran negotiations to begin after the Majlis acted on the hostage issue, and that he believed the hostages would be released before Nov. 4. Ghotbzadeh said he did not believe the hostages would be held "five or ten years." Ghotbzadeh said it would be a "disaster" if Reagan becomes President "because Reagan, supported by Kissinger, has no intention of solving" the hostage issue and "will block" a solution to the problem.

Moscow announced the signing of a transit agreement with Iran that will allow Iran to ship goods across Soviet territory.

Hani al-Hasan and Saad Sayil, leaders of al-Fatah, the Palestinian guerrilla organization, arrived in Tehran to mediate the Iran-Iraq dispute.

In the continuing border war between Iraq and Iran, Iraq claimed to have seized five Iranian border posts. Reuters reported that Iran lost 60 soldiers in the past 2 days of fighting. Reuters also reported that the Iranian leaders had decided to go on the offensive against Iraq. The Majlis Defense Commission requested that the press "observe security" requirements when reporting the fighting along the Iraqi border.

The Iranian navy completed a 5-day exercise in the Persian Gulf between the Strait of Hormuz and Lavan Island. Navy officials announced another exercise for the last week in September and first week in October.

The gas pipeline between Agha Jari and Abadan was sabotaged; the fire burned for 8 hours.

Two men were executed at Evin prison for their roles in the July 10 coup attempt.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Iran's President Bani Sadr told the French news agency, AFP, that the United States had accepted the principle of a commission of inquiry to look into U.S.-Iranian relations. Bani Sadr told AFP that the U.S. acceptance of the inquiry commission should satisfy Iranian demands for an investigation of U.S. "crimes." AFP said Bani Sadr "hinted" that the Majlis would request a U.S. report on U.S. activities in Iran. The President said the U.S. message came through the Swiss Ambassador in Tehran, who has represented U.S. interests since the U.S. broke diplomatic relations on Apr. 7, 1980. Bani Sadr told AFP that the hostages would not be released before the start of negotiations.

(It was not clear from Bani Sadr's comments to AFP whether the United States had accepted a new proposal on a new commission of inquiry or had reaffirmed an acceptance that dates back to Feb. 1980, when the UN-sponsored commission went to Iran, or whether Bani Sadr was recalling the previous U.S. acceptance of the commission and not suggesting that any new negotiations were underway. The "commission of inquiry" mentioned by Bani Sadr could be the commission called for in the Majlis yesterday or it could be an international commission similar to the UN-sponsored commission.)

A State Department spokesman said the United States agreed to "an international airing of Iran's grievances" against the United States in the "context of the release of the hostages." The State Department spokesman said the U.S. position was not new, and had been made known to the Iranian government publically and privately in the past 3 months.

(The State Department comment on the commission of inquiry did not clarify whether the commission in question is the international commission of February 1980 or a new commission currently under negotiations with Iran.)

Ayatollah Beheshti told a press conference that the special committee to be appointed by the Majlis would work out details on how to resolve the hostage issue. Beheshti said a Majlis debate on the hostages would provide an opportunity to judge the United States on the evidence found in the U.S. Embassy. When asked how long the Majlis consideration of the hostage issue may take, Beheshti said "time is not a great matter."

Ayatollah Montazari, a member of the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission, said the Majlis will require an apology from the United States and that such a requirement would be included in the Majlis reply to the letter from the U.S. Congress which would be ready in "the next days."

The daily newspaper al-Watan of Kuwait reported that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat would travel to Tehran in the next couple of days to mediate the Iran-Iraq dispute. PLO representatives Hani al-Hasan and Saad Sayil met with Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani in preparation for the Arafat visit. Arafat will go on to Baghdad after his Tehran meetings, al-Watan reported.

Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani resigned from the Council for Defending the Constitution to devote full time to the Interior Ministry.

In a speech to the Parliament, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn said the 1975 Algiers agreement delineating the Iraq-Iran borders was abrogated. A spokesman from Iranian President Bani Sadr's office said that Husayn's statement was "an act of war" against Iran. Later, Bani Sadr admitted that Iran never honored the 1975 agreement and did not surrender territory to Iraq as called for in the agreement, but added that the Shah who signed the agreement did not honor it either. Bani Sadr said that ideally there should be no borders between Muslim states, but that the United States was encouraging Iraq to make an issue of the border dispute and launch attacks against Iran. Bani Sadr said he expected an Iraqi attack against Khuzistan province. Meanwhile, the Iraqis claimed to have held the territory seized on Sept. 10 against an Iranian attack. Iraq said it held 210 square kilometers of land seized from Iran.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1980 -- THURSDAY

In Iran, the Majlis began discussing the formation of the special committee that will study the hostage issue. Former Prime Minister Bazargan told the Majlis that when he told Ayatollah Khomeini that Iran needed American spare parts and American weapons, Khomeini answered that the Government of Iran must prepare Iranian public opinion before contacts with the United States could be reopened. Bazargan implied that Khomeini accepted the fact that sooner or later Iran would have to re-establish direct contacts with the United States and that the Majlis should accept the same position and not handle the hostage issue in a manner that would preclude renewed Iran-U.S. relations. Bazargan appeared to be the only Majlis member recommending a tempered approach to the hostage issue. Most other members called for a trial of the hostages. The Majlis was interrupted by Prime Minister Rajai and several generals and Defense Ministry officials who briefed the Majlis in closed session on the Iraqi border situation.

A Tehran radio commentary said that since the United States had rejected the first Iranian demand for the return of the Shah and his wealth before releasing the hostages, the demands would become more stringent. The commentator said Iran "will not release the hostages easily." The United States must change American policy toward Iran, return of all Iranian property and assets, offer repentance for past acts, promise not to repeat past acts, and meet "other demands," the commentator said, before Iran would "adopt a moderate policy toward the hostages."

Jumhuri-e Islami (Islamic Republic) newspaper, which reflects Islamic Republic Party views, said the Majlis decision on the hostages would be only "one step down a long path" of confrontation with "imperialism." In making its decision, the Majlis should consider that the United States cannot do anything to Iran or to the Islamic revolution, even if the United States invaded the country and conquered it, that releasing the hostages would not



end U.S. "hostility" toward Iran, that U.S. "oppression" of the world would continue until the "arch satan of the century" was broken, and that the Majlis had nothing to fear and should act without caring what the United States thinks or says. The Islamic Republic editorial also said that a U.S. guarantee not to interfere in Iranian affairs meant that the United States must withdraw its presence from the Indian Ocean. The newspaper said that President Carter should order U.S. banks to return all of Iran's assets the same way he ordered the assets frozen.

Sttelaat newspaper reported that Iranian Ambassador to Moscow Mukhri told the Soviet Union at the transit agreement signing that the Soviets should stop shipping arms to Iraq and should pay compensation to Iran for "damages inflicted on Iran as a result of previous stands."

Ali Akhbar Muinfar, Iran's delegate to the OPEC meeting in Vienna, said Iran had achieved a victory at the meeting by preventing Saudi Arabia and Iraq, both acting on orders from the United States, from lowering OPEC prices.

Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani resigned his position on the Council of Guardians to give full time to the Interior Ministry.

Fighting between the Kurds and government forces resumed near Mahabad.

In the border war between Iraq and Iran, Iraq claimed to have shot down two Iranian planes, one identified as an F-5, and to have captured an M-48 tank. Baghdad also reported that Iraq required all ships entering the Shatt al-Arab estuary to fly the Iraqi flag, use Iraqi pilots, and pay Iraqi fees. (In the past, ships carried pilots from either Iraq or Iran, depending upon their destination, but did not carry flags.) Iraq claimed that a Japanese tanker enroute to Basrah, flying an Iraqi flag with an Iraqi pilot, demonstrated Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab, and that an Iranian man-of-war fired on an Iraqi tanker. Iraq also claimed that Iranians fired at civilian aircraft flying over the Persian Gulf.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The Washington Post reported that a team of State Department analysts working since December 1979 had prepared a draft report describing U.S. involvement in Iranian affairs since World War II. According to the Post story, the report consists of a 100-page summary, a 500-page overview of U.S. involvement, and some 60,000 pages of documents. There are also smaller reports on specific issues or incidents such as the 1953 coup which overthrew the Mussadeq regime and restored the Shah to power, the Post reported. Sources told the Washington Post that the report will remain in the "draft" stage to avoid being made available to the public under the Freedom of Information Act, and might be used for drafting the "apology" and full disclosure of U.S.-Iranian relations demanded by the Iranians as a condition for the release of the hostages.

The State Department announced that a team of high-level Government officials had gone to Bonn, Paris, and London last week for discussions about Iran and Afghanistan. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Robert Caswell, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East-South Asian Affairs Harold Saunders, State Department Legal Advisor

Roberts Owens, and others met with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, but the State Department would not give details other than to deny that the Americans met with any Iranians.

In a letter to Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani, the "students" holding the U.S. hostages and embassy invited the 228 members of the Majlis to visit the embassy on Saturday, Sept. 20, to see the "evidence" of American "spying" in Iran. Rafsanjani accepted the invitation, but postponed the visit until Monday, Sept. 22. The Majlis members will go in two shifts, from 10 a.m. to noon, and from 5 to 7 p.m. A "student" spokesman would not say if there were American hostages at the embassy because the location of the hostages is supposed to be secret, but said that if there were hostages at the embassy the Majlis members would see them. (The Majlis is supposed to have 270 members, but 27 members were not elected because of disturbances in the Kurdish and Azerbaijani areas during the election, and another 15 members have been "unseated" because the Majlis did not accept their credentials.)

A six-man Soviet trade delegation arrived in Tehran to attend a trade exhibit and to discuss Soviet purchases of gas and oil.

The Iranian government announced that the Soviet consulate in Rasht would be closed on Sept. 20, Saturday. (The Rasht and Isfahan consulates have been the source of a continuing debate between the Soviets and the Iranians, the Iranians demanding that the U.S.S.R. close the Rasht office rather than the Soviet choice of closing the Isfahan consulate.)

In his Friday sermon in Qom, Ayatollah Montazari called for a student march on Sept. 23 to protest counterrevolutionaries and U.S. agents who are trying to disrupt the Iranian revolution. Montazari said the United States was behind the Sept. 12 coup in Turkey because the United States feared that the Islamic revolution would spread to Turkey.

The Iranian army claimed full control over the Kurdish areas in northwestern Iran after two days of fighting between "assailants" (Kurds) and the Iranian army.

Iran claimed to have destroyed 25 Iraqi tanks in the past two days along the Iraq-Iran border. Iranian army sources admitted losing two F-5 aircraft, but said it was not clear if they were shot down by the Iraqis or crashed because of mechanical failures. Iran said 70 Iraqi tanks attacked Iranian posts in Khuzistan province, and that the Iraqis were massing an army across the Shatt al-Arab from Abadan.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1980 -- SATURDAY

An unconfirmed report from Paris said PLO chairman Yasir Arafat was involved in a continuing mediation to free the hostages and was in contact with the United States through Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

A Tehran radio commentary said the article in Foreign Policy magazine by former U.S. Ambassador to Iran William Sullivan was a "confession" by one of America's top secret agents of an attempt to stop the Islamic revolution by ordering the Iranian army to launch a coup during the last days of 1979. The commentary said the White House had denied that National Security Council



chief Brzezinski had told Sullivan to launch the coup.

Reuters reported from Tehran that the Majlis would continue the discussion of how to appoint the special committee on the hostages on Sept. 23, after the Majlis members visited the U.S. embassy on Sept. 22.

The monthly magazine October reported from Cairo that Reza Pahlavi, the late Shah's son, would proclaim himself Shah and form a government-in-exile on Oct. 31, his 20th birthday.

Early in the morning, President Bani Sadr, Defense Minister Javad Fakuri, head of the army General Fallahi, and other military leaders went to the armed forces building to take command of the battle against Iraq. Bani Sadr ordered all men whose tours in the armed forces had ended since March 1978 to report for duty. The president ordered that the armed forces command was to be the only source of information on the fighting with Iraq. In an article written by Bani Sadr in the Islamic Revolution newspaper, the president said that the United States was behind the Iraqi attacks against Iran and that Iraq was acting on orders from Washington.

Both Iraq and Iran claimed that the fighting has spread along the border area, and both reported naval clashes in the Shatt al-Arab (which Iran calls the Arvand Rud), air battles near Qasr-e Shirin, and artillery exchanges near the Turkey-Iraq-Iran border. Iraq claimed that Iranian gunboats fired on and hit a British ship entering Basrah and fired on a Kuwaiti ship being escorted by Iraqi gunboats. Iran claimed that Iraqi gunboats fired on an Iranian freighter and shelled the port of Khorramshahr. Iranian government sources appealed to ships loading and unloading at Abadan to clear the port as rapidly as possible as a "precaution against incidents." Baghdad radio warned Iran not to strike "economic installations" or Iraq would retaliate against Iranian economic facilities. (Both countries have a heavy concentration of oil facilities in the Basrah-Abadan area of the Shatt al-Arab and at the Qasr-e Shirin area to the north.)

Iran radio reported several clashes between Iranian army elements and Kurds near Saygez, Nagadeh, and Bazargan.

Iran's delegate to OPEC Ali Akhbar Muinfar told reporters that OPEC members had agreed to reduce production by 10%, although they did not include the agreement in the official communique. Muinfar said the Iraq-Iran fighting in the Shatt al-Arab would not endanger Iran's oil exports since most of Iran's oil was exported from Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet Union closed its consulate at Rasht.

AFP reported that Ahmad Madani left Iran for an unknown destination. Madani, formerly head of the navy, governor of Khuzistan province, and defense minister, finished second to Bani Sadr in the presidential election, and then ran for the Majlis, but was denied his seat because the Majlis said he was connected to the Shah and to SAVAK.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Prime Minister Rajai said he would introduce the remaining five cabinet ministers to the Majlis on Tuesday, Sept. 23.

Iran reported more fighting between Iranian army units and Kurds in the areas of Urumiyeh and Miyandoab.

According to the reports from Baghdad and Tehran, the fighting between Iraq and Iran has increased sharply. Iraq claimed Arabs in Khuzistan province (which the Iraqis call Arabistan province) attacked the Abadan and Khorramshahr airports with rockets. Tehran radio announced later that the Abadan airport was closed and that all Iranian National Airlines flights had been re-routed to Ahwaz airport. Iraq reported that Arabs in Khuzistan were attacking other Iranian targets. Tehran radio later broadcast an appeal to the Arabs of Khuzistan to remain loyal to Iran and not listen to the Iraqi regime, which the radio said was desecrating Shiite shrines (most Khuzistan Arabs are Shiites; Iraq is about one-half Shiite, one-half Sunni). Iraq claimed that Iranian gunboats fired on the ship "Mercury of Singapore" (nationality not stated) and that Iraqi gunboats retaliated by sinking five Iranian gunboats and destroying the Iranian naval base at Khosrowabad, south of Abadan on the Shatt al-Arab. Iran claimed to have sunk one Iraqi gunboat and to have forced four others aground. Iran claimed to have shelled the Iraqi city of al-Faw at the Persian Gulf mouth of the Shatt al-Arab, and Iraq claimed to have sunk three more Iranian gunboats near al-Faw. In the north, Iraq claimed to have downed an Iranian F-4 near Qasr-e Shirin (the area Iraq calls Zayn al-Qaws) and the Iraqis claimed that their tanks and artillery were driving the Iraqis back.

U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown said on the CBS program "Face the Nation" that the Iraq-Iran fighting had "gone beyond skirmishes" but was not yet a "major war." Brown called the situation "dangerous."

SEPTEMBER 22, 1980 -- MONDAY

AFP quoted Arab sources in London as saying that Ayatollah Khomeini had agreed to release the American hostages within the next 6 weeks, that direct negotiations with the United States would begin in early October so that the hostages could be freed before the U.S. Presidential elections. AFP's sources said the Iraqis wanted to ensure President Carter's re-election. The sources, according to AFP, confirmed the rumors that former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh had been negotiating with the United States on the hostage release plan for the past 3 months.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, the Majlis Speaker who led the Majlis members to the American embassy to view U.S. "spy" equipment, said some of the American hostages were being held in the Tehran embassy. After the visit, Rafsanjani said the outbreak of fighting between Iran and Iraq was "likely to affect" the hostages because Iraq was "close to the United States."

Israeli radio reported that an Iranian mob was marching on the U.S. embassy in Tehran because the people believed that the United States was behind the Iraqi attack on Iran. The report from Israel was not confirmed by other sources.

Serious fighting erupted between Iraq and Iran along their common border, spreading along the 60-mile length of the Shatt al-Arab waterway and along the Qasr-e Shirin boundary area. The Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council issued a statement that Iraq was launching "deterrent strikes" against

Iranian military targets. Iraqi planes bombed and strafed Iranian airports at Tehran, Shiraz, Ahwaz, Bushehr, Dezful, Hamadan, Isfahan, Agha Jari, and Tabriz. In a second, later round of bombing, Iraqi planes hit Hamadan, Bushehr, Dezful, Kermanshah, Amidieh, Ahwaz, and radar facilities at Naft-e Shah. Iran retaliated by bombing Basra, Wasit, and al-Faw. Both Iran and Iraq claimed they only struck military targets. (Both sides appeared to be avoiding bombing each other's civilian centers or oil facilities, probably out of fear that attacks against oil facilities would destroy their sources of revenue.) Because of these air attacks, Japan Air Lines, British Airways, Lufthansa, Air France, and other commercial carriers cancelled or re-routed flights through the region. Shortly after the Iraqi bombing raid on Tehran airport, all conventional (telephone and telex) and satellite communications between Iran and the outside world ended.

On the Shatt al-Arab (Arvand Rud in Iran), ships of both countries fired on shore installations, combatant ships, and, according to government sources on both sides, commercial shipping as well. Iraq claimed that Iranian gunboats fired on two Japanese ships (damaging one), a Greek ship, an Argentinian ship, a Liberian ship, and two British ships (damaging one). Iraq also claimed to have destroyed several Iranian gunboats and the Iranian naval base at Khosrowabad, south of Abadan. Iran claimed Iraqi ships shelled the Abadan refinery area but caused little damage and that an Iraqi "missile launching" ship had been sunk at Khosrowabad. Iran announced that no commercial ships would be allowed into Iraqi ports. Later in the day, Iraqi ships shelled the Iranian Persian Gulf port of Bushehr, and Iran claimed to have sunk four Iraqi missile ships in the Bushehr attack. Later, Iran announced that the "northern coasts" of the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz were under Iranian control, the implication being that any traffic through the Persian Gulf along the Iranian side or through the Strait would be at Iranian sufferance.

On the ground, Iraq claimed to have seized territory at Qasr-e Shirin, crossed the Iranian border south of Qasr-e Shirin, and to have seized Iranian territory along the Shatt al-Arab area and north of Abadan. Iraqi government sources said they would relinquish the Iranian territory when Iran recognized Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Both sides used artillery and tanks along the border areas.

Iraq sent messages to the United Nations, the Arab League, the Non-Aligned Nations, the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States, the European Community, and the Association of South East Asian Nations to present Iraq's complaint of Iran's violation of the 1975 agreement on boundaries and Iraq's justification for taking action. (It was assumed that the United Nations would consider the Iraq-Iran confrontation as a threat to world peace and seek a cease-fire.) According to one unconfirmed source, the Arab nations, through the Arab League, were considering offering their good offices to mediate the dispute. Also, Yasir Arafat of the PLO, currently in Libya, was due to arrive in Tehran shortly to begin his mediating efforts; two PLO officials arrived in Tehran on Sept. 16, supposedly to await Arafat.

In Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini called for calm among Iran's citizens, and added that Iran would expel Saddam Husayn from Iraq the same way Iran had expelled the Shah from Iran. Khomeini said that Iraq was the "mercenary of America," and that the United States was behind the Iraqi attack against Iran. President Bani Sadr said the United States was behind the attacks and that the Iraqi troops were "mercenaries of the United States." Bani Sadr visited the western front military headquarters to oversee the Iranian armed

forces action. The Iranian Interior Ministry banned automobile traffic at night, imposed a blackout on lights in the cities, banned the use of motorcycles, and asked citizens to report suspicious acts. The Iranian Foreign Ministry claimed the United States had attacked Iranian cities, but later changed its report to say that the United States had helped Iraq attack the cities. Tehran radio appealed to the people to stay away from military bases so as not to interfere with troop movements, warned the people that there might be more air attacks, cautioned the people not to listen to rumors, and asked the people to watch out for "fifth columnists." Iranian sources said that Iraq had declared war on Iran, but did not say that Iran had declared war on Iraq.

In Iraq, a government spokesman said that the Iranian claim of control over the Strait of Hormuz meant "total war," and that Iraq would take "suitable measures" to open the Strait. Iraqi military authorities called for a second mobilization of reserves (the first call was on Sept. 17). The Iraqi Information Ministry appealed to other Arab nations for support in the conflict with Iran, saying the battle with Iran was a "pan-Arab cause."

Tehran radio reported fighting between Iranian army units and Kurds in the north.

(The fighting created several questions which could affect the United States. First, how could the war affect the hostages? On one hand, the Iranian suggestion that the United States was in collusion with Iraq could endanger the hostages, either because the Iranian government would take revenge against the Americans or because angry mobs could storm the locations where the hostages are being held, particularly in cities such as Hamadan or Tabriz where the Iraqis have bombed. On the other hand, Iran may want to rid itself of the hostage problem because of the larger problem of the Iraqi incursions; in fact the Iranians will need spare parts for their depleted armed forces, particularly the more sophisticated American-supplied planes, tanks, and ships, and might be willing to trade hostages for spare parts.

Second, will the conflict affect the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf? The world can tolerate closure of the Strait for a short period of time because there is an ample supply of oil available in the world at the present time, stockpiles are high and the oil stream has a "lag time" of about 6 weeks, the time it takes a tanker to travel from the Persian Gulf to terminals in Japan, Europe, or the United States. But after six weeks, shortages in supply could be felt in some markets. It would appear that those nations depending upon Persian Gulf oil could wait one or two months before seeking removal of Iranian "control" over the Strait of Hormuz. Some oil deliveries will be affected because oil terminals at Abadan and Basra were bombed, but such affects may be moderated by shifting oil loading to other ports in Iraq and Iran, once the war ends.

Third, what role has the Soviet Union played in the conflict? In past months, the Soviets approved the Iranian contention that Iraq was at fault for the continuing border skirmishes. But, since the start of the Iraqi incursion on Sept. 10, the Soviets have remained quiet, not supporting either side.)

SEPTEMBER 23, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Baghdad radio announced that Iran had released the hostages "without

condition." Tehran radio denied the Iraqi report, and said that the hostages had not been released. Later, Tehran radio reported that the Majlis had decided during its morning session to "freeze" the hostage issue until the Iraqi conflict ends. Speaker Rafsanjani told the Majlis that the Iraq-Iran war "will have an impact" on the "destiny of the hostages." During the Majlis session, several members called for an immediate trial of the hostages because the United States was cooperating with the Iraqi attack against Iran. One Majlis member said the hostages should be released as soon as possible to get the hostage problem out of the way and allow Iran to concentrate on the new problem, the Iraqis.

The "students" announced that the hostages being held in Qom, Isfahan, Mashhad, Tabriz, Kerman, Yazd, and Jahrom have been moved to other locations, but the "students" did not say where. The "students" said they had moved the hostages to 16 cities after the April rescue attempt, and had since announced that the hostages had been moved from eight of those cities. With today's announcement, only Tehran and Ahwaz are known to have hostages, if the "students" are to be believed.

A Kuwaiti new source, quoting a U.S. Defense official, said Iran requested spare parts for its military equipment from the United States, and offered to exchange the hostages for the spare parts. The U.S. State Department denied the story, and said there was no connection between U.S. spare parts and the hostages.

Iran repeated its claim of yesterday that Iran "controlled" the Strait of Hormuz, that the northern (Iranian) shoreline of the Persian Gulf was a "war zone," and that no commercial ships would be allowed to approach Iraqi ports. Iran "warned" commercial vessels approaching the Strait of Hormuz through the Gulf of Oman to show their flags and be prepared to stop if hailed by Iranian men-of-war. Iran also "warned" all commercial ships to clear the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Japan warned Japanese ships to avoid Iranian territorial waters in the Persian Gulf. The U.S. Department of Defense said the Strait of Hormuz was open to the passage of ships. (According to DOD, the United States has two men-of-war inside the Persian Gulf and 31 outside in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, including the aircraft carriers Midway and Eisenhower.)

Iraqi forces attacked the Iranian oil refinery complex at Abadan (Iran said there was little damage; Iraqi said heavy damage) and Iranian planes attacked Iraqi oil installations at Basra and Umm Qasr (the Iraqi port on the Persian Gulf). After an Iraqi air attack on Abadan, Iranian officials said an ammonia tank had been hit and assured Iranians that the gas was not poisonous. Other reports later said that the Abadan refinery, the largest in the world, was aflame and completely shut down. (The attacks against oil facilities marked another significant increase in the fighting level. Both sides appeared to avoid oil facilities until today, perhaps with the understanding that each would risk their own oil installations through retaliation. Thus far, there are no reports of attacks against oil producing facilities, such as oil wells, pipelines, pumping stations, etc.)

In the ground war, Iraq announced that its forces were advancing into Iranian territory, claiming control over Qasr-e Shirin, Sumar, and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and stating the Iraqi forces surrounded the cities of Mehran (in the north) and Khorramshahr and Abadan on the Shatt al-Arab. Iraq claimed to have cut the road between Muhammara (Iraq's name for Khorramshahr) and Ahwaz and to be advancing toward Ahwaz.

In the air, Iraq bombed Hamadan, Ahwaz, Dezful, Bushehr, Tabriz, and the Abadan area. Iran bombed Baghdad, Ninveh, Kirkuk, Basra, al-Faw, and Umm Qasr. (In Basra, Iranian planes bombed a petrochemical plant under construction in which four British and four American were killed, according to a report broadcast by Reuters.) The BBC reported that no Iranian planes were seen defending Abadan or Khorramshahr, and that according to its sources, Iraq controlled the air war. Iraq claimed to have downed 67 Iranian planes (F-4s and F-5s, according to the Iraqis; there has been no mention during the past three days of F-14s) and Iran claimed to have downed 30 MiGs. Iran claimed to have captured an Israeli pilot from one of the downed MiGs. Iraq moved its commercial planes to Jordan.

The United Nations Security Council called for a cease-fire. Yasir Arafat said in Beirut that he was going to Baghdad and Tehran to mediate the dispute. Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Klbbi offered to mediate the conflict.

Tehran radio reported continued fighting between Iranian armed forces and Kurds in Urumiyeh and Maindoab.

General Fallahi, head of Iran's army, said Iran was having a problem with "repairs, maintenance, and spare parts," but that the Iranian forces would defeat the Iraqis in a protracted conflict. Defense Minister Pakuri told an interviewer that the Iraqi air strikes had no effect on Iran and that Iranian planes continued to attack Iraqi targets with great effect. (The announcer asked Pakuri if it were true that Iran had 140 F-4 Phantoms in the air, but Pakuri did not answer the question. Iran should have about 190 F-4s, but it is not known how many are grounded due to lack of parts or maintenance. Most estimates say that between one-quarter and one-half of Iran's planes are airworthy.) Tehran radio continued to say that the United States was in collusion with Iraq in the attack, and at one point said Israel, Egypt, and the United States were helping the Iraqis. The Iranian Interior Minister, Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani, said the United States sent the Iraqi troops into Iran to avenge the defeat at Tabas -- the rescue attempt of April 24.

The Soviet newspaper Izvestiya said the conflict between Iraq and Iran only benefited the "imperialists," and that the two sides should settle their boundary differences through political, not military, channels. The Izvestiya editorial said that neither Iraq nor Iran had need of each other's oil, so there was no reason to seize or attack oil facilities. Only the United States needed oil, Izvestiya said, implying that if either Iraq or Iran targeted the other's oil fields, it was because they were on the side of the United States.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti repeated that the Majlis would decide the fate of the hostages. The Inter-Parliamentary Union, meeting in Berlin, passed a resolution condemning Iran's continued holding of the hostages. Iran claimed that four Americans were captured in the fighting in Khuzistan province, but gave no other details on who they were or under what circumstances they were "captured." The reports yesterday that four Americans were killed during the Basra bombing attack were clarified; three American employees of a firm building the petrochemical plant were killed along with four British employees.

U.S. Government sources said that an American oil tanker, enroute from Kuwait to the United States, passed through the Strait of Hormuz without incident, although the tanker was followed by an Iranian destroyer. Qatar news sources reported that the Strait was open to traffic and that Iranian sources had stated that they did not intend to close the Strait, only to declare the Iranian side of the Strait to be a war zone. (President Carter said the U.S. was consulting with other nations on keeping the Strait open; sources speculated that the U.S. would try to form a multinational naval force to enter the Strait.) Japan repeated its warning to Japanese ships in the Persian Gulf to wait in port or, if they moved, to avoid the war zone. Reuters reported that there were ten Japanese tankers at anchor at the head of the Persian Gulf and another seven Japanese tankers off the Kuwaiti and Saudi shores waiting for the war to end. (Japanese sources reported that Japan had not been purchasing oil from Iran since July.) Another Japanese cargo ship was fired on near Basra, the third Japanese ship to be caught in the fighting. Reuters reported that Iran was still loading tankers at Kharg Island, but that Iraq had stopped all loading from its Persian Gulf ports. Later, Iraqi planes attacked Kharg Island, setting a tank farm aflame and forcing the Iranians to stop loadings. Kuwaiti oil terminals continued to operate. Both Iraqi and Iranian sources said the refinery complexes at Basra and Abadan were shut down and heavily damaged by the air attacks. One report said the Japanese-Iranian oil complex at Bander Khomeini was bombed by the Iraqis.

Kyodo news service of Japan reported that Iraq called for a cease-fire with conditions; that Iran recognize Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab, that Iran recognize Iraqi sovereignty over the land areas claimed by Iraq and seized during the fighting, and that Iran surrender the islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs (Iran seized the islands at the western end of the Strait of Hormuz in 1971 from the United Arab Emirates). Iran's President responded that there would be no cease-fire as long as Iraq held Iranian territory. Ayatollah Beheshti said Iran may appeal to the UN Security Council for a resolution condemning Iraqi aggression. A report from Kuwait said that Iraq rejected the suggestion that Iran and Iraq submit to an international mediation effort. Yasir Arafat of the PLO arrived in Baghdad to begin his mediation efforts; Arafat said he was going on to Tehran, but did not say when. OPEC appealed to Iraq and Iran to end the fighting.

The Soviet newspaper Pravda and radio Moscow both called for a peaceful end to the fighting. A Moscow radio commentary broadcast in Farsi said the United States policy of "divide and rule" was to blame for the fighting because the United States had encouraged the controversy between Iraq and Iran. Iran's President Bani Sadr said he had received messages from the United States and the Soviet Union, in which both countries denied any role in the war. Bani Sadr added that the Soviet message said the Soviet Union had advised Iraq not to start the fighting and not to seek border adjustments, and that the Soviets did not agree with Iraq's actions.

On the battlefields, Iraq claimed control over Qasr-e Shirin and Mehran, and appealed to the cities of Abadan and Khorramshahr to surrender. Iran denied that Iraq held any of the cities and said that Abadan and Khorramshahr were not surrounded. (Iraq did not appear to be moving into Iran further than the contested border area; 20 miles was the deepest Iraqi penetration reported, and that was in the Shatt al-Arab area.) Iraq called upon the Arab residents of Ahwaz and other cities in Khuzistan province to rebel against Iran and prepare for the arrival of Iraqi armies to liberate the territory. Iran called upon the citizens of Ahwaz to dig trenches and prepare defenses

for the city, and appealed to the Arab residents to fight the Iraqis, who were described as "infidels." The Iranian Joint Staff of the Army announced that Iraq may shell their own Iraqi religious shrines and blame the damage on Iran. The Iraqis issued a warning to Iran to stay away from Iraqi religious shrines. Iran radio appealed to their own Revolutionary Guards not to fire on Iranian planes and helicopters flying in the Ahwaz area.

Iraq claimed to have bombed Tabriz, Azarshahr, Kharg Island, Sanandaj, Kermanshah, Shahrukh, Dezful, Khorramshahr, and Shahabad. Iran claimed to have bombed Basra, Irbil, Baghdad, Kut, and oil refineries at al-Shuwaybah and al-Zubayr. Iranian President Bani Sadr said Iran had 140 F-4 Phantoms in the air. Iraq claimed to have downed 33 Iranian planes, and Iran claimed to have downed 34 Iraqi MiGs. Iran said it captured an Egyptian pilot from one of the downed Iraqi planes.

In the sea war, Iraq claimed to have sunk two Iranian frigates and seven other Iranian patrol boats, and said it had repulsed an Iranian attack on the deep-water oil loading port off al-Faw. Iraq said Iranian boats fired on four neutral commercial ships in the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Iran said it had stopped an Iraqi naval attack on Kharg Island.

Iranian President Bani Sadr told Islamic ambassadors in Tehran that the United States was in collusion with Iraq in the attack against Iran. Tehran radio said the United States was behind the Iraqi attack and said the Soviet Union was blaming Iran for starting the war. The Soviets, according to Tehran radio, had "closed its eyes" to the Iraqi aggression. The Iranian Majlis met in closed session to discuss the conflict. Radio Iran (clandestine, anti-Khomeini) said former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh had fled the country.

Sweden, Denmark, and Norway began evacuating their citizens from Iraq to Jordan. Many British subjects working in the Basra oil complex fled to Kuwait. Australia announced that it would keep open its embassies in the two countries and would not evacuate its citizens from Iran or Iraq.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Tehran radio reported a mass rally in front of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, with speeches against the United States and U.S. support for Iraq in the fighting. Apparently, the rally was peaceful. Israeli radio repeated a report from Tehran that a Revolutionary Guard spokesman said the American hostages were "well and safe" and were not endangered by the fighting between Iraq and Iran. Moscow radio broadcast a commentary in Arabic blaming the U.S.-Iran crisis on the United States' refusal to "comply with the just demands of the Iranian people."

In another commentary from Moscow, broadcast in Italian to Europe, the Soviets said the United States was preparing to intervene in the Iraq-Iran conflict using the U.S. fleet stationed in the Indian Ocean and the rapid deployment force. The Soviet commentary said the United States was prepared to use nuclear weapons in the region, and would use the threat of an oil shortage to force Europe to cooperate with the United States.

Iraq Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi sent a message to the UN Security Council in which he stated that Iraq had no territorial claims against

Iranian territory, except those areas Iran was supposed to return under the 1975 Algiers agreement. Hammadi said Iran abrogated the agreement and Iraq was taking what rightfully belonged to her. Iraq's Defense Minister Adnan Khayrallah Talfah said Iraq did not need Iran's oil fields and would not try to seize them, but would seize the disputed border areas, including the Shatt al-Arab, which amounted to 324 square kilometers (about 125 square miles, other reports said Iraq claimed about 200 square miles). The Defense Minister added that the war had begun because Iran had tried to instigate a rebellion among Iraq's Kurdish population. In Paris, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said Iraq would respect free navigation through the Strait of Hormuz, the Persian Gulf (or Arab Gulf, according to the Iraqis), and the Shatt al-Arab. Aziz said Iraq would accept efforts to mediate the dispute with Iran from any source except the United States and Israel, and added that Iraq would demand that Iran return the Tunbs and Abu Musa islands to the United Arab Emirates.

A Japanese tanker radioed Japan that it had entered the Persian Gulf through the Strait of Hormuz without incident, that it had not seen any Iranian warships in the area of the Strait. According to Baghdad radio, a Greek and a Kuwait ship were hit during an Iranian air attack on the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr. Reuters quoted the Iranian Oil Minister as saying that oil production was 500,000 barrels per day, down from last week's level of 1.7 million b/d. The Abadan refinery, with a capacity of 600,000 b/d in refined oil products, was shut down and damaged, all Iranian offshore oil fields had been shut down, and there was other damage to pipelines in the Ahwaz area, according to Reuters. Iranian authorities banned the sale of gasoline and kerosene for the next two days because of the Abadan refinery shut-down, but later rescinded the ban after citizens protested.

In the fighting, Iranian planes attacked Baghdad, Mosul, Kirkuk, Irbil, Khanaqin (including the small Iraqi refinery), and Basra. Iraqi planes bombed Tehran, Dezful, Kermanshah, Shahabad, Rezaiyah, Agha Jari, and Tabriz, and claimed to have shot down 36 Iranian planes today. (Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Aziz said that Iraq had shot down 140 Iranian planes since Sunday, Sept. 21.) Iran claimed to control the sky in the south over Abadan. On the land, Iraq claimed control over Naft-e Shah (a small oil producing area), the city of Khorramshahr, and said Iraqi forces were laying siege to the city of Dezful. (Dezful is about 50 miles east of the Iraqi border, and, if the Iraqi claim is true, would represent the deepest penetration into Iranian territory thus far. Near Qasr-e Shirin, Iraqi forces moved some 20 miles into Iran.) Iraq appealed to Arabs living in Ahwaz to rebel and join the battle against Iran, and said that some Arabs were already sabotaging oil installations and roads around Ahwaz. Iran denied the Iraqi claim of control over Khorramshahr and Abadan and the thrust toward Ahwaz and Dezful, and said President Bani Sadr visited the city of Khorramshahr where he exhorted the citizens to stand firm against the Iraqis. Iranian news sources said the city of Ahwaz was on "red alert" and that Ayatollah Khomeini was leading a group of religious students from Qum to Ahwaz to join the fight. Iran warned neighboring countries not to give spare parts to Iraq. The sea war appears to have tapered off, except for some scattered reports of gunboat exchanges in the Shatt al-Arab.

Kuwait placed its armed forces on alert along the border with Iraq.

Radio Iran (clandestine, anti-Khomeini) said Revolutionary Guards clashed with leftists in Tehran, which was a sign that Iran was falling apart internally. The report of the clashes was not confirmed by other sources.

Former Iranian Prime Minister Bakhtiar said in Paris that the Khomeini regime had precipitated the war by inciting Shi'a Muslims in Iraq to revolt against the government, and Iraq was retaliating. When asked if he supported Iraq in the conflict, Bakhtiar said he would always support Iran, but not the Khomeini regime in Iran.

Other nations and international organizations reacted to the Iraq-Iran war by calling for a cease-fire or offering to mediate the conflict. Most Arab states supported Iraq. On Monday, Sept. 22, Jordan's King Husyan offered his nation's support to Iraq, as did the Yemen Arab Republic (north). Egypt called for peaceful settlement, and Yasir Arafat of the PLO offered to mediate the dispute (Arafat had offered his mediation efforts in the past).

On Tuesday, Sept. 23, the United Nations Security Council called for a cease-fire. Jordan repeated its support for Iraq, the PLO representative in Baghdad said his organization supported Iraq, and Arab League Secretary-General Shadli Klibbi said the League supported Iraq. Libya and China appealed to Iraq and Iran for a peaceful settlement and Egypt repeated its call for peace. Islamic Conference chairman Habib Shattil offered to negotiate a cease-fire, and Fidel Castro, as chairman of the Non-Aligned Conference, sent his Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca to Baghdad and Tehran to mediate.

On Wednesday, Sept. 24, Morocco and Mauritania offered their support to Iraq. Turkey, Britain, China, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (south), the U.S.S.R., Qatar, France, OPEC, and the European Community called for an end to the fighting and a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Arafat arrived in Baghdad to begin his mediation effort. Libya's Qadhafi contacted the Non-Aligned Conference and the Islamic Conference to call for a mediation effort.

On Thursday, Sept. 25, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia voiced his nation's support for Iraq, as did Spain's Prime Minister Suarez. Norway, China, Lebanon, Turkey, South Yemen, and Libya called for a peaceful settlement. Pakistan, Indonesia, and Venezuela offered to act as mediators. No nation or international organization has offered support or sympathy for Iran.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1980 — FRIDAY

Bani Sadr told newsmen that the hostage issue was not a question of reaching an understanding with the United States, but a matter of Iranian independence from Western domination. Later, the president said that the United States was using the Iraq-Iran war to establish a counterrevolution against Iran, and that any Iranian consideration of the hostages should take into account the U.S. actions. Ayatollah Montazari told the Friday prayer meeting in Qum that the war was "forced upon us by the United States," and "will definitely have an adverse effect and the issue of the hostages will not be solved so soon." Montazari said Iran will not "submit to force applied by the United States."

In New York, a U.S. District Court judge rejected a U.S. Government request to delay proceeding on 96 cases brought by American companies and banks claiming some \$3 billion in Iranian assets frozen in the United States. U.S. Treasury Secretary William Miller and Undersecretary of State Warren Christopher asked for the delay in the cases. The judge's decision means the

case will go forward and the Iranian funds will remain frozen until the cases are completed. In Washington, a U.S. Court of Appeals granted a U.S. Government request to delay for 90 days any further proceedings in cases involving U.S. insurance companies' claims against some \$35 million of Iranian assets.

The White House said President Carter was willing to convene a meeting of U.S., U.K., French, West German, Japanese, and Italian representatives to discuss oil supply problems which might arise if the Strait of Hormuz were closed and oil shipments to the West were halted. (The White House responded to news stories from Japan that such a meeting had been proposed and the Japanese had agreed to attend.) The Washington Post reported that earlier in the week, when it was not clear whether the Iranians intended to try to close the Strait to oil tankers, Secretary of State Muskie had contacted the foreign ministers of the five other nations at the UN to discuss the possibility of forming a joint naval force to open the Strait. The State Department denied that a joint naval force was considered, but said that Muskie had discussed "ideas" on possible allied action in the Strait. Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser said the United States had approached him informally to ask if Australia would participate in a joint naval force, and he had replied yes. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said he did not believe the Strait would be closed, and that Germany had not been consulted on participating in a naval force. West German law precludes German military moves outside of NATO anyway, said Schmidt. French President Giscard d'Estaing and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said they had been in contact with the United States on the oil problem, but would not say what actions had been discussed.

Meanwhile, the Washington Post reported that Persian Gulf sources said about 80 ships passed through the Strait of Hormuz yesterday without incident. News sources in Vienna reported that OPEC members had agreed to delay the proposed 10% reduction in oil production agreed to at the Sept. 15 at OPEC meeting until the Iraq-Iran crisis passed and the oil supply picture cleared. Saudi Arabian officials denied that they had agreed to the 10% production drop in the first place. A Venezuelan official was quoted as saying that some OPEC members would increase production to cover the projected 2.7 million b/d shortage that may result from the Iraq-Iran war if the stories of oil facility destruction in the two countries are true. (According to reports from Iraq and Iran, the Persian Gulf oil loading facilities of Basra, Umm Qasr, and al-Faw in Iraq and Abadan, Bander Mar Shah, and Kharg Island have all been damaged -- the BBC said the damage to Abadan was "enormous" -- and refineries at Abadan, Tehran, Kermanshah, Isfahan, and Masjid-e Sulayman in Iran and Basra, Kirkuk, Mosul, Khanagah, and al-Shuaybah in Iraq have been hit. Iraq can export 1.7 million b/d through pipelines to the Mediterranean, but the 1 million b/d Syria/Lebanon pipeline has been closed for two years due to a transit fee dispute and the 700,000 b/d Turkey pipeline is not operating at full capacity. Iraq's oil exports were about 3 million b/d and Iran's about 1 million b/d before the war began.)

The United Nations Security Council met to consider a cease-fire resolution; reportedly, the U.S. was waiting for the Islamic Conference mediation effort before acting. President Bani Sadr said he had been in contact with the Islamic Conference representatives, Algerian President Ben Jaid Shadli and Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq, through their ambassadors in Tehran, but that Iran would not accept the Islamic Conference "good-will mission" because it was not possible to negotiate between "good and evil." Bani Sadr said Iraq wanted a cease-fire because it had "run out of strength."

He said Iran would talk to the Islamic Conference representatives to give them Iran's views but not to negotiate. Tehran radio said Algerian President Shadli supported Iran's position in the conflict. Bani Sadr also said that Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad had offered to mediate the dispute. APP reported that Saudi Crown Prince Fahd had offered to mediate the dispute, but that Iran had rejected the offer.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn met Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca, representing the Non-Aligned Conference, and told him that Iraq had no intention of seizing Iranian territory. Iraq would stop the war, said Husayn, if Iran recognized Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt-al-Arab, stopped interfering in Iraqi domestic affairs, and respected the independence of other Gulf countries. Foreign Minister Hammadi repeated the same conditions to a press conference. In Paris, Deputy Prime Minister Aziz repeated the same conditions, but added that Iran must withdraw from the Strait of Hormuz islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs. According to a report from Paris, Iraq accepted the Islamic Conference mediation effort as well as the Non-Aligned Conference effort.

Baghdad radio reported (2 a.m. EDT) that Khomeini was dead. Tehran denied the story.

Iraqi and Iranian tanks fought an all-day battle in and around Khorramshahr, each side claiming victory. Iran also claimed to have "neutralized" the Iraqi thrust at Qasr-e Shirin and to have gained control along the border in Ilam province. The Iranians said that Iraqi forces controlled Iranian territory around Naft-e Shah, Mehran, Bostan, and Dehloran. Iraq said its forces were moving toward Ahvaz, and had Dezful surrounded. Iran claimed to have shot down 72 Iraqi planes and 3 helicopters, destroyed 114 tanks and armored personnel carriers, and sunk 6 missile boats and 2 merchant ships since Sept. 1. In the same period, Iran said it lost 8 planes, 1 helicopter, 16 tanks, 2 gunboats, and a dredging boat. Iraq claimed to have shot down 14 Iranian planes, sunk a gunboat and minesweeper, destroyed 27 tanks, and captured 29 tanks, all today. Iran claimed it bombed or strafed Mosul and Kirkuk, and destroyed "the greater part" of Iraq's oil facilities. Iraq said its planes hit the Tehran refinery and Kharg Island, and that "hundreds" of Iranian soldiers had surrendered near Khanagah. Tehran radio appealed to citizens of Tehran to stop firing at aircraft in the vicinity of Mehrabad airport because the planes were Iranian.

An Iranian group calling itself the "Forces of the Mujahidun" fired two rockets at the U.S. embassy in Beirut. The building was damaged, but no one was injured.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Iraq's Foreign Minister Hammadi said the Western nations should not intervene in the Gulf, because such action would only encourage the Soviet Union to get involved in the Gulf, and Iraq did not want any superpowers policing the waterway. According to other news reports, Saudi Arabia protested to the United States about the discussions of possible intervention in the Persian Gulf and advised the United States and its allies not to "over react" to the Iraq-Iran conflict. Iranian navy commander Afzali said Iran's navy "controlled" the Strait of Hormuz, but that merchants and tankers were moving through the Strait in both directions. (Reports from ships passing



through the Strait say there is no Iranian presence in the Strait.)

AFP reported that Iraq stopped all oil exports because of damage to its oil facilities. Iraq said some oil was being exported. Syria announced that the pipeline from the northern Iraqi oil fields near Kirkuk and Mosul to the ports of Banyas, Syria, and Tripoli, Lebanon, would be reopened. The lines had been closed since 1976 because of a transit fee dispute. The pipeline from the Iraqi fields to Turkey was sabotaged 8 miles inside Turkish territory. Engineers said the damage would be repaired in 3 days. Iraqi Foreign Minister Hammadi said his country would encourage other OPEC members to increase their oil production to make up for any shortage resulting from the Iraq-Iran conflict. Hammadi was quoted as saying that an oil shortage would hurt the West and the third world nations and cause a world depression.

Yasir Arafat of the PLO arrived in Tehran from Baghdad, via the Soviet city of Baku, and met with Iranian President Bani Sadr. Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq arrived in Tehran and also met with Bani Sadr. Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti, Zia ul-Haq's co-mediator for the Islamic Conference, left New York for Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, and will fly on to Tehran tomorrow. Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca, representing the Non-Aligned Conference mediating effort, was in Baghdad meeting with Iraqi President Husayn. The Iraqis said they accepted the PLO, Islamic Conference, and Non-Aligned mediation efforts. Iraqi Foreign Minister Hammadi said Iraq wanted the border returned to the 1913 line, which gave Iraq control over the Shatt al-Arab. Iranian Prime Minister Rajai said Iran would not accept mediation, that the war was not a border conflict but was a war between Islam and blasphemy, and that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn must "repent" before Iran would consider ending the conflict. Iranian General Fallahi, head of the army, said Iran would not discuss peace with Iraq. In New York, Iran's representative to the United Nations, Jalal Shemirani, said Iran would not accept a UN resolution that called for a cease-fire unless the resolution condemned Iraqi aggression. The UN Security Council is considering a Mexican-Norwegian draft resolution on a cease-fire. Saudi Arabia said it had not offered to mediate the conflict, as was reported by AFP yesterday. A Qatari news source said Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini asked a leader of one of the Gulf states to mediate between Iraq and Iran. Baghdad radio reported that the Iraqi ambassador in Algiers had been informed by the Algerian Foreign Ministry that Algeria did not support Iran and had not offered assistance to Iran, as was reported by Tehran radio yesterday.

On the battlefields, a London Sunday Times correspondent claimed to have accompanied Iraqi troops 17 or 18 kilometers (11 miles) across the Iraq-Iran boundary toward Khorramshahr and that Iraq troops were in control of the city. (The story appeared in the Times of Sept. 28.) Iraqis also claimed to control the city of Susangerd (which they call al-Khafajiyah) and to be on the outskirts of Dezful. At one point, Iraq claimed to have taken Ahwaz and the Iranians claimed the city was still in Iranian hands. Iraq said it seized 40 Iranian tanks and destroyed 63 in the day's fighting. In the air war, Iran claimed to have bombed or strafed Baghdad, Irbil, Mosul, Kirkuk, Ayn Zalah, and to have concentrated on military and oil targets. Iraq claimed to have bombed or strafed Kharg Island, Hamadan, Shiraz, Bushehr, Sanadaj, al-Ridayah, Shahrukh, Masjid-e Sulayman, and towns in the Sar Dasht area. Iran's Defense Minister Pakuri said Iran had downed "80 or 90" Iraqi planes thus far. Tehran radio reported that Iraq was almost out of ammunition and had sent Deputy Prime Minister Aziz to Moscow to ask for re-supply. The radio broadcast also warned other Persian Gulf states not to assist Iraq or Iran would "deal with them in any way appropriate."

A rumor that Iran was selling gold to finance the war sent gold prices down on the New York exchange by \$30 per ounce. Iran denied that it was selling gold.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The Iranian Majlis was scheduled to discuss the hostage issue, but postponed the debate to hear reports on the fighting with Iraq. Ayatollah Khomeini, the prayer leader of the Tehran mosque and Khomeini's representative at the Defense Ministry, told an audience in Ahwaz that Iran's holding the American "spies" for the past year had "struck a blow" to the U.S. attempts to control Iran and had weakened American prestige in the world. Khomeini said Iraq was acting on behalf of Iran's real enemies, the United States and Russia.

Reports from Syria said the pipeline from Iraq's northern fields, reopened yesterday, closed down today because of damage to pumping stations at the Iraqi end. United Arab Emirates Oil Minister Mani ibn Said al-Utaybah said the United Arab Emirates may increase its oil production to meet a possible shortage caused by the Iraq-Iran fighting, according to the Cyprus-based Middle East Economic Survey. MEES quoted al-Utaybah as saying the other OPEC members may delay their scheduled production restrictions. Tehran radio said Iraq had asked Saudi Arabia to send Aramco personnel to Basra to operate refineries and help repair war damage to oil facilities because the Iraqi oil workers went on strike in opposition to the Iraqi war against Iran. Tehran radio said the Aramco employees refused to go to Iraq because they were all Shiite Muslims and followers of Ayatollah Khomeini. There was no other confirmation of the Tehran radio story on the oil workers.

Moscow radio broadcast a story, in Farsi, similar to other Soviet reports of the past few days, that the United States was planning a military intervention in the Iraq-Iran war. Moscow radio said the U.S. rapid deployment force, the U.S. Navy, and other armed forces units had been placed on "alert" and that U.S. officials, such as Defense Secretary Brown, had "confirmed" U.S. intentions to intervene.

Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti arrived in Tehran and met with Iranian President Bani Sadr, Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq, the other Islamic Conference mediator, and Yasir Arafat of the PLO. All said the meeting was an exchange of views and not a mediation effort. Bani Sadr repeated the Iranian position that Iran could not mediate the dispute because the battle was between good and evil and evil could not be peacefully resolved. Iran's Prime Minister Rajai said Iran rejected mediation because Iraq was the aggressor. Iraq wanted mediation, Rajai said, because it was losing the war and wanted the Strait of Hormuz "reopened" so that Iraqi oil could leave the Gulf. Shatti and ul-Haq left Tehran for Amman, Jordan, enroute to Baghdad. Iraqi President Saddam Husayn said in a speech that Iraq was ready to stop the war, to call for a cease-fire, and to begin negotiations, either directly with Iran or indirectly through a third party or an international organization. Iraq asks that Iran recognize Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab, that Iran become a "good neighbor" and not interfere in the internal affairs of Gulf states, and that Iran surrender the Tunbs and Abu Musa, said Husayn. Iraqi Defense Minister Khayrallah repeated his statement that Iraq wanted only 324 square kilometers along the border.



The Islamic World League Constituent Council, meeting in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, called for a cease-fire between Iraq and Iran. The UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 479 calling for a cease-fire and asking Iraq and Iran to accept one of the international mediation efforts.

In the day's fighting, Iraq claimed to hold the city of Dezful, important because oil and gas pipelines and the main north-south railroad and highway pass through the city. Iran claimed the Iraqis had been stopped outside Dezful and that Iran remained in control of the city. Iran also claimed to hold the city of Susangerd, which the Iraqis claimed to have taken yesterday. The Japanese embassy in Tehran said the Japanese consul in Khorramshahr said the city was still in Iranian hands, in spite of Iraqi statements that Iraq controlled the city. Iraq claimed to have seized the Ahwaz radio station and that Iran was broadcasting from Shiraz claiming it was the Ahwaz station to trick the Iranian people into thinking Iran was winning the war. Iranian planes bombed or strafed Mosul, Basra, and al-Sulaymaniyah, and Iraqi planes bombed or strafed Kharg Island, Tehran, Bushehr, Dezful, Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, Dehloran, and Kermanshah.

Baghdad radio said Iran requested spare parts for its military from Turkey, and that Libya's leader Muammar al-Qadhafi offered to pay the Turks twice the value if the Turks would deliver the spares to Iran. (Neither Turkey nor Libya confirmed that report. The Iraqis are implying that Libya supports Iran, but thus far Libya has remained neutral.) An Iraqi newspaper reported that Syria sent two plane-loads of military equipment to Iran on Sept. 14. (The Iraqi implication that Syria supports Iran has not been substantiated from Damascus; in fact, Syria's allowing the oil pipelines to reopen suggests support for Iraq.)

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani met with the North Korean ambassador, and said after the meeting that North Korea supported Iran in the battle with Iraq.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1980 -- MONDAY

Iranian "roving" ambassador Shams Ardakani told India's Prime Minister Gandhi that the hostages remained in the custody of the "students" and that the Iranian government would continue to seek a solution to the problem.

Iranian Admiral Afdal said that the Iraqi navy tried but failed to seize control of the Shatt al-Arab, the Persian Gulf, and the Strait of Hormuz. The admiral said commercial shipping through the Strait was "normal." Afdal warned "Shaykhdoms and Amirates" in the Gulf not to give sanctuary to Iraqi ships, which he said had taken refuge when the Iraqis realized they would be defeated by the Iranian navy, and that Iran would destroy the Iraq ships in the Gulf ports.

The Iranian Oil Ministry issued a statement that Iranian refineries were operating normally and processing oil. Iran claimed to have destroyed the Iraqi refinery at Khanagah. A Tehran radio commentary said Iran had the right to destroy Iraqi oil facilities because Iraq and Saudi Arabia were wasting their resources by selling oil to the West at low prices to be used to fill oil reservoirs. Iran was stopping the depletion of the people's resources, the commentator said.

Bani Sadr told an Italian news service that Iran was angered at the Western nations which "did not lift a finger" to help Iran "in its hour of need." The Western nations, the President said, lined up behind the U.S. sanctions against Iran. Bani Sadr said he did not fear Soviet intervention in the Iraq-Iran war because the Soviets were tied down in Afghanistan.

In Iran, President Bani Sadr met again with Yasir Arafat before Arafat left for Baku and a possible return to Baghdad. A Tehran radio commentary said the Iraqis rejected the cease-fire and mediation efforts and that Iran would fight on, even if all its weapons were gone and it had to resort to Molotov cocktails against Iraqi tanks. General Fallahi of the Iranian army said there would be no peace negotiations. The BBC quoted Muhammad Mukhri, Iran's ambassador to Moscow, as saying that Iran's conditions for peace were (1) Saddam Husayn must resign as President of Iraq, (2) the Iraqi army must surrender to Iran, (3) Iraq must give the city of Basra to Iran, and (4) Iraqi Kurds must be offered a referendum to choose their future.

In Iraq, Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan arrived to take part in the meetings between Iraqi President Husayn and Habib Shatti and Zia ul-Haq of the Islamic Conference. Husayn also sent a telegram to UN Secretary-General Waldheim saying Iraq accepted the call for a cease-fire contained in Resolution 479 and would be willing to open negotiations directly with Iran or through a third party. Meanwhile, Kuwait's Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah and Algeria's President Ben Jadid Shadli announced that they would mount a joint mediation effort to arrange a cease-fire between Iraq and Iran.

On the battlefields, Iran denied that Iraq had seized the city of Dezful and said that the city's radio station and radar station were still intact and still in Iranian hands, despite Iraqi claims to have seized and destroyed the two installations. The Iraqi naval commander said Iraq had destroyed, on the average, four Iranian ships each day since the war began. Iraq claimed to have bombed and strafed the Iranian cities of Bushehr, Dehloran, Ahwaz, and Dezful. Iran claimed to have bombed and strafed Kirkuk, Basra, and Khanagah. Iran's prime minister Rajai said his nation was aware of the assistance offered to Iraq by Jordan, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait and other countries, hinting that Iran would seek revenge for aiding Iraq. Al-Thawra, the Iraqi newspaper that reflects government thinking, said Iraq was disappointed at some Arab states for not supporting Iraq. The newspaper said Iraq did not ask for help, but it was the duty of the Arab states to offer support to the Iraqis in their battle to regain land that belonged to the Arab nation.

A Moscow radio commentary broadcast in Parsi said United States military officials were continuing their preparations for a military intervention in the Iraq-Iran conflict and U.S. political officials were trying to justify the action. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wanted the two sides to accept a cease-fire and establish peace, and would never think of intervening in the internal affairs of other nations, the commentator said.

Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, the Greek Catholic Bishop of Jerusalem who was involved in the exchange of Americans killed in the April rescue mission, left Tehran for Paris. Capucci had been negotiating with the Iranian government on the status of Roman Catholic schools in Iran. Capucci will report to the Pope in Rome, and then will go to London with news of the six Anglicans under arrest in Iran for "spying for Zionism."

SEPTEMBER 30, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Iranian Majlis approved the appointment of seven people to the special committee that is to study the hostage issue and report to the Majlis on suggested ways to resolve the problem. The Majlis did not name the seven, which it is expected to do in its next session. During the debate over how many people should serve on the committee, Speaker Rafsanjani said that Iran "should get rid of this ominous issue." Majlis members argued over whether the special committee should contact foreign governments in conducting its study, but did not resolve that question either.

The United States announced that it was sending four Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft with about 300 U.S. military personnel to Saudi Arabia. It was presumed that AWACS would be used to monitor air and ground traffic in the Iraq-Iran conflict that could pose a threat to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states. Saudi Arabian government officials said they had requested AWACS from the United States.

The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Anba reported that the United States was "sympathetic" to Iran's need for spare parts and military equipment replacements for the war against Iraq and had contacted the Israelis to act as middle-men in transferring arms and equipment to Iran. The United States would use Israel, al-Anba said, to protect U.S. "neutrality" in the war.

A Moscow radio commentary in Farsi said the United States was looking for an excuse to intervene in the war, and that U.S. military planners were prepared to send ships into the Persian Gulf. The Moscow commentary, a repeat of similar Soviet broadcasts since the war started, said the United States was trying to involve NATO in the intervention, and that the British had sent a destroyer and a support ship to join the American fleet in the Arabian Sea.

Secretary of State Muskie met with Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi in New York at the UN General Assembly meeting. Hammadi also met with Saudi Foreign Minister Saud al-Faysal. No details of the discussions were revealed.

A Kuwaiti newspaper reported that rumors circulating in the region which said the Iraqis were going to abrogate their treaty with the Soviet Union were false, and that the Iraqi embassy in Kuwait had denied that Iraq was considering severing ties with Moscow.

According to Tehran radio, a leader of the "Afghanistan Islamic Revolutionary Liberation Front" pledged to support Iran in the conflict with Iraq. Yasir Arafat was quoted as saying that the PLO was "neutral" in the contest; the PLO had stated its neutrality on the first day of fighting, but the PLO representative in Baghdad had said later that the PLO supported Iraq.

Venezuelan Energy Minister Humberto Calderone Berti said Venezuela would not increase its oil production to compensate for a possible oil shortage caused by the Iraq-Iran conflict, but Berti said OPEC would "review" the Sept. 15 "gentlemen's agreement" to reduce production by 10%. Berti said it was "premature" to discuss a price increase that may arise from the Iraq-Iran conflict, although there were, in Berti's words, "some signs of panic" in spot market dealings that could push oil prices upward. The OPEC finance ministers meeting scheduled for Oct. 6 in Quito, Ecuador, was postponed. OPEC is scheduled to hold a meeting in London on Oct. 18.

Iran claimed that Algeria and Libya had offered to provide oil products to Iran if shortages developed because of war damage to Iranian refineries. There was no confirmation of the offer from Libya or Algeria.

Ayatollah Khomeini said Iran would "never have discussions" about peace with Iraq, and there was "absolutely no question of peace or compromise." Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq and Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shattii ended their talks with Iraq's Saddam Husayn and left for New York. At a Paris stopover, after meeting with French President Giscard d'Estaing, ul-Haq said he was "very hopeful" that Iraq and Iran would agree to a cease-fire.

In the war, Iraq claimed to have bombed or strafed Iranian military reinforcements enroute to Dezful, oil storage facilities at Naft-e Safid and Bandar Shapur and Iranian troops concentrations near Ahwaz and Abadan. Iran claimed to have bombed or strafed Irbil, Takrit, Baghdad, and Nineveh. Iranian planes bombed the French-Iraqi nuclear power plant under construction outside Baghdad, but reports of damage to the plant were mixed. Iraq said it had shot down one-third of Iran's aircraft, and that another one-third was grounded because of the absence of spare parts. (Iran's full inventory of combat aircraft was about 400 when the war started.) Iraqi aircraft losses were 16 planes since the war began, according to Iraqi military authorities. Iran claimed to have destroyed 67 Iraqi tanks and armored personnel carriers in today's fighting, and another 140 Iraqi tanks and armored personnel carriers on Sunday and Monday, Sept. 28 and 29. Reuters reported that fighting in Khorramshahr was house-to-house and that the Iraqis were pounding Abadan with artillery. The Japanese consul in Khorramshahr left for Tehran because of the shelling, but said Iraqi troops were not yet in control of the city, as they have been claiming for the past three days. Iran claimed that a Jordanian tank brigade with 40 tanks had joined the Iraqi army fighting in Khuzistan, and that Morocco had sent troops to help the Iraqis. (The Jordanian-Moroccan involvement was not confirmed from other sources.)

A Turkish official said the pipeline between Iraqi oil fields and the Mediterranean would be repaired tomorrow.

OCTOBER 1, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Reuters reported from Beirut that an Iranian diplomat said the hostages would be killed if the United States "enters the war." Reuters pointed out that the diplomat may be speaking on his own rather than for the Iranian government.

Iran's Prime Minister met the Swiss ambassador in Tehran to receive a letter from Secretary of State Muskie. Rajai reportedly dismissed Muskie's previous letter, delivered by the Swiss on Sept. 1, by stating that the Iranian public considered it a joke.

Pars news agency reported an Iranian government statement that Iran "assures the international community" that Iran will not "hesitate in any effort to keep the Strait of Hormuz in operation." The Iranian government assurances were repeated by the Reuters news agency. According to AFP, Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat offered the use of Egyptian air bases to the United States in the event the United States used military power to open the Strait of Hormuz. Another news source in Egypt said the Saudis sought

U.S. assistance to defend their oil fields from a possible Iranian attack, and the United States responded to the Saudi request by sending the AWACS planes for early warning and air control.

A speech by Soviet President Brezhnev, two articles in Izvestiya, and a commentary broadcast by Tass repeated the theme that the United States was preparing to intervene in the Iraq-Iran conflict, and that the United States was trying to get other nations to join in a multinational naval force. The National Voice of Iran radio (clandestine, Soviet) quoted Ayatollah Khomeini as saying that Iran's real problem was the United States and that President Carter was aiding the Iraqi attacks against Iran in the hope that the war would result in the release of the hostages. (These two Soviet themes, anticipating U.S. intervention and U.S. benefit from the war, have not changed since the conflict started.)

An unconfirmed report from Iran said Poland would supply Iraq with replacement military equipment and spare parts; by using Poland, the Soviet Union could retain its guise of neutrality, the source said. An Iranian diplomat in Brussels said Iran was buying spare parts in the "free market" but would offer no more details. The Iranian diplomat denied a report that Britain was supplying military equipment to Iran. The speaker of the Iraqi parliament, Naim Haddad, said Japan and South Korea were supplying spare parts and military equipment to Iran at the request of the United States; the U.S. protected its "neutrality" by sending arms through the Japanese and Koreans, said Haddad. The Turkish Foreign Minister denied the story, which originated in Baghdad on Sept. 28, that Iran asked Turkey for spare parts. Iraq denied that Jordanian or Moroccan troops were fighting for Iraq.

Iraq repeated its acceptance of the UN Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire, and offered a 4-day truce beginning Oct. 5 to permit negotiations. Iran rejected the UN Security Council resolution and the Iraqi offer of a truce. Bani Sadr told Newsweek magazine that Iran would accept a cease-fire if Iraq withdrew from Iranian territory and agreed not to interfere in the Iranian provinces of Kurdistan and Khuzistan. The Iranian president rejected all Iraq's claims to border adjustments. The Iranian government disassociated itself from the remarks of the Iranian ambassador in Moscow, when he said on Sept. 29 that Husayn must resign, the Iraqi army must surrender, Basra must become Iranian, and the Iraqi Kurds must be given autonomy before Iran would accept a cease-fire. The Ambassador, Muhammad Mukhri, was recalled. Karachi news sources quoted Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq as saying there were "no prospects for an early cease-fire" in the Iraq-Iran conflict. Yesterday, ul-Haq was quoted as saying he was "very hopeful" of an early cease-fire. Indira Gandhi called for a negotiated settlement of the dispute. The Governments of Syria and South Yemen called for a peaceful resolution, and the Syrians added that the longer the war went on, the higher the likelihood that outsiders would intervene.

On the battlefield, Arab news sources said the crucial battle was underway in and around Dezful, that the Iraqis had launched a major offensive using all their military and technical skills. The Iraqis claimed, again, that Dezful was surrounded and that the key military and oil installations had been captured or destroyed. The Iraqis said Dezful was not surrounded and that they had launched a counterattack. Iran also denied that Khorramshahr, Abadan, and Ahwaz had fallen to the Iraqis and said that an Iranian tank counteroffensive was underway at Ahwaz. Iran claimed to have retaken Mehran in the north. Iran said it captured three Egyptian soldiers fighting for Iraq. The head of Iran's 92nd army division said he suspected the Iraqis had lost all their planes because they were offering no resistance in the air.

He also said Iran destroyed 200 Iraqi tanks in the past 2 days. Iranian planes bombed or strafed Kirkuk, Aghra, al-Sulaymaniyah, Basra, and Umm Qasr. Iraqi planes bombed or strafed Abadan, Dezful, and Ahwaz. Iranian planes bombed the Iraqi-French nuclear facility under construction near Baghdad, but reports of damage were mixed; one source said the Iranians missed the plant, another said the plant suffered light damage, yet another said heavy damage.

Iran's Prime Minister Rajai named Shams Ardakani, currently Iranian ambassador to Kuwait, to be Iran's UN delegate.

(Note: As other sources of information have become available, it appears that the early claims by Iraq and Iran of extensive damage to each other's facilities were exaggerated. During the first days of the conflict, Sept. 20 through 26, there were few non-Iranian non-Iraqi reports from the battlefield, and the claims by the two governments of the progress of the war were not verified by neutral observers. More recently, other news sources and other observers have sent reports which may be compared to earlier government claims. Despite all the sorties flown against oil and military targets, it appears that the damage is minimal to refinery and petrochemical complexes, with the exception of Basra and Abadan, that damage to airfields and other military bases is less than reported earlier, and that very little damage has been done to urban centers or field facilities on either side. It also seems clear that neither Iraq nor Iran has committed its full military strength to the confrontation and that both sides are holding back in reserve the greatest part of their military capability. It also appears that the Iraqi attack was limited, with limited goals of securing just the border territory. The Iraqi thrust toward Ahwaz and Dezful appears to be an afterthought rather than a primary goal of the campaign. At this point, the Iraq-Iran confrontation could dwindle to a sniping war while negotiations proceed, or become a serious confrontation as Iran launches an all-out effort to retake its lost territory. Iraq's early advantage of a cohesive well-equipped army could be overcome by Iran's advantage of numbers depth, despite its lack of spare parts.)

OCTOBER 2, 1980 -- THURSDAY

The Iranian Majlis voted for members of the special committee that is to recommend a solution to the hostage problem. The seven members are Ayatollah Musavi Khoini, confidant of the "students" holding the hostages, who said he helped plan the seizure of the U.S. embassy on Nov. 4, 1979; Ayatollah Muhammad Ali Khamenei, Khomeini's representative in the Iranian army, founder of the IRP, and the leader of Friday prayers at Tehran's largest mosque; Ayatollah Muhammad Khamenei, a member of the Majlis and the brother of the Friday prayer leader; Ayatollah Ali Akbar Nategh Nuri, an IRP member and Prime Minister Rajai's first choice for Interior Minister who was rejected by Bani Sadr; Shaykh Muhammad Yazdi, a member of the Prime Minister selection committee that rejected Bani Sadr's choices for Prime Minister and selected Rajai; Ali Akbar Parvareh, deputy speaker of the Majlis and IRP member; and Muhammad Kazim Musavi Bojnurdi, Bani Sadr's appointee to head the Revolutionary Guards who resigned after one week. The seven are considered to be "hardliners" who favor demands or conditions for the release of the hostages beyond those listed by Ayatollah Khomeini and who would support a trial of the hostages. The Majlis voted against the special committee contacting the United States or any other country in compiling its study of the hostages, and voted against allowing the special committee to engage in

any negotiations on the hostages. Observers speculate that the special committee may take up to six weeks to complete its study and recommendations.

An editorial in the Baghdad newspaper al-Thawra said the United States was trying to "impose its services" to police the Persian Gulf area and that the world should stop these "rash adventures" of the Americans. The editorial said Iran was responsible for the U.S. move into the Gulf. Al-Fajr, the newspaper of Abu Dhabi, printed an interview with Shaykh Sagr ibn Muhammad al-Qasbi, the ruler of Ras al-Khaymah, one of the seven member states of the United Arab Emirates, in which he said the two Tunbs islands and Abu Musa still belonged to the United Arab Emirates, and that he had been in contact with Ayatollah Khomeini to have the islands returned but the Ayatollah had followed the same policies as the Shah and kept the islands. Al-Qasbi supported the Iraqi contention that Iraqi border rights had been violated by Iran and that Iraq was correct in demanding that the Tunbs and Abu Musa be returned to the United Arab Emirates. West German Defense Minister Apel said West Germany would not play a role in naval operations to open the Strait of Hormuz (if it were closed), could not fill the "gap left by the United States" in the defense of Europe if the United States removed troops from Europe for a Middle Eastern theater, and that the only discussions currently underway were over oil supplies. A Tass commentary said the United States was taking advantage of the Iraq-Iran conflict to increase its presence in the Persian Gulf.

Japanese sources said the Japanese-Iranian petrochemical complex at Bandar Khomeini, bombed yesterday by the Iraqis, was not damaged severely; only storage tanks and some small refinery equipment were hit. Three large Japanese tankers (the "Globtik" series, 480,000 tons each) left the Persian Gulf; the three had been waiting at anchor off Ras Tanurah, Saudi Arabia, until Iran granted permission to enter the Strait of Hormuz. Kyodo news service of Japan reported that Saudi Arabia would increase its production from 9.5 to 10.2 million barrels per day.

Some efforts to arrange a cease-fire continued: Islamic Conference Foreign Ministers agreed to meet in New York at the United Nations on Oct. 4 to discuss their next step; Kuwaiti news sources reported that the European Community approached the Iranians through an East European state with a cease-fire initiative and the Iranians accepted; and Cuban Foreign Minister Malmerca continued his discussions in Tehran on behalf of the Non-Aligned Conference. Other peace efforts apparently were halted: Yasir Arafat apparently abandoned his effort; Tehran radio said Iran rejected the Iraqi offer for a four-day cease-fire beginning on Oct. 5; and Iran again rejected the UN call for a cease-fire.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry said Turkey was not supplying arms or spare parts to Iran and would not permit arms or spare parts to be shipped to Iran or Iraq across Turkish territory. Brazilian authorities denied a story that Brazil was furnishing arms to Iraq, and denied that Iraq asked Brazil for arms. Kuwait denied giving arms or assistance to Iraq. The South Korean ambassador to Jordan said his nation was not giving arms or spare parts to Iran.

The Iraqi armed forces issued a communique that said the "armed forces have accomplished their basic objectives" and that "military activities will be limited to retaining the targets achieved." Iran claimed it regained Susangerd, and that its forces were attacking Iraqi positions at Khorramshahr and Ahwaz. Later, Iranian sources claimed that the Iraqis were pulling back from the two cities. Iranian planes bombed several locations in Iraq,

apparently striking at military targets and troop concentrations. Iraqi planes struck Iranian troops moving toward Dezful, Ahwaz and Khorramshahr. Iraqi gunboats shelled Abadan.

There were reports that Iraqi Kurds attacked Iraqi Arab forces near Irbil and Mosul.

Both the Iraqi and Iranian embassies in Beirut were hit by rockets.

It was reported in Paris that Shahpur Bakhtiar left for Amman, Jordan, enroute to Iraq, where he would announce the formation of a government-in-exile. Jordan denied that Bakhtiar transited the country.

OCTOBER 3, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Ayatollah Khomeini, in a speech, listed three conditions to be met by the United States before the hostages could be released: a return of the Shah's assets, an end of the U.S. "campaign" against Iran, and a U.S. guarantee against future interference in Iranian affairs. (Today's "conditions" differed from those listed by Khomeini on Sept. 12, when he said the Shah's wealth must be returned, all U.S. financial claims against Iran must be dropped, the freeze on Iranian assets must end, and the U.S. must offer a guarantee of no future interference. He still did not list an apology or confession of guilt, conditions many other Iranian leaders have insisted upon. Given the current mood in Iran, with many people believing, or at least saying they believe, that the United States is behind the Iraqi attack, and the Majlis appointment of a "hardline" special committee to recommend a disposition of the hostage problem, Khomeini's conditions appear to be mild.)

The Washington Post reported that Iraqi troops, planes, helicopters, and ships had been dispersed to other Arab states, particularly to Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, in preparation for an attack against Bandar Abbas, the Iranian naval base on the Strait of Hormuz, and the three islands in the Strait, Abu Musa and the two Tunbs. According to the Washington Post, the United States pressed Oman and Saudi Arabia not to allow Iraq to use their bases for an attack on Iran because the Iranians would retaliate against Omani and Saudi oil installations. Supposedly, these events took place early in the conflict. There were other reports from the area which might support the Post story. On Sept. 22, Iraq moved cargo and commercial planes to Jordan to protect them from Iranian air attacks, as reported from Israel. On Sept. 23, Iran radio broadcast a warning to "foreign military units" which might "indirectly interfere in favor of the enemy (Iraq) at the Strait of Hormuz." The Iranians said they would "react in any way appropriate" to such military moves. On Sept. 24, Qatar news agency reported that Iran did not intend to close the Strait, which in hindsight may have been a cautionary word to other Gulf states cooperating with Iraq that there was no need for a military move against Iranian positions at the Strait of Hormuz. On Sept. 25, Iran said "certain neighboring countries and certain neighboring Shaykhdoms" might cooperate with Iraq and again warned that Iran would retaliate. Iran repeated the warning to Gulf states not to cooperate with Iraq on Sept. 27, the same day the Saudis cautioned the West not to "over react" by forming a joint naval force to patrol the Strait. It is possible that the Saudis either were having second thoughts about helping the Iraqis, or were alerting other Gulf states not to allow the Iraqis to launch an attack against Iran from their

territory. An Iranian naval commander warned "Shaykhdoms and Emirates" in the Gulf not to give sanctuary to Iraqi ships on Sept. 29, and today, Oct. 3, Ayatollah Montazari named Bahrain, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt as states helping Iraq and repeated the warning about Iranian retaliation. If the story is true that Iraq planned to attack Iran at the Strait of Hormuz using Oman or the United Arab Emirates as a launching base, it may follow that some of the United States' "consultations" over using force in the Gulf were intended to dissuade the Iraqis and their friends in the Gulf as much as to sound out American allies on a joint naval force. In a related story, the Guardian of London reported that Iraqi cargo planes and bombers had been moved to North Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan, and that the reason for the Saudis requesting the American AWACS was to protect the Iraqi planes from an Iranian attack.

The Government of India issued a statement opposing an international naval force intervening in the Persian Gulf.

Japan denied that it had provided arms or spare parts for Iran.

An Iranian Majlis member said UN Secretary-General Walheim should come to Iran to see how Iraq attacked civilian centers.

Egyptian President al-Sadat expressed his fears that the Iraq-Iran war would become a war of attrition and spread to other states in the region. Al-Sadat repeated his offer to the United States to use Egyptian bases for the defense of Saudi Arabia, and warned the United States not to allow the "other party" (meaning the Soviet Union) to take advantage of the unbalanced situation in the Middle East.

In an excerpt from an interview to be broadcast on American television on Oct. 5, Saudi Foreign Minister Saud ibn Paysal said Saudi Arabia would defend other Persian Gulf states if they were attacked as a result of the Iran-Iraq war.

On the battlefield, the stalemate of the past few days continued. Iraq claimed to have taken Dezful, again, and Iran claimed to have stopped the Iraqi attack. Artillery and tank exchanges continued around Khorramshahr and Abadan. Iran claimed to have retaken the city of Bostan, northwest of Sussangerd on the Iraq-border. The air war appeared confined to support for ground units in the Khorramshahr-Ahwaz-Dezful area.

Turkish officials said the Iraq-Turkey oil pipeline was repaired but was not operating because pumping facilities in the Kirkuk area had been damaged by Iranian bombing.

OCTOBER 4, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Iraq formally notified Japan that oil shipments would be suspended indefinitely. (The Japanese said they had not loaded Iraqi oil since Sept. 22, and had been lifting between 260,000 and 440,000 barrels per day from Iraq, about 9 or 10% of Japan's imports. The Japanese source also said Iraq had been producing about 3.5 million b/d, of which 300,000 b/d was for domestic use.)

Ayatollah Khomeini said the "nation of Islam" will punish those states

that aid Iraq according to Sharia (religious) law. A commentary broadcast by the National Iranian Oil Company station in Abadan attacked Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf Shaykhdoms for aiding Iraq and called such assistance to Iraq "anti-Islamic." The Persian Gulf states feared the Islamic revolution of Iran, said the commentator. Saudi Defense Minister Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz said there was no immediate threat to Saudi Arabia, and that the Saudis did not ask for the American AWACS because of the threat but to increase the capabilities of the Saudi forces. Sultan said the Saudis had not mobilize.

Cuban Foreign Minister Malmerca met with President Bani Sadr in Tehran. Pakistani President ul-Haq said he was in touch with both Iran and Iraq, but had no plans to return to either country. Ul-Haq continued his consultations at UN headquarters in New York and visited President Carter in Washington. Iraqi Foreign Minister Hammadi told the UN General Assembly that Iraq regretted the Iranian rejection of the Iraqi cease-fire offer, and that the war started because Iran refused to be a good neighbor and to respect Iraq's border. Iran had been fomenting a revolt against the Iraqi government, said Hammadi. Iraqi Defense Minister Khayrallah said in Baghdad that Iraq would welcome any mediation efforts. In Tehran, Prime Minister Rajai told a gathering of provincial governors that Iraq started the war and cannot dictate when the cease-fire is to start, so Iran rejected the Iraqi call for a cease-fire. Iran will defeat President Husayn, Rajai said, and the people of Iraq should prepare for the "Islamic revolution" that is to come.

Rajai met with the Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, who offered Iran arms, according to the Prime Minister. Iran refused the Soviet offer and complained to the ambassador that the Soviets had supplied 100 T-72 tanks to Iraq (presumably since the war started), had sent Soviet reconnaissance planes over Iran, and had sent "experts" to Jordan. Rajai reminded the ambassador that the Soviets had not supported the Mussadig regime in 1953 and had supported the Shah, and that the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan. Rajai's description of the meeting was broadcast over Tehran radio. The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Anba reported that Israel sent spare parts to the Netherlands, where they were loaded into Dutch planes and flown to Iran; all with U.S. knowledge and approval. Baghdad radio said General Pallahi, head of the Iranian military joint staff, visited the United States on Oct. 2 to ask for arms and spare parts. Iraqi Defense Minister Khayrallah said the United States sent Iran \$50 million in spare parts, and also stated that Iraqi forces had captured Soviet weapons from Iranian troops, suggesting that the Soviets were arming Iran either directly or through third parties. Iraqi officials repeated that they had not asked the Soviet Union or any other country for arms. (Since the early days of the conflict, both Iran and Iraq have said the United States was giving arms to the other side. Now both sides are saying the Soviet Union also is giving military assistance to the opposition.)

Iraq claimed its planes attacked Dezful, Behbahan, Tabriz, Khorramshahr, Abadan, and Masjid-e Sulayman. Iran claimed its planes attacked Basra, Dukan, Baghdad, al-Sulaymaniyah, Baiji, and Kirkuk. Iran's President Bani Sadr said the Iraqi forces had retreated from Khorramshahr, had that Iranian troops were at the Iraqi border near Sussangerd, had retaken Mehran, and were in the process of retaking Qasr-e Shirin and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab. An AFP correspondent reported from Ahwaz that Iranian forces still held Khorramshahr and that the closest Iraqi line was 12 miles away. The AFP reporter said the Iraqi forces were never closer than 25 miles to Dezful. Iraqi authorities claimed they still held Khorramshahr and Dezful. The Iraqi military announced that it had captured 500 Iranian soldiers, shot down 40 planes, destroyed 350 tanks, destroyed 400 other vehicles and armored personnel

carriers, and captured 100 tanks. Baghdad radio also said that a number of Syrians and Libyans had been captured while fighting for Iran. Iraqi Defense Minister Khayrallah denied that Cuban military advisors were in Iraq. Khayrallah also said that "Zionist" planes took part in the Sept. 30 air strike against the Iraq-French nuclear facility at Tammuz, outside Baghdad. The Iraqi Defense Minister said Iraq would release "proof" at the proper time.

Tehran radio reported that Iraqi Kurds were fighting Iraqi government troops in the northern part of Iraq.

Iranian news sources reported that Ayatollah Khalkhali, known as the "hanging judge" when he headed the Islamic courts after the revolution and now head of the anti-narcotics campaign, had tried and ordered executed 15 Iraqi intelligence officers supposedly working behind Iranian lines to foment a revolt among the Iranian Arab population.

Former Prime Minister Shapur Bakhtiar, who reportedly left Paris on Oct. 2, was in Baghdad, Saudi Arabia, or Oman, depending on which source one chooses to believe.

OCTOBER 5, 1980 -- SUNDAY

A report in the Sunday Times of London said all 52 American hostages were in Tehran. The author, Amir Taheri, reporting from Tehran, gave no other details. The "students" said they had dispersed the hostages to 16 cities in Iran after the Apr. 24 rescue attempt, but later announced that the hostages had been moved from eight of those cities. When the war started, the "students" said the hostages were moved from seven of the original 16 cities to secret locations, leaving only Ahwaz and Tehran as "known" locations for the hostages.

The same Sunday Times article also described an internal political battle in Iran between the fundamentalist religious leaders and the more secular politicians over the role of the Iranian army in the fighting with Iraq. According to the Times, the secular forces, led by Bani Sadr and Ghotbzadeh, had opposed the dismantling of the army called for by the religious leaders who wanted an "Islamic," not nationalist, army composed of the Revolutionary Guards. With the war, the army was needed because the Revolutionary Guards, for all their zeal, could not cope with the Iraqi army. Bani Sadr and the secularists convinced the religious leaders to release officers and pilots from prison, reinstate them in the military, and allow them to take over the conduct of the war with Iraq. (There have been other reports from Iran, unconfirmed, that army and air force officers were being "rehabilitated" to fight the war.) The Times article said the war had revived nationalism in Iran, which had been subdued under the religious fervor, so that the Revolutionary Guards who were supposed to fight Islam's battles were being replaced by the Iranian army to fight Iran's historic enemy Iraq. The author of the Times article speculated that Bani Sadr, Ghotbzadeh, and other secular leaders may gain the upper hand and institute many of their programs, including an end to the hostage crisis and re-establishment of relations with the United States. The Times also said Iran was near bankruptcy since oil revenues have stopped, assets are frozen or out of reach, and trade has stopped.

An editorial in the Islamic Revolution newspaper, which supports Bani Sadr, appeared to verify the Times story; the editorial criticized the Khomeini regime's purge of the military, and said the fundamentalists were wrong and Bani Sadr right when he opposed the elevation of the Revolutionary Guards.

(The long-apparent political struggle between the fundamentalists and the secularists, which the fundamentalists appeared to be winning, may take a new direction if the army, navy, and air force save Iran from the Iraqi threat and use revived public approval to re-enter the political arena.)

On the battlefields, the Iraqi truce failed; both sides accused the other of breaking the Iraqi-called cease-fire, which Iran did not accept anyway. Iran said Iraqi planes bombed and strafed Tehran's airport at dawn and the cities of Ahwaz, Bushehr, and Abadan early in the morning. Iraq said Iran shelled Iraqi forces at Ahwaz and Khorramshahr. At day's end, it appeared that Iraq finally occupied the city of Khorramshahr, which they claimed to have taken in the first week of the war. Iraqi planes bombed Kharg Island oil facilities, Tabriz, Kermanshah, Piranshah, and Port Gavanah. Iran bombed Iraqi military positions along the border, concentrating on the border area near Qasr-e Shirin and Mehran. Khatlat newspaper of Tehran said Iran had downed 111 Iraqi planes and destroyed 713 tanks and other vehicles since the war began.

In the continuing argument over arms supplies, Iran denied that General Fallahi had travelled to the United States on Oct. 2 to purchase arms and spare parts, and Iraq repeated the stories, first broadcast yesterday, of the Fallahi trip and the Israel-Netherlands arms supplies. Israeli sources reported that three ships (nationality unknown) had unloaded arms bound for Iraq at the Jordanian port of Aqaba. Other Israeli sources reported that the Soviet Union was sending arms to Iran overland and that an Iranian delegation secretly went to Moscow to purchase American weapons captured in Vietnam. Libya denied that Libyan soldiers were fighting for Iran.

Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq left New York for London. Ul-Haq received a message from Bani Sadr shortly before his departure, but did not disclose the contents. The Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council said it had contacted ul-Haq to explain that Iran had violated the truce. India's Indira Gandhi sent another message to Iran and Iraq asking for an end to the fighting because the continued conflict could only lead to a great power involvement in the Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean area.

An article in Pravda said the tensions between Iran and Iraq which led to the war were caused by the United States which insisted that its "vital interests" were threatened. Pravda said the United States had sent its "armada" of 30 ships to the Strait of Hormuz, AWACS to Saudi Arabia, and mobilized the rapid deployment force in preparation for an intervention to seize the region's oil resources.

OCTOBER 6, 1980 -- MONDAY

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said that Ayatollah Khomeini did not intend to limit conditions for the hostages' release to just the four he named, but the Majlis had the right to add other conditions to those mentioned by the Ayatollah. President Bani Sadr said the United States did not want to resolve the hostage issue, but was using the hostages as a pretext to launch attacks against Iran.



In a speech, Bani Sadr said he "deplored" the manner in which Iran had become isolated in world public opinion, that in spite of the fact that Iraq was the aggressor in the war, no other countries had supported Iran. Iran should "reflect and become realistic" about its posture in the world, said Bani Sadr. The President said that propaganda aimed at Iran and many of Iran's own "unjustified actions" had led to the country's isolation.

AFP reported from Hong Kong that Iraq asked Japan for gasoline and kerosine. The Japanese, according to AFP, said they would not supply oil products while the war continued, but might consider supplying oil to Iraq after the war ended. (Both Iraq and Iran may become oil product importers because of war damage to their refineries and storage facilities.)

Indian news sources reported that India asked the Soviet Union for crude oil supplies to replace Iraqi and Iranian crude. India received about 20 million tons per year, two-thirds of its oil, from Iran and Iraq. According to the Indian news reports, the Soviet Union denied the Indian request. At present, the Soviet Union supplies about 1.5 million tons of crude oil and 1.5 million tons of oil products per year to India, and an agreement to barter Indian rice for an additional 700,000 tons of Soviet crude per year was waiting approval. According to reports, India asked Indonesia, Mexico, and Nigeria for oil.

The Japanese evacuated 745 workers from the petrochemical complex under construction at Bandar Khomeini to Shiraz. The complex has been attacked by the Iraqis several times.

The Defense Minister of the United Arab Emirates denied reports originating in Syria that "foreign troops" were stationed in Dubai. According to the Syrian source, the foreign troops were Americans and Iraqis preparing to attack Bandar Abbas.

The Jordanian Defense Minister commandeered all trucks in Jordan to be used to haul supplies from the Jordanian port of Aqaba to Iraq. Israeli sources reported that Soviet and East European ships were unloading food, construction materials, and some munitions at Aqaba.

Syria complained that Iraq had launched a hostile propaganda campaign against Syria.

Former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar returned to Paris after a four day absence, in which he reportedly went to Iraq.

On the battlefield, Iranian radio said the BBC was "lying" when it reported yesterday that Iraqi troops held Khorramshahr, and that Iranian forces had actually pushed the Iraqis back five kilometers from Khorramshahr. Ayatollah Khomeini said in a radio interview that he was in Khorramshahr and invited foreign correspondents to come to the city to see for themselves. About the same time, a Reuters correspondent was reporting from Khorramshahr that the city was in Iraqi hands. In the air, Iraqi planes attacked Dehloran, Bushehr, Dezful, Ahwaz, Masjid-e Sulayman, Tabriz, and Tehran, where they bombed two automotive assembly line plants. Iranian planes attacked Kirkuk, Tikrit, al-Amarah, and Haj Umran. Iranian Defense authorities warned the populace against touching unexploded bombs and shells and said Iraq was dropping toys, dolls, fountain pens, and similar objects which were boobytrapped. Former Iranian Defense Minister Shamran said some of the Iraqi tanks were "controlled by Soviet personnel" and that Iranian

military personnel heard Russian being spoken over Iraqi military radio. Shamran said Iraq committed 100,000 troops in the first offensive against Iran, 20,000 of whom were involved in the attack against Ahwaz. He said Iran's army of 200,000 troops would concentrate on guerrilla warfare against Iraq when the Iranians ran out of spare parts for their heavy equipment. Shamran said the Soviet Union was "directly or indirectly in concert with United States" in supporting the Iraqi attack.

OCTOBER 7, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Mansur Farhang, formerly Iranian representative at the United Nations and now an aide to Bani Sadr, said it was no longer in Iran's interest to hold the hostages and that the hostage problem should be resolved as quickly as possible. Farhang said Iran missed many opportunities to solve the hostage issue, such as the UN commission that visited Tehran in February/March 1980.

Reuters reported that Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait had agreed to raise their oil production by a total of 3 million b/d to compensate for any shortage of oil in the world market arising from the Iraq-Iran war. (Currently, Saudi Arabia produces 9.5 million b/d, Kuwait 1.5 million b/d, and the United Arab Emirates 1.7 million b/d.)

Iran's President Bani Sadr said that if Iraq overran Iran and defeat appeared inevitable, Iran would destroy its own oil fields rather than allow the Iraqis or anyone else to take them over.

Le Monde reported that Iran asked France for assistance in helicopter and plane maintenance and spare parts. Bani Sadr told Le Monde that the Soviet ambassador to Tehran assured the Iranians that the Soviets were not resupplying Iraq with weapons or spare parts. Bani Sadr said Iran continued to buy American spare parts for its American weapons through "international dealers." One unconfirmed story said North Korea was furnishing equipment to Iran, but it was not clear if it was Soviet equipment or American equipment transferred from Vietnam or some other source. AFP reported that Jordan's 3rd armored division had moved to the Jordan-Iraq border awaiting orders to enter Iraq and join in the battle with Iran. The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Qabas said Jordan sent 40,000 troops with equipment to the Iraq-Jordan border and that Jordan had "given" the port of Aqaba to Iraq for the resupply of the Iraqi army.

Iranian army chief Fallahi said Khorramshahr was completely in Iranian hands and that Iranian forces also controlled Bostan, Susangerd, and Mehran. Fallahi said the Iraqi forces outside Dezful were pinned down and that a counteroffensive was underway. The Iraqis attacked with 12 divisions, of which 7 were still on line against Iran, Fallahi said. The Iranian military commander also said that Iran would "destroy" the Iraqi army, that defeating the army was not enough because the army could reorganize and rebuild and attack Iran again. Former Defense Minister Shamran said Iran would continue the war until Saddam Husayn was destroyed and that Iran would not accept a cease-fire until it had defeated the Iraqis. Shamran repeated his statement that the Soviet Union and the United States were supporting Iraq, and that the Soviet Union was aiding Iraq with weapons and spare parts. Bani Sadr said the war would end in 15 days, when Iraq ran out of fuel and equipment, and added that the war would end when Iraq had been driven from Iranian soil and Saddam Husayn had been removed from office. The war will continue, Bani



Sadr said, until Busayn is destroyed. Iranian Defense Minister Pakuri said Iran had destroyed 800 Iraqi tanks since the war began.

Baghdad radio said Iran was trying to fight a guerrilla war in the streets because Iran's tanks and planes had been destroyed or stopped because of a lack of spare parts and because the Iranians had been defeated by the Iraqis on the plains before Khorramshahr. The head of the Iraqi navy said the Iranian navy had been defeated during the first week of the war and the remnants had taken refuge at Bandar Abbas. Iraqi planes attacked Ahwaz, Shiraz, Tabriz, Kermanshah, Abadan, Tehran, and Asadabad.

The BBC reported that Iraqi troops controlled Khorramshahr.

Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq arrived in Vienna from London, and said that Habib Shatti, Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, would return to Tehran and Baghdad to continue the mediation mission.

An editorial in al-Thawra, the Baath Party newspaper in Baghdad, said the Syrians were not supporting the Arab cause and were assisting the Iranians.

OCTOBER 8, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Bani Sadr told Le Monde of Paris that the United States was using the hostage issue to implement its strategy of controlling the Middle East. The Iranian President said releasing the hostages would solve nothing. Ayatollah Beheshti said Iran would not be pressured into releasing the hostages; presumably he meant pressured by the conflict with Iraq which Iranians claim was instigated by the United States.

Pars news agency reported from Tehran that two Iranian students in California had been "beaten and insulted" by immigration officers and police and thrown in jail.

Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher repeated previous American policy statements that the Persian Gulf was of vital importance to the United States and that the AWACS sent to Saudi Arabia would gather information about threats to those vital interests. The information, said Christopher, would be shared with other Persian Gulf states. Tass, the Soviet news agency, said the United States was building a force that would intervene in the Gulf and that AWACS was part of that force. The Iraqi News Agency (INA) called the Christopher statement an "impudent threat" and added that the United States had no right to place its forces in the Persian Gulf or to act as the "guardian" of the region.

The New York Times reported that five ships, at anchor off Khorramshahr in the Shatt al-Arab, were set afire by Iranian artillery shelling. Three of the ships, registered in China, Panama and Dubai, sank; the other two, from Rumania and India, were still afloat. About 20 crewmen from the ships were killed, either during the shelling or by small arms fire from Iranian-held areas. Another 120 crewmen swam to safety on the Iraqi side of the Shatt al-Arab, the Times said. Iraqi officials said they had evacuated crewmen from South Korea, South Africa, Italy, Greece, and Pakistan. Unconfirmed reports say there are about 30 ships trapped in the Shatt al-Arab from Basra to al-Faw, afraid to move for fear of being caught in the war.

Prime Minister Suzuki said Japan would not participate in the discussions concerning a multinational naval force to open the Strait of Hormuz, if the Strait should be closed, and would not participate in such force if one were formed. Japan said it would not export gasoline and kerosene to Iran while the war continued. Japanese officials said representatives from the Iranian National Oil Company asked for refined oil products.

Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca, representing the Non-Aligned Conference, returned to Baghdad to continue his attempts to mediate the Iran-Iraq dispute. President Leopold-Sedar Senghor of Senegal said he will call for a United Nations meeting to discuss the Iraq-Iran war. The Yemen Arab Republic (north Yemen) called on both sides to accept a cease-fire, and applauded the Iraqis for their willingness to end the war. Kuwaiti Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Saad Abdallah al-Sabah called for a cease-fire and added that continued war could lead to foreign powers intervening in the Persian Gulf. Soviet President Brezhnev said the Soviet Union was neutral in the war and pledged that the Soviets would not intervene.

In Amman, Jordan's King Husayn told Western journalists that Jordan would transship goods through the port of Aqaba to Iraq. The King said no Jordanian troops were in Iraq and there were no plans to send troops, but if Iraq asked for and needed the Jordanian armed forces, Jordan would go to the aid of its Arab brothers. There were reports from Washington and London that the American and British governments cautioned King Husayn against becoming involved in the war. Iran's state radio reported that King Husayn was acting on orders from the United States and Britain to help Iraq and to be prepared to rescue Iraqi President Saddam Husayn if the Baath regime in Baghdad should collapse. The Iranian state radio said Britain and the United States were competing for Husayn's services to act as their new "agent" in the region once their old "agent", Iraq's Husayn, was defeated by the Iranians.

The Indian government denied that India was furnishing aid to Iraq through Jordan. Kuwait's newspaper al-Anba reported that Jordan had asked France for ground-to-air missiles for Iraq. INA reported from Baghdad that Syria had sent two brigades to Iran before the war started to train Iranian troops and that the two brigades were located in the southern part of Iran and were assisting the Iranians in the conflict. Tass said the story about the U.S.S.R. offering arms to Iran originated in the United States, and denied that the Soviet Union had offered arms to Iran. (Iranian Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani and President Bani Sadr have said that the Soviet Union offered arms.)

Reuters reported from Basra that Iraqi troops controlled the port area of Khorramshahr but that Iranian forces still held other parts of the city. Iraq planes attacked Dehloran, Khaneh, Shushtar, Dezful, and al-Razaiyeh. Iranian planes attacked Baghdad, Kirkuk, al-Sulaymaniyah, Basra, and al-Amarah. The two fighting fronts at Dezful-Ahwaz and Qasr-e Shirin-Mehran appeared to be stalemated, with both sides shelling the other's positions but neither side advancing. The critical battle appears to be along the road from Khorramshahr to Abadan, where the two sides are engaged in a tank and artillery exchange.

The National Voice of Iran radio (clandestine, Soviet) criticized statements made by former Iranian Defense Minister Shamran the past two days in which he said the Soviet Union was supporting Iraq and that Soviet personnel were directing the Iraq forces. NVOI said Shamran was an agent of the United States and that he and his "friends" wanted the American rapid deployment force to dismantle Iran the same way Lebanon was dismantled.

Ayatollah Beheshti told a press conference that Iran was not receiving arms from the United States. The head of Iran's supreme court and head of the Islamic Republic Party, when asked if Iran would join the new Syrian-Libyan alliance, said that Iran's friendly relations with those nations was a form of "union" but anything more formal would require negotiations. Beheshti said Iran also had good relations with Algeria and "Palestine." Beheshti said Iraq must withdraw from Iranian territory before Iran would accept a cease-fire and that Iran would decide how to handle a resolution of the border dispute.

In a long interview with Le Monde, President Bani Sadr said Iran knew of Iraqi plans to attack as early as August, based on intelligence sources the Iranians "bought." The sources told Iran that Iraq, Israel, the United States, and supporters of the former Shah had planned the invasion of Iran, but because of their prior warning, the Iranians protected most of their aircraft in shelters rendering the Sept. 22 Iraqi air attacks ineffective. The president told Le Monde that seven Iraqi divisions (three of which were armored divisions) attacked on Sept. 22, and that Iran destroyed two of the Iraqi divisions. Bani Sadr said when the war started he ordered the release of 50 Iranian army officers then in Iranian jails and dismissed the charges against them because "competence and patriotism come before fidelity to the regime." The president said Iran continued to receive arms and spare parts through "international brokers" and when Iraq had exhausted its arsenal, Iran would launch a "lighting counteroffensive." Bani Sadr repeated his statement that he had received assurances from the Soviet ambassador the Soviet Union was not supplying arms to Iraq. Bani Sadr said Iran "will deal savage blows" to Arab nations that support Iraq. If other states enter the war, Bani Sadr told Le Monde, Iran would close the Strait of Hormuz. Iran was disappointed with Europe because the European states were following U.S. orders. Bani Sadr said the war would end in about two weeks, when Iraq ran out of equipment and Saddam Husayn was overthrown.

According to a report from Paris, the French Foreign Ministry asked former Prime Minister Bakhtiar not to appear on a radio interview program, and Bakhtiar agreed.

OCTOBER 9, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Iranian Prime Minister Rajai said in an interview that the United States did not care about the hostages and was using the hostage issue as an excuse to take action against Iran. Rajai said the American rescue mission in April proved that the United States was willing to allow the hostages to be killed in order to destroy the Islamic revolution.

Bani Sadr told a French television correspondent that if other states joined Iraq in the war against Iran, Iran might close the Strait of Hormuz. The deputy commander of the Iranian navy said the Iran had "full control" of the whole Persian Gulf. AFP, the French news agency, reported from Bahrain that about 40 oil tankers bound for Iraq, Iran, and Kuwait were anchored outside the Strait of Hormuz in the Gulf of Oman while tankers loading at Qatari, Saudi, and United Arab Emirates ports moved through the Strait freely. AFP said some cargo ships were unloading at United Arab Emirate ports on the Gulf of Oman side, east of the Strait of Hormuz, rather than pay high insurance rates to transit the Strait. The cargoes are then trucked

across the Musandam peninsula to Dubai, reloaded on freighters, and sailed to other Persian Gulf ports.

Both Iran and Iraq dispatched envoys to world capitals to explain their positions on the war. According to a report from Tokyo, the Iraqi ambassador asked the Japanese to mediate the Iran-Iraq war because Japan was neutral and maintained good relations with both sides. The Iraqi ambassador to India asked Prime Minister Gandhi to begin a mediation effort, according to Indian news sources. Naim Haddad, Speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly, sent letters to world governments describing Iraq's position in the conflict and emphasizing Iraq's acceptance of a cease-fire. Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca met with acting Foreign Minister Hamid Alwan in Baghdad in his continuing effort to arrange a Non-Aligned Conference mediation. Iranian Prime Minister Rajai said in an interview that Iran was sending its new ambassador to the United Nations, Shams Ardekani, to New York to take part in the Security Council discussions of the Iran-Iraq war and to present Iranian position to the General Assembly. Previously, Iran did not take part in UN discussions of war or discussions of the hostage problem.

King Husayn of Jordan repeated that Jordanian troops were not sent to Iraq. Israeli sources reported that Libya was sending military supplies to Iran via Iranian 747, 737, and 707 aircraft overflying Greece, Bulgaria, the Black Sea, and the Soviet Union. According to the Israeli sources, Syria sent SA-6 ground-to-air missiles, Sagger anti-tank missiles, and RPG-7 (rocket propelled grenade) missiles to Iran, and the Israelis reported, Iraq was using T-72 tanks.

Iran's Prime Minister Rajai said Iraq fired eight ground-to-ground missiles into the Dezful area. (The missiles appear to be Frog-7s, based on the Iranian description of the missiles.) Bani Sadr said the Qasr-e Shirin front was stationary, that Iraq-Iranian forces were holding their positions around Dezful, that Iranian troops had advanced about 10 kilometers along a 40-kilometer front in the Ahwaz area, and that Iranian troops were pushing the Iraqis out of Khorramshahr. A BBC correspondent said the Iraqis held the port area and the Iranians the southeast part of the city, including the key bridge across the Karun River leading south to Abadan. Iraq continued to shell Abadan from the west bank of the Shatt al-Arab and were bringing reinforcements to Khorramshahr, according to the BBC. Iranian planes bombed Irbil, Kirkuk, and Mosul, and Iraqi planes attacked Iranian troop concentrations in Dezful, Ahwaz, and Abadan.

Bani Sadr said about 100 military officers had been released from jail, including a "few" pilots, to join the war against Iraq.

Iranian Defense Minister Fakuri said the war was between Islamic Iran and the combined force of Iraq and the United States, and that the war would continue until the United States was destroyed. It is a battle between right and wrong, Fakuri said. Ayatollah Khomeini said Iran would rescue Iraq from the Baath Party and Saddam Husayn. Iranian news sources quoted Khomeini saying "We hope we will destroy this criminal (Saddam Husayn) and liberate Iraq."

Le Monde correspondent Eric Rouleau reported from Tehran that Iranian political circles were debating the Soviet Union's role in the war and that the discussion was leading to another debate over the future foreign policy of Iran. Some Iranians, led by Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani, say the Soviet Union is remaining neutral, implying that in the future the Soviet Union will become Iran's friend and supporter. But, said Rouleau, other Iranians

believe the Soviets are helping Iraq and should not be trusted in the future. Bani Sadr, Defense Minister Fakuri (who said Soviet technicians are assisting Iraq air defense forces), former Defense Minister Shamran, and Ayatollah Khomeini lead the anti-Soviet group.

OCTOBER 10, 1980 -- FRIDAY

President Carter said he had "no idea" when the hostages might be released. Officials in Washington denied rumors that the United States was negotiating with third parties to supply spare parts and weapons to Iran in exchange for the hostages.

The Omani Foreign Ministry said Omani naval craft were patrolling the Strait of Hormuz international shipping channel, most of which passes through Omani territorial waters, and that ships using the channels were passing without delay. The Omani Foreign Ministry denied that foreign troops, either Iraqi or American, were stationed on Omani soil.

Libyan leader Muammar al-Qadhafi said it was an "Islamic duty" to support Iran in the war with Iraq rather than fight against Iran on behalf of the United States. Al-Qadhafi sent telegrams to other Arab leaders asking them to support "Muslim Iran" against Iraq. Iraq broke diplomatic relations with Libya, Syria, and North Korea, withdrew Iraqi ambassadors to those countries, and gave the three nations 48 hours to withdraw from Baghdad. Iraq said Syria, Libya, and North Korea were furnishing weapons to Iran.

Iraq ordered foreign journalists to leave Iraq and reapply for entry. Some European newspapers, American television, and international wire services were exempted from the order. Journalists speculated that the Iraqi Ministry of Information could not control the large number of journalists that swarmed into Iraq to cover the war and was having difficulty ensuring that the journalists reported only the official Iraqi government line. The Iraqi government's official reason for the journalists' removal was to allow other journalists an opportunity to enter Iraq and cover the war.

Tass, the Soviet new agency, reported President Carter's comment to ABC in which the President said the Strait of Hormuz must remain open to protect U.S. vital interests. Tass said the United States had no justification for intervening in the Persian Gulf. Tass denied that the Soviets were shipping arms to Iraq through Jordan. Moscow radio said the Soviet Union favored a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran conflict and repeated President Brezhnev's Oct. 8 warning that the United States should keep its "hands off the region." Moscow radio also denied that the U.S.S.R. had offered arms to Iran and repeated its claim that the Soviet arms offer story originated in the United States. A Syrian-Soviet communique issued at the end of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's visit praised the Islamic revolution in Iran but did not mention the Iran-Iraq war. Al-Assad was in Moscow to sign an extension of the Syrian-Soviet friendship and cooperation treaty.

Turkey's Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen said the Turks were "impartial" in the Iran-Iraq dispute, said the Turks would not mediate the dispute if asked, and said that Turkey would not allow arms shipments to either side across Turkish territory.

Iranian planes bombed Kirkuk, Mosul, al-Sulaymaniyah, al-Amarah, Basra,

Irbil, and Shuaybah. Iraqi planes bombed Ahwaz, Shiraz, Tehran, Tabriz, Dezful, Shushtar, and Kharg Island. Baghdad radio warned citizens of Ahwaz and Dezful that surface-to-surface missiles would be fired at the two cities. Tehran radio warned Iraqi citizens that Iran might retaliate against Iraqi cities if Iraq fired more missiles at Iranian cities. Reuters reported that Iraqi T-62 tanks crossed the Karun River bridge between Khorramshahr and Abadan. Iraqi military commanders said the Iraqi forces were tightening their siege around Khorramshahr and Abadan. Iranian sources continued to claim that Iranian forces still held parts of Khorramshahr and that the Iraqis had not crossed the Karun.

OCTOBER 11, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Bani Sadr said the war with Iraq would have no influence over Iran's consideration of the hostage problem. The Iranian president repeated the familiar line that the United States did not want to solve the hostage issue because the hostages were "useful" to the United States. Without the hostage problem, Iraq would not have been able to attack Iran while the world remained silent, Bani Sadr said, implying again that the United States and Iraq colluded in the attack knowing that no other countries would support the Iranian position as long as the hostages remained in Iran. "Conditions for release (of the hostages) will be presented to the American Government..." which either will accept or reject the conditions without negotiations, said the president. Bani Sadr said the conditions would be set by the Majlis. The president said the Iranian delegation sent to the United Nations will not meet U.S. representatives to discuss the hostages.

Bani Sadr told the Paris newspaper Le Nouvel Observateur that "if the Gulf countries enter the war, we will destroy their petroleum installations," and, he added, Iran "would attack the Strait of Hormuz if the war worsened and if the big powers get involved indirectly through other countries." (Previously, the Iranians said they would punish Gulf states assisting Iraq, but did not specify the punishment. Iran claimed "control" over the Strait early in the war, but did not try to exercise it. Today's threat against Gulf state oil facilities and the Strait of Hormuz signals a more belligerent stance by Iran. Iran also claims that the presence of American AWACS planes in Saudi Arabia is a form of U.S. involvement.) Bani Sadr told AP that Iran might accept a limited cease-fire to allow ships trapped in the Shatt al-Arab to leave. AP said there were about 60 ships waiting out the war between al-Faw and Basra. The Egyptian army Chief of Staff said Egypt was ready to send troops if requested to defend Saudi Arabia against Soviet intervention. The Egyptian military leader also said Egypt may try to form an Arab fleet to defend the Red Sea.

Officials from Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates met at Taif, Saudi Arabia, to agree to raise their combined oil production by 1 million b/d to cover the shortage caused by the Iraq-Iran war. India announced that Bulgaria would furnish 100,000 tons of crude and refined products to help India meet its current shortage. India received almost two-thirds of its oil from Iraq and Iran.

Kyodo, the Japanese news agency, reported that Iraq would allow only 25 foreign correspondents to remain in Iraq after yesterday's decision to limit the number of journalists. Kyodo said its correspondent, plus those from Le Monde and Der Spiegel, would remain in Baghdad. Bani Sadr said in Tehran

that British and American journalists may be allowed to return to Iran if they report the facts.

Tehran radio played a song popular with Palestinians during the 1970 civil war in Jordan which called for the "liberation" of Amman. The radio station was aiming its propaganda at Jordan's support for Iraq.

Kuwait said it would support Jordan against Israeli threats emanating from Jordan's support for Iraq. (Israeli Prime Minister Begin "warned" Jordan not to assist the Iraqis in the war.) The Ambassador from the Yemen Arab Republic (north Yemen) pledged his country's support to Iraq's leaders in Baghdad. An Iranian group claimed credit for firing three rockets at the U.S. embassy in Beirut on the night of Oct. 10. The three rockets missed the embassy and hit the home of a university professor; there were no injuries. Pars news agency reported an Iranian Foreign Ministry statement that both the United States and the Soviet Union knew of the Iraqi attack on Iran beforehand but did not try to stop the Iraqis because both believed they would gain from the war. The Foreign Ministry said Eastern European states had confirmed the Iranian report.

The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Qabas reported that 100 Jordanian military officers were in Iraq training Iraqis to use American equipment from Syria or Libya, but said Iran was receiving ammunition from North Korea under a long-standing contract. Syria and Libya denied sending military equipment to Iran. Bani Sadr said he had received a message from the United States explaining the presence of the AWACS in Saudi Arabia, and offering assurances that the United States was not providing intelligence or arms to Iraq. The Iranian president said he asked the Soviet Union to explain why the Iraqis used Tupolev bombers against Iran when the Soviets gave Iraq the bombers with the understanding that they could be used only against Israel. Bani Sadr said he had no evidence that the U.S.S.R. or the U.S.A. were helping Iraq. The Soviets denied sending arms to Iraq through Jordan, said the president. Israeli officials reported that tanks, missiles and ammunition were being unloaded at Agaba.

Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, left Baghdad after three days of talks with Iraqi leaders on the Non-Aligned Conference mediation effort. A PLO spokesman in Rome said the PLO would call for a meeting of the Non-Aligned Conference to discuss the Iraq-Iran war. Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti will return to Baghdad and Tehran next week, according to a report from Karachi. Bani Sadr rejected mediation or a cease-fire, and said the war would go on until Iraqi troops were off Iranian soil and until Saddam Husayn was deposed. The Iranian president rejected the suggestion that a UN peacekeeping force be placed along the Iraq-Iran border while the two sides negotiated a boundary agreement. However, Bani Sadr said Iran would be willing to negotiate the border in Ilam province, the area south of Qasr-e Shirin, including Mehran. (Coupled with Bani Sadr's suggestion of a temporary cease-fire in the Shatt al-Arab to allow ships to exit the war zone, the Ilam boundary proposal may offer some hope that Iran may accept negotiations in the conflict. The Iranian Foreign Ministry said Iraq should have taken its border complaints to the UN rather than start the war with Iran, which may have been a hint that Iran would accept some form of UN mediation.)

Both sides continued to claim control over Khorramshahr. Western reports from Baghdad said Iraq was sending reinforcements toward Khorramshahr and verified that Iraqi tanks had crossed the Karun River heading south toward Abadan. Iraqi military authorities claimed Abadan was under siege.

Ayatollah Khalkhali broadcast a report over Tehran radio from the "western parts of" Khorramshahr, in which he said the city was in Iranian hands, was calm, and that the citizens were holding the Iraqi forces at bay. Khalkhali said the Iraqi soldiers were not fighting, and that the Baghdad government had sent "dancing girls and musicians" to the Iraqi lines to keep the Iraqi troops "happy." Khalkhali said the Iraqis spent their days gambling, drinking, and "looking at sexy magazines" rather than fighting. In the air, Iran bombed Irbil and the Kirkuk area. Iraq bombed Kharq Island, Abadan, and Ahwaz, and Iraqi authorities said Iraqi planes destroyed the steel mill at Ahwaz and cut the oil and gas pipelines between Khorramshahr and Ahwaz. (The main pipelines for carrying gas, refined products, and crude oil to Tehran run from Abadan to Ahwaz to Dezful to Qum.)

Tehran radio reported that Kurdish dissidents attacked a Revolutionary Guard post at Sar Dasht. The report said Kurds were allied to Iraq.

OCTOBER 12, 1980 -- SUNDAY

A Baghdad newspaper reported that the United States and Iran were holding secret contacts to discuss the release of the hostages.

The Middle East Economic Survey reported from Cyprus that Iran contracted to purchase 50,000 tons of aviation fuel, diesel fuel, and heating oil to be delivered soon to the Iranian oil terminal on Lavan Island in the Persian Gulf. MEES did not know the seller. Iranian Oil Minister Tondguyan announced gasoline rationing in Iran.

Tass reported that the United States missile cruiser Leahy had been ordered into the Persian Gulf to join a U.S. "strike force" already in the Gulf. Tass said the Leahy carried special communications equipment to link it to the AWACS planes in Saudi Arabia, and that the United States was sending KC-135 air refueling tankers to Saudi Arabia and was considering sending a fighter wing as well. Tass also said Britain dispatched two combat ships and Australia sent the aircraft carrier Melbourne to join the U.S. carriers Eisenhower and Midway now cruising in the Arabian Sea.

Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti said on his arrival in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, that the Islamic Conference and the Arab League Foreign Ministers had agreed to continue their mediation efforts in the Iraq-Iran conflict, and that he expected to be returning to Baghdad and Tehran in the near future. Iraq had accepted the Islamic Conference mediation mission, but Iran had not, said Shatti. The Iranian Foreign Ministry announced that Iran would participate in the UN Security Council discussion of the Iraq-Iran war.

Ayatollah Khomeini issued a decree giving authority over all affairs relating to the conduct of the war to the Supreme Defense Council, including all battle decisions, censorship and monitoring of the news, foreign policy decisions relating to defense matters, and the authority to arrest anyone disobeying the Council. The Supreme Defense Council is composed of President Abol Hassan Bani Sadr, Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Rajai, Defense Minister Javad Fakuri, two military advisors to the President (one of whom is former Defense Minister Mustafa Shawran), Khomeini's representative to the Revolutionary Guards Ayatollah Khamenei, and one member of the Majlis to be elected by the Majlis. Bani Sadr sent a letter to Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani requesting the Majlis to elect its representative to the Council, plus

another member to substitute for Prime Minister Rajai should he be absent. Rafsanjani called for a Majlis session on Oct. 13 to elect the Supreme Defense Council members. (Giving wide authority to the Supreme Defense Council appeared to be a temporary move for the war effort, but may contribute to the continuing contest between the secular forces, now reinforced by the rehabilitated army, and the religious fundamentalists who control the Majlis and cabinet.)

Iraqi New Agency reported that the Iraqi forces had destroyed radio transmitters, military airfields, fuel storage facilities, and arms and ammunition stores in and around the city of Dezful and that the city was held in a "fatal seige" by the Iraqis. Iraqi sources said Iraqi troops continued to move toward Abadan across the Karun River bridgehead. Bani Sadr told reporters that Iranian planes had "annihilated" the Iraqis south of the Karun and repulsed the Iraqi attack on Abadan. Ayatollah Khalkhali, giving his daily radio report from Khorramshahr, said Iranian planes had stopped the Iraqi force at the Karun River. Iranian planes bombed or strafed al-Sulaymaniyah, Mosul, al-Kut, and military positions in Maysan province. Iraqi planes bombed or strafed Ahwaz, Bandar Shahpur, and Isfahan. Reports from Iran said the air attack on Isfahan destroyed the steel mill. Ahwaz radio broadcast an announcement to workers in the Ahwaz steel plant not to report for work, which tended to confirm other reports that Iraqi planes had destroyed the mill. The Japanese said that the Japan-Iran joint petrochemical project at Bandar Shahpur had been bombed for the third time (the first two occurred on Sept. 24 and Oct. 1), but that all 745 Japanese workers were out of the area and not injured.

Bani Sadr said both the United States and the Soviet Union denied giving intelligence information to Iraq, but that it was evident that the Iraqis were receiving intelligence information about "strategic" targets in Iran.

OCTOBER 13, 1980 -- MONDAY

Iranian Prime Minister Rajai said it was in Iran's interest to resolve the hostage problem, but the resolution of the issue depended upon the United States, and the United States did not want the hostage issue solved. The United States, Rajai said, should recognize the rights of the Iranian people and should accept the conditions for the hostages' release set by Ayatollah Khomeini and the Majlis. (The Majlis has not named its conditions for the release of the hostages; the special committee supposedly is studying the hostage issue and will recommend to the Majlis a set of conditions.)

Iranian President Bani Sadr sent two letters to UN Secretary-General Waldheim concerning the ships trapped in the Shatt al-Arab. The letter of Oct. 12 said Iran had no intention of interfering in shipping through the Persian Gulf and the Shatt al-Arab. The letter of Oct. 13 said Iran would be willing to allow ships in the Shatt to exit under United Nations flags, providing Iraq also agreed to the arrangement. (On Oct. 11, Bani Sadr, told an AP correspondent Iran might accept a limited cease-fire to allow ships to leave the Shatt. Iran has rejected any other suggestions of a cease-fire.)

It was announced in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, that Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti would resume his mediation efforts in two days. Shatti said he would go to both Tehran and Baghdad.

Prime Minister Rajai told a press conference that Iran would end the war if Iraqi President Saddam Husayn agreed to be tried by a "qualified court" (presumably for war crimes). Rajai said Iran did not trust the UN because it was dominated by the "big powers" and would not accept a UN cease-fire. As long as Iraqi troops were on Iranian soil, Iran would not stop fighting, said the Prime Minister. Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, told a press conference that the Iranian people wished the Iraqi people would overthrow Saddam Husayn. Since Iraq started the war, "instigated by the United States", there could be no negotiations and no cease-fire until the Iraqis ended their attacks against Iran and withdrew from Iranian territory, Rafsanjani said. Even if the United States intervenes directly in the war, Iranians are "no less than the Vietnamese" and the Vietnamese people defeated the United States.

Iraqi planes attacked Dezful, Kharg Island, Naft-e Safid, Ahwaz, and Islamabad. Iranian planes bombed Haj Umran. Iran said the Iraqis fired more ground-to-ground missiles into Susangerd and Dezful. Iranian radio broadcasts denied that Ahwaz and Dezful were being evacuated and cautioned the citizens of the two cities against believing rumors. Iraq claimed to have spanned the Karun River with more pontoon bridges and have moved more armor south to launch a new attack on Abadan. Iraqi authorities claimed control over the Abadan-to-Ahwaz pipelines.

The Iranian Majlis elected Ali Akhbar Parvaresh to be the Majlis representative on the Supreme Defense Council, and said that Speaker Rafsanjani appointed by Ayatollah Khomeini, and Ayatollah Montazari, elected by the Majlis, would sit on the Council when Mustafa Shamran or Ayatollah Khamenei are not able to attend. Khamenei and Shamran are Khomeini's military advisors and his representatives on the Supreme Defense Council.

Hassan Majafi, governor of Iraq's central bank, said Iraq's foreign exchange holdings were sufficient to maintain Iraq's current standard of living for one year without any oil revenues. Ali Reza Nobari, Iran's central bank governor, said Iran's \$8 billion in foreign reserves would sustain Iran for 7 months without oil revenues. (Most observers tend to believe Iraq could last almost one year without new oil revenues, but doubt that Iran has \$8 billion in assets available now.)

OCTOBER 14, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the Iranian supreme court and the leader of the Islamic Republic Party, told La Repubblica newspaper of Rome that the hostage problem should be resolved quickly, but that the resolution was up to the United States. La Repubblica quoted Beheshti as saying "If the American government had gotten down off the devil's ass, the problem would have been settled already."

Ettelaat newspaper of Tehran quoted the head of the Iranian navy as saying that Iran would take action against other Persian Gulf states that help Iraq. When asked what action Iran would take, the navy commander said "if it becomes necessary, we will mine the Hormuz Strait and the Persian Gulf." (On Oct. 11, Bani Sadr said Iran would "attack the Strait of Hormuz" if the war worsened and if "big powers" became involved. Bani Sadr also said Iran would attack oil installations of Persian Gulf states helping Iraq. During the first three weeks of the war, Iran claimed "control" over the Strait, but

took no action to impede shipping, and offered assurances that the Strait would remain open. The statements of the President on Oct. 11 and the navy commander on Oct. 14 appear to be somewhat threatening, and a hardening of the Iranian position toward the free flow of ships through the Strait.)

The Iranian Supreme Defense Council held its first meeting with President Bani Sadr, Prime Minister Rajai, Defense Minister Pakuri, army joint staff chief Fallahi, Revolutionary Guard commander Rezai, Khomeini's military advisors Ayatollah Khamenei and former defense minister Shamran, Majlis representatives Parvaresh and Montazari, and Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani in attendance. After the meeting, Rafsanjani and Rajai told reporters the Supreme Defense Council would not reduce the powers of the President or of the Majlis but was to supplement those offices by expediting decisions. (Although the Iranian press and the participants called the meeting the "first" meeting, Bani Sadr maintains that the Supreme Defense Council has been in operation and meeting since the war began on Sept. 20. And, despite claims that the Supreme Defense Council is subordinate to the President, cabinet, and Khomeini, it appears to have a great deal of authority to control information and the press, to make military decisions, to administer foreign policy related to the war -- which might include the hostages -- and to direct the flow of resources needed for the war effort.)

An article in the Soviet magazine Sovetskaya Rossiya said the American plan to intervene in the Iraq-Iran war was part of a larger plan to militarize the Indian Ocean, and that the United States was trying to coax NATO and Australia/New Zealand into the scheme. Tass denied that the Soviet Union was shipping arms to Iraq through Jordan and cited American journalists, a Los Angeles Times correspondent among others, as saying that ships unloading at Agaba were not carrying arms. The only Soviet ship at Agaba, according to Tass, was carrying American grain to Jordan and had been waiting to unload since Sept. 16, one week before the war started.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Hammadi said Iraq would agree to a cease-fire if Iran would agree to restore the disputed territory to Iraq, recognize Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab, stop interfering in Iraqi affairs, and restore the Tunbs and Abu Musa to the United Arab Emirates. Hammadi said Iraq would not stop fighting until Iran accepted the UN cease-fire. Cuban Foreign Minister Malmerca left Moscow for Tehran to continue his mediating effort on behalf of the Non-Aligned Conference. Salah Khalaf said the Soviet Union encouraged the PLO to continue its mediating effort. The Fatah official said PLO was trying to arrange Iraq-Iran negotiations through a "third party," but did not say who the third party might be. (Israeli sources said the PLO issued a statement in Beirut endorsing the Syrian-Libyan support for Iran and stating that the PLO had given "non-military" aid and information to Iran. The Israeli story was not confirmed.)

Iraqi military spokesmen claimed Iraqi troops cut the road from Abadan east to Bandar Shahpur, and that Iraqi troops were advancing toward Abadan under an artillery barrage. The Iraqis repeated that they had cut the pipelines from Abadan north to Ahwaz and said they were tightening the siege of Dezful and Dehloran. The Iraqis said some Iranian army officers had been arrested in Dezful for suggesting that the Iranian city surrender because it was surrounded. Iran repeated its claim to have stopped the Iraqi crossing of the Karun River and said the Iraqi forces were retreating from Abadan and Khorramshahr. Iran claimed the road from Abadan to Bandar Shahpur was still open. An Indian journalist reporting from the Iraqi position at the Karun River said Iraqi tanks and troops were moving across the river toward Abadan. Iranian military authorities said Iranian forces had launched a drive against

Iraqi positions in Ilam province and were regaining territory. Iraqi planes attacked the rail line from Tehran to Dezful and power stations at the Rezashah Dam. Iranian planes attacked Baghdad (for the first time since Oct. 4) and tank and troop concentrations gathering before Abadan.

In another section of the La Republica interview, Ayatollah Beheshti said Iran was not isolated internationally, as some Iranians claimed (secularists, such as Bani Sadr), but that "all Islamic groups" favored the Iranian cause. When pressed by the interviewer to name some of the groups offering support, Beheshti replied that groups supported Iran but "the governments are something else." Beheshti was asked about the Iranian government's capacity to represent the people of Iran, and he replied "only those loyal to this ideology can take part in this system." "Non-believers can live as simple citizens," the Ayatollah went on, "but they cannot participate." Beheshti said "we do not believe" (meaning the Islamic Republic Party and its followers) that "qualified people can take part in government." (President Bani Sadr and his supporters maintain that qualified people must take part in government and that loyalty to Khomeini or to the Islamic cause should not be a prerequisite for a role in government. The IRP and its supporters maintain that Islamic fervor alone qualifies one for service in the government. This fundamental difference arose again when the war began and Bani Sadr wanted to release military officers from prison for duty on the front, a stand opposed by the fundamentalists who wanted to fight the war with the Revolutionary Guards. Bani Sadr opposed most of the members named to the cabinet because they were chosen for their religious background and not because they were experienced in administration.)

OCTOBER 15, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The Washington Post cited "some senior U.S. officials" as saying "they would not be surprised" if there were a break in the hostage crisis in the next two or three weeks. According to the author of the article, Michael Getler, the government officials said Iranian government leaders were becoming more willing to surrender the hostages in the hope that the United States would release Iran's frozen assets, would release military spare parts already paid for but retained in the United States, and would end the economic boycott of Iran, which in turn would open trade between Iran and European nations. Getler stressed that there was little "hard" evidence that a hostage-for-spare parts deal was in progress, but that a strengthened Bani Sadr and a weakened Iranian military coupled with "gut" feelings of the U.S. officials led to the supposition that a break in the hostage issue was imminent.

In Tehran, the government announced that Prime Minister Rajai would attend the Oct. 16 meeting of the United Nations Security Council to present Iran's case. The announcement reversed the Iranian policy to avoid the United Nations forum. The first hint that Iran might turn to the United Nations was the appointment of Shams Ardakani as Iranian ambassador to the UN on Oct. 9. Rajai's trip to New York opened speculation that U.S. officials would meet with the Prime Minister to discuss the hostages.

(The Washington Post story of a "deal" on the hostages and Rajai's UN visit fed a current rumor circulating in Washington that the United States and Iran had, indeed, arranged for the release of the hostages sometime next week. The rumor was based, in part, on indications from Iran that more



Iranian leaders were agreeing with Bani Sadr that the hostages were a burden -- Meheshti's statement yesterday that the hostage problem should be settled quickly, Rajai's Oct. 13 comment that the hostage problem could be resolved quickly, former UN delegate Farhang's comment on Oct. 7 that holding the hostages was not in Iran's interest, Rafsanjani's statement during the Sept. 30 Majlis debate that Iran should "get rid of" the hostage problem, Bazargan's Sept. 18 comment that Khomeini approved a hostage release once the Iranian public was prepared, and, of course, the "soft" conditions spelled out by Khomeini on Oct. 3 and Sept. 12. There were also stories reported on Sept. 22 by AFP from Arab sources that Khomeini wanted the hostages released before the American election and that Ghotbzadeh had been involved in "secret" negotiations with the United States. Much of the rumor of a hostage release deal began with the secretive trip to Europe by Undersecretary of State Warren Christopher during the week of Sept. 15-19 when it was rumored that Christopher and the American delegation met with Iranian bank governor Nobari. The Iraq-Iran war stimulated the hostages-for-spare parts exchange rumor. But, there is evidence to counter the rumor that suggests that Iran has not changed its position; the Majlis election of seven "hard liners" to the hostage special committee on Oct. 2, Bani Sadr's comment on Sept. 26 that the hostage question would not be resolved soon, Rajai's rejection of the Muskie letters of Oct. 1 and Sept. 1, and the numerous statements that the hostage problem would be postponed until after the war with Iraq ended. Also, there is the continuing Iranian claim that the United States does not want to settle the hostage issue and that the United States instigated the Iraqi attack on Iran.)

The London Press Association reported that Britain dispatched the frigate Alacrity from Singapore to join the missile destroyer Conventry in the Gulf of Oman. The French announced that the "missile launching" ship Suffren was being sent to join other French ships in the Indian Ocean. The reports of the French and British increasing their presence in the Indian Ocean added to speculation that the recent Iranian statements that the Strait of Hormuz would be mined or closed were being taken seriously by the allies. The London Press Association also reported that there were two or three Iranian men-of-war stationed near the Strait of Hormuz shipping lanes hailing passing tankers and freighters to ask destination, but otherwise not hindering traffic.

Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti arrived in Amman, Jordan, enroute to Baghdad to resume the Conference mediation efforts.

Iraq claimed its troops were advancing toward Abadan and were in control of the roads leading to the city and the city's radio transmitter. Iran claimed its troops still controlled Khorramshahr and Abadan and that the Iraqis were in retreat. Iranian military authorities said the Iraqis were being driven back in Ilam province and that an airborne detachment, presumably dropped behind Iraqi lines, had killed 1,000 Iraqi troops and forced an Iraqi retreat away from the border area. Iranian planes attacked al-Musharrah, al-Amarah, Umm Qasr, Irbil, Baghdad, Haj Omran, and Wasit. Iraqi planes attacked Tabriz and Dezful. Iraq said Iranian planes were using Syrian airfields to refuel and rearm, and that Syria was supplying spare parts for Iranian planes. A left wing Lebanese newspaper reported that Iraqi planes were using Jordanian airfields and that Jordanian air force technicians were helping Iraqis maintain planes at Iraqi air bases. The Lebanese newspaper also said 50 Iraqi planes were stationed at Azraq air base in Jordan. The Voice of Palestine radio (PLO) said Jordanian army units were fighting with the Iraqis along the northern border with Iran.

Cairo reported that Saudi Arabia refused permission for Ayatollah Khomeini to attend this year's pilgrimage (Hajj) to Mecca because it was feared that Khomeini would bring a large contingent and would use the opportunity to spread his political beliefs that Muslims should overthrow their governments and establish Khomeini-style regimes.

OCTOBER 16, 1980 -- THURSDAY

President Carter said he would be willing to meet with Iranian Prime Minister Rajai in New York, or would designate any American official acceptable to the Iranians to meet with the Iranian delegates at UN headquarters to discuss the American hostages. Secretary of State Muskie echoed the President's statement, saying he or any other member of the U.S. Government would be willing to meet Rajai to discuss the hostages. A White House spokesman said later there appeared to be little hope that Rajai would agree to a meeting. The White House and the State Department denied that there was a "secret deal" to exchange the hostages for spare parts or an end to the economic sanctions against Iran.

Rajai said before departure for New York that he would not discuss the hostages, that his sole purpose in attending the Security Council session was to present Iran's views on the "Iraqi aggression." (Rajai arrived in New York Thursday night, and will address the UN Security Council on Friday, Oct. 17. The Security Council adjourned its Thursday meeting on the Iraq-Iran war to hear Rajai.) Rajai denied that there were secret contacts with the United States or that a secret deal had been arranged to trade the hostages for spare parts for Iran's military equipment. Rajai said Iran would accept a UN resolution calling for a cease-fire if the resolution condemned Iraqi aggression and called for a trial of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

In Tehran, Ayatollah Khomeini's office issued a statement after Rajai's departure for New York that the Ayatollah had "ordered" Rajai to stop in Algeria on his return flight from New York to Tehran to extend Iran's sympathy to the Algerian people for the devastation caused by the earthquake at Asnam. (The Ayatollah's "order" to the Prime Minister may be a heart-felt gesture toward the estimated 20,000 earthquake victims, but it also may be an attempt to win some Algerian support for Iran in the Iran-Iraq war, or it may be a thinly disguised way to allow Rajai to meet with someone -- Algerians, Americans or a third party -- to negotiate the hostage question.)

Meanwhile, other mediating efforts continued. Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti arrived in Baghdad from Amman, and met with Iraqi President Husayn, who repeated Iraq's readiness to negotiate a cease-fire through the Islamic Conference or the Non-Aligned Conference. Cuban Foreign Minister Malmerca arrived in Tehran from Moscow to continue his mediation efforts on behalf of the Non-Aligned Conference.

The battle for Khorramshahr and Abadan continued with both sides claiming victories. Iraq said its forces were about to enter Abadan. Iran said its forces had driven the Iraqis back 10 kilometers (other Iranian reports said 14 or 20 kilometers) and that both Khorramshahr and Abadan were in Iranian hands. AFP reported that Iraqi troops were moving toward the city from the west and north. Le Monde reported that Abadan was defended by Revolutionary Guards, Fedayin, and Mujahadin, but not by the Iranian army. Along the northern border, Iran said there was a major battle in progress for Mehran



and that the Iraqis were falling back. Iraq said it held Mehran and repulsed an Iranian tank attack on Iraqi forces surrounding Dezful. Iran claimed its planes bombed al-Sulaymaniyah, Baghdad, and Basra. Iraq said its planes bombed Bandar Shahpur (which the Iranians call Bandar Khomeini), Kermanshah, Tehran, Abadan, and Tabriz.

Syria denied that Iranian planes were using Syrian air bases or that Syria was transferring spare parts to Iran. Syria asked the Arab League to investigate the Iraqi charges that Syria was supporting Iran. Jordan denied that Jordanian military personnel were in Iraq or that Iraqi military personnel were in Jordan.

Pravda printed an article which said U.S. "militarist circles" were using the Iraq-Iran war to gain access to military bases in the Persian Gulf and to re-establish American control over Persian Gulf oil fields.

The "propaganda staff" of the Iranian Supreme Defense Council issued what appeared to be regulations to be followed by Iranian government agencies. All government agency news items must be cleared by the propaganda staff before release and all journalists must clear print or broadcast scripts with the propaganda staff before publication.

The Kuwaiti news agency reported that ships, particularly Indian tankers, were loading crude oil at the Iranian terminal at Lavan Island, in the Persian Gulf.

OCTOBER 17, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Prior to his appearance before the UN Security Council, Iranian Prime Minister Rajai met with UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim; one of the subjects of their discussion, according to reports, was the American hostages. Rajai repeated that he would not meet with any American officials and would not discuss the hostages. In his statement to the Security Council, Rajai condemned Iraqi aggression, which he said was aided by the United States in order to free the hostages. Rajai said Iran was fighting against Western imperialism, but had not joined eastern imperialism. The Prime Minister said the United States was giving information to Iraq gathered by the AWACS planes stationed in Saudi Arabia. After his Security Council appearance, Rajai met with ambassadors of Islamic countries.

An Israeli journalist telephoned the American embassy in Tehran and was told by one of the "students" that there was no "deal" to exchange the hostages for spare parts.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn sent a letter to Secretary-General Waldheim rejecting the proposal for a temporary cease-fire to allow ships to evacuate the Shatt al-Arab under United Nations flags. Husayn said that the Shatt was an Iraqi waterway and the ships could leave only under Iraqi flags. Iraq began towing ships from Khorramshahr to Basra to get them out of the battle zone. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said Iraq feared that Iran would try to close the Strait of Hormuz and that the United States would use the closure as an excuse to intervene in the war.

Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq sent letters to Bani Sadr and Husayn asking each to agree to a 4-day cease-fire for the Muslim holiday of Id al-Adha on

Oct. 18. (Id al-Adha is the feast of the sacrifice of Abraham and the end of the Haj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca.) Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatt left Baghdad for Islamabad, Pakistan, to confer with Zia ul-Haq before going to Tehran. Iranian Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani told a Friday prayer meeting in Ahwaz that Iraq started the war out of fear that the Islamic revolution would spread to Iraq and that Iran would not accept a cease-fire until Saddam Husayn was placed on trial for war crimes. In his speech to the UN, Rajai rejected any cease-fire.

In the continuing battle, the Iranian Supreme Defense Council reported that Iranian airborne forces were attacking Iraqi positions in Ilam province. Pars reported that the Iraqis were retreating from Khorramshahr. INA reported from Baghdad that Iraqi troops were closing in on Abadan. The BBC reported that Iraqi troops had crossed the Shatt al-Arab at al-Faw and were moving north toward Abadan. The BBC said Abadan was surrounded and cut off from the rest of Iran. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Aziz told al-Hawadith, the London-based Arabic newspaper, that Iraq had reached all its objectives in the first three days of the war and had been holding those positions since then. Aziz said that the Iraqi troops had made some tactical moves since the start of the war, but had no intention of capturing more Iranian territory or moving further into Iran. In the air war, Iraqi planes hit Tabriz, Bandar Khomeini (the Japanese-Iranian petrochemical plant), the loading terminal nearby at Bandar Mah Shah, Nagadeh, and Abadan, while Iranian planes hit Baghdad, al-Sulaymaniyah, military targets in Maysan province, the Iraqi bridges over the Karun River, and Iraqi supply lines between Basra and Khorramshahr.

Baghdad radio said 2,000 Syrian anti-tank and anti-aircraft experts were in Iran helping the Iranian army. Tariq told al-Hawadith that Iran was buying spare parts for its F-4 Phantoms from Israel. Tehran radio reported that Israel had offered to help Iran with spare parts and maintenance if Iran would change its policy toward Jerusalem, which the Iranians refused. Deputy Prime Minister Aziz also said Iraq had not asked the Soviet Union or France for military assistance. Aziz repeated the Iraqi contention that Israel had bombed the Iraqi-French nuclear facility outside Baghdad, but said Iraq had no documentary proof, only circumstantial evidence and a confirmation from a third party; he did not say who the third party was.

Farah, wife of the late Shah, said her son Reza would become the Shah of Iran on Oct. 31, his 20th birthday. Reza, who was trained as a pilot in the United States, offered to return to Iran to fly planes against the Iraqi invaders, according to a Cairo source.

OCTOBER 18, 1980 -- SATURDAY

In a press conference following his statement to the UN Security Council, Iranian Prime Minister Rajai said the Majlis would set the conditions for the release of the hostages and that the "question will be final and solved" after the conditions are announced. Rajai said the Majlis action was "not far away" and that the Government of Iran has the authority to release the hostages when the United States meets the conditions. One of the conditions, a U.S. apology, would be no problem, according to the Prime Minister, because President Carter had already made an informal apology and all that was needed was to put "something on paper." Rajai repeated the Iranian contention that the United States did not want to solve the hostage question, as proven by

the rescue attempt of April 24, which "endangered" the hostages. Rajai said the United States should withdraw the AWACS planes from Saudi Arabia as a "good will gesture," maintaining that the AWACS were providing intelligence information to Iraq and jamming Iranian radar. A Tehran radio commentary on Rajai's speech to the UN said the Majlis had already set the conditions for the release of the hostages and that the conditions were not negotiable or open to discussion. (It was not clear from Rajai's comments what form the "apology" had taken. It is possible that Rajai and others in the Iranian government are interpreting one of President Carter's remarks or a passage in Secretary of State Muskie's Sept. 1 letter as an apology. The U.S. Government has said it would not apologize for U.S. relations with the Shah. There is a contradiction between the Tehran radio commentary claiming the Majlis has already set conditions for the hostages' release and Rajai's statement that the Majlis would set conditions in the near future. Rajai's statement that the Iranian government had the authority to release the hostages once the conditions are met, appeared to be an assurance that the "students" holding the hostages would obey a government order or a Khomeini order to surrender their captives. There has been some doubt in the United States over the Iranian government's authority over the "students," particularly after the "students" appeared to disregard the Bani Sadr-Shotbzadah effort to have the hostages visited by the international commission in February 1980.)

In his speech to the Security Council yesterday, Rajai blamed the Iraqis for abrogating the 1975 border agreement and launching aggression against Iran with the assistance of the United States and Jordan. Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi followed Rajai at the Security Council and said that Iran had violated the 1975 agreement in practice and that Iraq had formally abrogated the agreement only after the Iranian violations. Iran, said the Iraqi Foreign Minister, was intervening in the internal affairs of Iraq. Both Rajai and Hammadi met separately with UN Secretary-General Waldheim before the Security Council meeting; Hammadi said after his meeting that there was "nothing concrete" on a cease-fire. Rajai left New York for Algeria.

Islamic Conference Secretary-General Shatti said he was in contact with Iraq's Saddam Husayn, Iran's Bani Sadr, Algeria's Ben Jadid, Saudi Arabia's Khalid, Jordan's Husayn, and Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Husayn Onn in a joint appeal to Iran and Iraq to observe an Id al-Adha cease-fire. Shatti, in Rawalpindi to confer with Zia ul-Haq, said he would return to Tehran soon. A report from Beirut said Iran was ready to accept a Non-Aligned Conference mediation effort, and that PLO head Arafat was in contact with the Non-Aligned Conference and the Islamic Conference to arrange a meeting of the belligerents and the mediators. Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said Iran would accept a UN resolution calling for a cease-fire if Iran's "rights are respected."

Despite the several mediation efforts and the attempt to arrange an Id al-Adha cease-fire, the two sides continued the battle. Iraq reported that Iranian gunboats attempted to move up the Shatt al-Arab toward Abadan, but Iraqi gunboats drove the Iranian ships off, sinking one and capturing another. Iraq also said the Iranians sank a Panamanian freighter near Khorramshahr. The Iranians claimed to hold Khorramshahr and Abadan, but admitted that Iraqi forces were "just a few kilometers" from the Bahmanshir bridge on the road from Ahvaz to Abadan. Iraqi sources claimed Khorramshahr and Abadan were surrounded and that Iraqi forces were moving into the city of Abadan. Iran said its drive against the Iraqis at Dezful had driven the Iraqis back 25 kilometers and that an Iranian airborne unit had attacked

Iraqi positions in Ilam province.

Al-Thawra, the Baath Party newspaper, and al-Jumhuriyah, both of Baghdad, criticized the United States for offering spare parts and military equipment to Iran in exchange for the release of the hostages. The two newspapers said the United States was using the Iraq-Iran war as an excuse for intervening in the Persian Gulf for the purpose of continuing the United States' battle against Arab unity. The only reason the United States wanted the hostages released, said the two newspapers, was to guarantee the re-election of President Carter.

OCTOBER 19, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Tehran radio reported that Prime Minister Rajai met with "the family of one of the hostages" before his departure from New York last night. No other details of the meeting were reported.

Rafsanjani told a Swedish interviewer that the Majlis special committee studying the hostage issue would finish its work "by the end of the week" and that the Majlis would act "immediately" to make its final decision on the hostages. It would then be up to the Iranian government to implement the Majlis decision, said the Majlis Speaker. Rafsanjani said the Majlis can decide that the United States must fulfill certain demands before a hostage release, or the hostages may be released in stages (implying that a few hostages would be released each time the United States fulfilled one of the Majlis demands). In another interview with Tehran radio, Ayatollah Rafsanjani said Iran had rejected a previous U.S. offer to exchange the hostages for military spare parts because the spare parts were already paid for and the United States "owed" the parts to Iran anyway. (At the time the special committee was named in the Majlis, Oct. 2, Rafsanjani and others speculated that the committee would take six weeks to prepare its recommendations for the Majlis. Rafsanjani's comment that the Majlis would act "immediately" after the special committee issued its recommendations is opposed to the generally held belief that the Majlis would take a long time to debate the committee's recommendations. And, Rafsanjani's suggestion that the hostages would be released in stages echoes suggestions made during the spring that the "innocent" hostages would be freed and the "guilty" hostages placed on trial, and that hostages acquitted would be released and the convicted sent to prison. In the current context, with talk of a hostage trial somewhat muted, the staged release suggestion appears to coincide with the "good will gesture" approach offered by Prime Minister Rajai; for each U.S. action -- good will gesture or fulfilling an Iranian demand -- a few hostages would be released.)

In response to Rajai's comment that the United States should withdraw the AWACS from Saudi Arabia, Secretary of State Muskie said the AWACS were for the defense of Saudi Arabia and were not gathering intelligence for Iraq. Muskie said the United States had cautioned Jordan not to get involved in a prolonged war, but that Jordan was an independent country making its own decisions.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that Iran "wishes to keep vital waterways open and safe" and would "guarantee" freedom of navigation through the Strait of Hormuz. Iran would not be prevented from exercising its "sovereignty and rights" over the waterway, the statement

continued. (The statement appeared to be a retreat from the more threatening statements made by President Bani Sadr on Oct. 11 or the navy commander on Oct. 14 that the Strait would be "attacked" or "mined.") The Iranian navy commander at Bandar Abbas said ships were passing freely through the Strait and there was "no need for concern."

Islamic Conference Secretary-General Shatti and Non-Aligned representative Malmierca traveled from Tehran to Dezful to meet with President Bani Sadr to discuss the mediation efforts. Rafsanjani said in Tehran that Iran would accept a UN cease-fire resolution if it "portrays our just position" and would accept mediation only if all Iran's rights were recognized. A report from Beirut said PLO head Arafat had received an Iranian agreement to attend a meeting sponsored by the Non-Aligned Conference to discuss the war. PLO second-in-command Salah Khalaf said a PLO plan for a cease-fire called for an Iraqi agreement to withdraw from Iranian territory, followed by an Iranian agreement to negotiate the boundary problem, and an Iraqi withdrawal to the negotiated borders supervised by Islamic members of the Non-Aligned Conference.

Iran claimed to have sunk an Iraqi gunboat near al-Faw, and denied Iraqi reports yesterday that Iran had sunk a merchant ship in the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Iraqi planes attacked Ahwaz, Abadan, Nagadeh, Kharg Island, and Bushehr. Iranian planes attacked al-Sulaymaniyah, Wasit, and Baghdad. Iran claimed its forces still held Abadan and were driving Iraqi forces away from the beleaguered city. Iranian military sources claimed advances at Gilan-e Gharb, Mehran, and Bostan. Tehran radio also claimed that anti-Baathist groups in Iraq were attacking Iraqi military posts around Basra and Baghdad.

Iranian Prime Minister Rajai was welcomed to Algiers by Algerian President Shadli Ben Jadid. Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani met with the Algerian ambassador in Tehran.

An Iranian radio commentary said Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq was suppressing the Pakistani people's support for Iran in the Iran-Iraq war.

An earthquake registering 5 on the Richter scale hit the Iranian city of Ahwaz.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary that said President Carter, fearing that he would lose the election, told Iraq to attack Iran so that Iran would run out of spare parts and military equipment and would accept Carter's proposal to exchange the hostages for spare parts. When that failed, the commentary continued, Carter "shot the last arrow in his quiver" and offered to meet Rajai at the United Nations. Rajai's refusal was a "slap in the face" for the President and the end of his hopes to be re-elected, said Tehran radio.

In a speech to army commanders, President Bani Sadr said that he had told Khomeini to give authority for running the war to the Supreme Defense Council, but the Ayatollah had delayed for two weeks, which was the reason for the Iranians taking so long to mount a counter offensive. Now that the Supreme Defense Council was coordinating the war effort, the Iranian armed forces would repel the Iraqi invaders, said the President.

OCTOBER 20, 1980 -- MONDAY

President Carter said that if Iran releases the hostages, the United States would release the Iranian assets now frozen in the United States, would end the economic sanctions, and would seek normal relations with Iran.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, told the Associated Press Beirut office that the Majlis would adopt a decision on the hostages within the next two or three days. (Yesterday, Rafsanjani said the Majlis would decide at the end of the week.) Rafsanjani said he could not predict what conditions the Majlis would set for the release of the hostages but he did not believe the conditions would differ from those mentioned by Ayatollah Khomeini. If the United States accepts the conditions, the hostages will be released, said the Speaker. (On Sept. 12, Khomeini said the hostages would be released if the United States returned the Shah's wealth to Iran, cancelled financial claims against Iran, guaranteed no military or political interference in Iranian affairs, and released Iranian assets. On Oct. 3, Khomeini said the hostages would be released if the United States returned the Shah's assets, ended the "campaign" against Iran, and guaranteed no future interference in Iranian affairs.) Rafsanjani said he did not believe the Majlis would ask for a trial of the hostages.

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie said the United States was "opposed to the dismemberment of Iran" and called for an end to the Iraq-Iran war. "Territory must not be seized by force of arms," said Muskie, and "neither side should seek to interfere in the affairs of the other." Later, State Department officials said Iraq should withdraw from Iran, and Iran should stop inciting the Shia Muslims in Iraq to overthrow the Iraqi Government. According to the State Department, the United States remains neutral in the Iraq-Iran conflict and the United States believes the two sides should submit the border dispute to mediation and arbitration.

Islamic Conference Secretary-General Shatti met Ayatollah Khomeini to ask for Khomeini's approval of a mediation mission composed of Islamic, non-aligned heads-of-state. Khomeini replied that Iraq must withdraw from Iran and Saddam Husayn must be removed from office and leave Iraq before Iran would consider a cease-fire. Khomeini said he did not object to the head-of-state mission. Shatti then met with Rafsanjani who said he would discuss the proposal for a head-of-state mission with the members of the Majlis.

The battlefield remained stalemated. Tehran radio, for the first time, said Iraq controlled the city of Khorramshahr (which the Iraqis call al-Muharrarah and the Iranians have renamed Khuninshahr, which means "city of blood"). Iran claimed it controlled the Khorramshahr-Abadan road and was holding the Iraqis north of the Bahmanshir bridge leading from Ahwaz to Abadan. Iraq claimed it was continuing the drive against Abadan and that Iran could no longer send supplies into Abadan. The Iraqis appealed to the citizens of Abadan to seize the Revolutionary Guards defending Abadan and surrender them to the Iraqi forces. The air war appeared to be limited to attacks against troop and tank concentrations in the Dezful-Ahwaz-Khorramshahr area, with both sides claiming destruction of the other's forces and supply lines.

Iran's Prime Minister Rajai left Algeria, where he met with President Ben Jadid and leaders of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic who are fighting Morocco for control of the Western Sahara, and stopped in Libya to meet with Abd al-Salam Jallud, Libya's second-in-command.

OCTOBER 21, 1980 -- TUESDAY

In an interview, Prime Minister Rajai said he had met with a representative of the families of the hostages just before leaving New York on Oct. 18. (Tehran radio reported such a meeting on Oct. 19. Today's New York Times reported that Mrs. Kathline Keough met with Rajai. William Keough was teaching school in Pakistan and had been in the U.S. embassy in Tehran by chance Nov. 4, 1979.) Rajai said he told the representative (Mrs. Keough) that since her husband was a schoolteacher, he was probably not a spy and might be released "in the first group." According to Rajai, Mrs. Keough said she was not asking for special treatment for her husband, but for the release of all the hostages. (Rajai's comment about a "first group" again raised the possibility that the hostages could be released in stages, "innocents" first, followed by others about whom there is some suspicion, with the group of "spies" being the last released. In the past, several Iranian leaders have said that the "spies" should be jailed. On Oct. 19, Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said the hostages might be released in stages.) Rajai, speaking after his meeting with Ayatollah Khomeini to discuss the Prime Minister's trip to the United Nations, Algeria, and Libya, said he and the Ayatollah agreed that Iran would not negotiate the release of the hostages even though the United States "might offer to provide spare parts" in exchange for the hostages. Rajai also said that his comment in New York that the United States should withdraw the AWACS planes from Saudi Arabia was not an official condition for the release of the hostages set by the Majlis.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary that said President Carter was trying to negotiate the withdrawal of the AWACS in exchange for the hostages' release, and that if the U.S. President persisted, he would add a new condition to the existing four. (It may be significant that Tehran radio and Iranian leaders are speaking of four conditions, presumably the four set by Khomeini in his Sept. 12 statement, and are not mentioning other conditions, such as an apology.)

Iranian Foreign Minister issued a statement that the foreign press was trying to downgrade Rajai's mission to UN headquarters by concentrating on the hostage issue and ignoring the real reason for the trip, which was to present Iran's view on the "Iraqi aggression" to the United Nations. The foreign press said the Foreign Ministry was trying to create the impression that Iran was willing to make a deal for the hostages.

A spokesman for Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani repeated the Ayatollah's statement of yesterday that the Majlis would "define the conditions for the liberation of the hostages" in two or three days. The spokesman said the Majlis would begin its discussions on the hostages tomorrow, Oct. 22, to define Khomeini's conditions of Sept. 12, which were the return of the Shah's wealth, a promise of non-interference, the release of the frozen assets, and "dropping the charges" against Iran. (Khomeini said the United States should drop its "financial claims" against Iran. It is not clear what "dropping the charges" or ending "financial claims" may mean.)

In Paris, former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar said there was little hope of a "hostage breakthrough." Bakhtiar also said he planned to form a government-in-exile.

Meanwhile, the negotiations for a cease-fire continued. The Coordination Bureau of the Non-Aligned Nations met in New York at UN headquarters to

discuss forming a "ministerial committee" to conduct a "fact-finding mission" that will visit Iran and Iraq and attempt to mediate a cease-fire. According to reports, PLO head Yasir Arafat is acting as the intermediary between the Non-Aligned Conference and Iran and Iraq.

In Tehran, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Mallerca, representing the Non-Aligned Conference, met with President Bani Sadr and then left Iran. Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti met with Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the supreme court and the leader of the Islamic Republic Party. A Yugoslav delegation, headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Milorad Pesic, met with Prime Minister Rajai in an apparent mediation effort. Rajai told the Yugoslavs, who arrived in Tehran yesterday, that "diplomatic negotiations in accordance with the international norm" were a "waste of time." Prime Minister Rajai said that Iran had not expected the UN to help end the war, but that his reason for going to New York was to "rectify" a weakness in Iranian foreign policy and convey the message of the revolution to the world.

On the battlefield, Iran claimed victories at Gilan-e Gharb, Sar-e Pol-o Zahab, Menran, Qasr-e Shirin, and Susangerd, and said that Dezful, Khuminsnahr (Khorramshahr), Abadan, and Khosrowabad were under heavy artillery fire. Iraq claimed to have seized more area around al-Munammarah (Khorramshahr) and Abadan, and to have cut more pipelines between the oil-producing areas in the south and the urban centers in the north of Iran. In the air war, Iran said its planes attacked al-Faw, Basra, al-Sulaymaniyah, and al-Awarah, and that 170 Iraqi planes had been shot down in "dogfights." Iraq said its planes attacked Amaz and other Iranian troops concentrations.

Tehran radio said 1,000 Soviet "experts" left Iraq recently and that Iraq was trying to keep the evacuation a secret.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Hammadi "warned" the United States to stay neutral and not to send arms to Iran.

OCTOBER 22, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

According to AFP, Prime Minister Rajai said he was "certain the United States is ready to meet the four conditions set forth as principles" by Khomeini (presumably the Ayatollah's statement of Sept. 12). Rajai offered no further elaboration on why he was "certain" the United States would fulfill the conditions. The Prime Minister added that the Majlis would "explain in detail" what "requests" would be made to the United States. When asked if Iran still demanded an apology from the United States, Rajai said the apology was covered by the promise not to interfere in Iran's affairs in the future. When asked if the Iranian government would negotiate with the United States over the hostages, Rajai answered that the Majlis would decide whether to negotiate and the government was waiting for the Majlis before acting. Rajai added that the Majlis will debate the hostage question "even if the debate lasts until the election" (presumably the U.S. Presidential election). The Prime Minister repeated his comment that the U.S. withdrawal of the AWACS planes from Saudi Arabia was not a condition set by the Majlis, and then said the U.S. must "repent" for the "hostile act" of placing AWACS in Saudi Arabia. When Secretary of State Muskie said the United States would not withdraw AWACS, it proved that the U.S. interests in the area were more important than the hostages, said the Prime Minister. Rajai repeated that

Iran would not trade the hostages for spare parts, and that he had not met Muskie in New York to discuss the hostage issue.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said the Majlis would begin the hostage debate on Sunday, Oct. 27, and that the special committee report would be completed and available to the Majlis members before the debate. (Yesterday, a spokesman for Rafsanjani's office said the debate would begin today.)

Ayatollah Musavi Khoini, a member of the Majlis seven-man special committee and the religious leader with the closest ties to the "students" holding the hostages, told EFE news agency of Madrid that the hostages might be released on Monday, Oct. 27, if the United States accepted the conditions already established. (Presumably, Khoini was referring to Khomeini's four conditions.) Khoini said the Majlis might announce the conditions on Sunday.

Majlis member Muhammad Ali Hadi-Wajafabadi told the Majlis during its open session that Iran did not make the world understand the hostage issue because Iran did not give enough attention to its foreign policy.

Tehran radio blamed Reuters new service of Britain for starting a rumor that a supertanker had been sunk in the Strait of Hormuz.

In Islamabad, Pakistan, where he went after leaving Tehran earlier, Habib Shatti said that Iran had agreed to consider the Islamic Conference proposal for a head-of-state mission to mediate a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war. According to Shatti, Iran said it would not begin negotiations until after an Iraqi withdrawal from Iranian territory. Shatti said Iraq had also agreed to the head-of-state mission.

In an interview with Le Monde, Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan said Iraq would seize Arabistan (Khuzistan province in Iran) unless the Iranians agreed to negotiate and that Iraq would hold the province until "a solution is found." Ramadan also said the United States was helping Iran in order to keep Iraq from winning the war. Ramadan said Iraqi relations with the Soviet Union were "normal" and that Iraq had not asked the Soviets for arms. Iraq has enough weapons to sustain the war for one year, said Ramadan. When asked if the estimated damage to Iraq from the war was between \$3 and \$4 billion and damage to Iran was \$5 billion, Ramadan answered that he did not know and, if he did know, he would not say. Such figures have not been calculated, said the Deputy Prime Minister.

Iraqi planes bombed Masjid-e Sulayman, Bandar Shahpur (Bandar Khomeini), Abadan, and Dezful. Iranian planes bombed Khunishahr (Khorramshahr), al-Sulaymaniyah, Baghdad, Haj Uman, and Iraqi positions in front of Ahwaz. Iran admitted that Iraqi forces controlled the roads from Abadan to Ahwaz and Bandar Khomeini, but said its forces were holding out against the Iraqi attacks on the city. Iran claimed more advances in the Dezful area. Iraq claimed it had cut two more crude oil pipelines leading from the southern oil fields to the northern Iranian cities and said Iraqi forces could seize Dezful any time they wanted to. One Iraqi gunboats sank an Iranian gunboat, but another report said the Iranian ship was a supply ship.

Vietnam denied that it had sent weapons to Iran.

Kuwaiti news service quoted an article in the Tehran newspaper, Islamic Revolution, in which Bani Sadr criticized the "Muslim fundamentalists" who had "no education and no experience" for trying to "take advantage of the war to monopolize power." Bani Sadr said the fundamentalists were working

against the "western educated liberals and technocrats" using "irregularities" and "illegal practices" and were trying to "strip the President of his constitutional powers." Bani Sadr said that he, not Prime Minister Rajai, had been invited by UN Secretary-General Waldheim to attend the Security Council session, and that Rajai had waited until Bani Sadr was out of Tehran to leave for New York without informing the President or asking for his approval. Bani Sadr called Rajai's trip a "manifestation of opportunism" and said he would not tolerate such independent decisions. Henceforth, said the President, all Rajai's official correspondence would have to be routed through the President's office.

OCTOBER 23, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Rafsanjani told Le Monde that Khomeini's four conditions were "not necessarily" the complete list of conditions, and that the Majlis might add other conditions. When asked if the AWACS removal might be one of the added conditions, Rafsanjani said it would be up to the special committee to propose AWACS withdrawal and up to the Majlis to add that condition to the others. The Majlis speaker said the special committee will submit its report today and the Majlis will begin debate over the committee's recommendations on Sunday, Oct. 26. Some of the conditions can be fulfilled "on the spot," such as releasing the frozen assets, "abandoning plots hatched against us," or promising non-interference in Iranian affairs, while other conditions may be more difficult to meet immediately, Rafsanjani said. The Majlis may ask for U.S. guarantees to meet the more difficult conditions, and may offer in turn guarantees to release the hostages after U.S. guarantees are received, the speaker added. Rafsanjani also said that because of the high level of anti-American feeling in Iran, the government may ask for a refund of money rather than the actual spare parts already purchased but held in the United States. (Rafsanjani's "on the spot" comment and his suggestion that Iran might accept American "guarantees" to fulfill more difficult conditions appear to buttress suggestions of the past few days that the hostages may be released quickly.)

AFP, the French news agency, reported comments made by Ayatollah Musavi Khoini, member of the seven-man committee and Khomeini's representative with the "students," in which Khoini said the hostages would be "tried immediately" if the United States rejected the conditions. Khoini said the "chief conditions" were those set by Khomeini, perhaps with others added, and that the hostages would be released "immediately" after the United States accepted the conditions. The Ayatollah said the special committee report on recommendations for resolving the hostage question will be submitted to the Majlis on Sunday, Oct. 26. (Rafsanjani said the report would be submitted today.) Khoini said there was no preliminary agreement with the United States on the hostage question. None of the hostages are in Tehran, Khoini said. "All" the hostages have been sent to "secret places." They may be "liberated" together or in "several groups." Khoini added that the government will "settle the problem" after the Majlis has made its decision on the conditions for release. (On Oct. 5, a report in the Sunday Times of London said all 52 American hostages were in Tehran. The story was not verified. On Sept. 23, the "students" announced that the hostages had been moved from seven cities where they had been kept after the Apr. 24 rescue attempt. At various times between then and the Sept. 23 announcement, the "students" said that hostages had been moved from eight of the sixteen cities named as hostage holding sites after the rescue. Khoini's comment about the

hostages being released in "several groups" coincides with statements by Rajai on Oct. 21 and Rafsanjani on Oct. 19.)

Ayatollah Beheshti, Islamic Republic Party leader and head of the supreme court, said the Majlis will decide the fate of the hostages and will "follow the path which (Khomeini) has defined." Beheshti was responding to a question whether Iran would ask for an apology, demand the withdrawal of AWACS from Saudi Arabia, ask for spare parts, or ask for an end to U.S. military assistance to Iraq as additional conditions for the release of the hostages.

Iran complained that the Iraqi act of towing ships away from Khorramshahr to Basra was "illegal" and a "defensive" device because the Iraqis know that Iran would not fire on neutral, commercial ships in Basra. (Most news reports have claimed that the Iranians, not the Iraqis, have fired on neutral, commercial ships trapped in the Shatt al-Arab.) Oman issued a statement saying its ships were protecting the Strait of Hormuz and that ship traffic was moving "normally" through the Strait.

After his meeting with President Zia ul-Haq, Habib Shatti left Pakistan for Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, to consult further with Islamic Conference officials on forming a commission that will mediate the Iraq-Iran dispute. Shatti said the commission could begin as soon as Iran gives a "positive reply" to the proposal. (Yesterday, Shatti said Iran had agreed to consider the proposal for the five-member head-of-state mediation commission.)

Al-Dustur newspaper of Amman quoted Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi as saying that Iraq asked for no conditions for a cease-fire. Hammadi then said that Iran must recognize Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab waterway and agree to stop interfering in internal Iraqi affairs. Hammadi said the Shatti mission produced no significant results although it had not failed yet, and that the Non-Aligned mission of Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca did fail in its attempt to create a neutral commission to mediate a cease-fire.

Iran's President Bani Sadr met with the visiting Yugoslav delegation in Khuzistan province to discuss the Non-Aligned proposal for a cease-fire. Bani Sadr said Iran would consider the proposal only if the mediation mission discussed Iraqi aggression. In his interview with Le Monde, Rafsanjani said Iran would not be satisfied with expelling the Iraqi forces from Iranian territory, but must see the Iraqi regime of Saddam Husayn overthrown.

In the air war, Iranian planes attacked al-Sulaymaniyah, Aghah, Qadir Karan, and Basra. Iraqi planes attacked Ahwaz, Dezful, and Masjid-e Sulayman. Iranian forces claimed advances at Susangerd, Bostan, Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and Gilan-e Gharb, and claimed to hold the Iraqis out of Abadan. Iran claimed it sank five Iraqi gunboats.

Maariv newspaper of Israel reported that Jordanian tank crews were in Iraq to take custody of 50 M-60A3 American tanks and an undisclosed number of British Chieftans captured from Iran and given to Jordan as a reward for helping Iraq in the war.

A Tass "news analysis" said the United States intended to take control of Persian Gulf oil and destroy Arab unity, which is why the United States has "32 war ships" in the area, has offered more F-15 fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia in exchange for a base on Saudi soil, and sent the AWACS and "1,000" men to Saudi Arabia. The Tass report suggested the Iraq-Iran war was related

to this larger American goal.

Tehran radio reported that Iranian army forces were fighting against a Kurdish rebellion near Sanandaj.

Ayatollah Beheshti said political leaders should stop using the press to state their positions and should end the political in-fighting because Iran needed unity for the war against Iraq. (Beheshti's comment appeared to be aimed at Bani Sadr's newspaper attack yesterday against the "Muslim fundamentalists." Meanwhile, Tehran radio noted in one of its news broadcasts that President Bani Sadr was in Khuzistan province for the "second week." The President appears to have abandoned Tehran and to have established a new base of operations near the Dezful-Ahwaz-Abadan war zone. In the past, Bani Sadr proved his willingness to travel about the country to meet the people, to deal directly with their problems — personally inspecting earthquake or flood damage, boosting morale at the "front" during the Kurdish rebellion and the Iraqi war, and holding what might be called town meetings to hear complaints and grievances — but such visits were usually one- or two-day excursions. Bani Sadr received the Yugoslav, Islamic Conference, and Non-Aligned Conference delegations in Khuzistan, not in Tehran as would seem more appropriate. Bani Sadr's week-long absence from Tehran could be just his compulsion to act as "commander-in-chief" during the heavy fighting in the southwest, but his extended absence could have political significance: he may be avoiding a political showdown with the fundamentalists; he may believe he has already lost his power to the fundamentalists, and is avoiding a fall from power; he may be trying to avoid involvement in the hostage release debate; or he may be trying to regroup his secular forces, including the "revitalized" army, for a putsch. It may be of interest to note that the regular army has not engaged in the fighting for Khorramshahr or Abadan (in fact, both cities are defended by the Revolutionary Guards and fedayin and complain of not being supported by the army) and used only sparingly in the Dezful-Ahwaz areas. Only in the past week has the vaunted "airborne" entered the action along the Mehran-to-Qasr-e Shrin front.)

OCTOBER 24, 1980 -- FRIDAY

In a telephone interview with an American television network, Iran central bank director Ali Reza Nobari said the Iranian leadership recognized that the U.S. Government may face complications in releasing the frozen Iranian assets or in surrendering the Shah's wealth to Iran because of a number of court cases involving the assets precluded an immediate reversal of the President's Nov. 14, 1979, decision to freeze the assets. Nobari said Iran wanted a guarantee of payment from the U.S. Government and for the United States to provide special treatment for Iran in convincing American courts that Iran's good intentions to meet its loan obligations override American company claims that Iran defaulted on loans or expropriated property without due course in law. (There are approximately 100 cases before American courts claiming some \$3 billion of the total estimated \$8 billion Iranian assets. On Sept. 26, a federal court in New York froze Iranian assets pending the outcome of trials. Iran's demand for an immediate release of the frozen assets cannot be met as long as the American courts tie up the assets. Some observers have questioned whether many of the Iranian leaders are aware of the U.S. Government's predicament, that it cannot violate its own justice system in order to secure the release of the hostages. Nobari, at least, appeared to



be aware of the U.S. Government dilemma, and appeared to be offering one way around the courts by asking for a direct U.S. Government guarantee of payment. Among other suggested ways to get around the assets in the courts problem is one offered by some American observers; ask the American companies to drop their lawsuits in favor of the hostages' return. Returning the Shah's wealth presents a different set of problems. It is not known, at least publically, how much or where the Shah and his family may have invested in the United States, how much of the investment is liquid, or the legal status of the conflicting claims of the nation of Iran and the Shah's family.)

Ayatollah Khomeini told the Friday prayer gathering at Tehran's main mosque that Iran did not ask the United States for assistance or for spare parts in exchange for the hostages, and that the rumors of a deal were started by the Voice of America, the BBC, Baghdad radio and Israeli radio.

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) said Iran's Prime Minister Rajai rejected President Carter's proposal to exchange the hostages for an end to the economic sanctions and now Carter was offering spare parts for the hostages. NVOI cited Rafsanjani saying Iran would not purchase spare parts from the United States and that there was no connection between the hostages and Iran's need for military equipment. NVOI then cited Khomeini's conditions for the release of the hostages: return of the Shah's wealth, ending the freeze on Iran's assets, and a pledge of non-interference in Iranian affairs. NVOI said the west anticipated the war as proven by the large oil stockpiles gathered over the past year, and that U.S. agents incited the Iraqis to attack Iran.

The Iranian ambassador to Italy met with Pope John Paul II. Observers at the Vatican speculated that the meeting was related to the release of the hostages. Iran does not have an ambassador to the Vatican, only a charge d'affaires.

The Iraqi News Agency reported that Iraq had informed the UN Secretary-General and the International Committee of the Red Cross that Iraq would allow the ships trapped in the Shatt al-Arab to exit under Red Cross flags. INA cited Article 35 of the Fourth Geneva Convention as the basis for Iraq's proposal. (Article 35, section II, part III, calls for the expeditious withdrawal of people caught in a war zone.) The Iranian Foreign Ministry said Iran had agreed to the UN Secretary-General's proposal for ships to leave the Arvand Rud (Iran's name for the Shatt al-Arab) under UN flags, and added that Iraq had "violated the decision" of the UN to free the ships. The Foreign Ministry added that Iraq "violated the law" by towing ships "against their will" from Khorramshahr to Basra to use the ships as a shield knowing that Iran would not fire on innocent ships.

Iraq said one of its gunboats was sunk "at the head of the Arab Gulf" (Iraq's name for the Persian Gulf). Iran claimed its gendarmerie and tribesmen had seized two objectives in Ilam province, that the airborne division had seized the heights above Qasr-e Shirin and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and forced an Iraqi retreat at Gilan-e Gharb, and that other forces were advancing at Dezful and Abadan. Iran admitted that part of Khuninshahr (Khorramshahr) was held by the Iraqis. Iraq claimed its forces held all of al-Muhammarah (Khorramshahr), were moving toward Abadan, and had taken an Iranian position at Piranshahr. Iraqi planes hit Abadan, the Ahwaz-Bandar Shahpur road, Ahwaz oil storage tanks, Islahabad, and Kermanshah. Iranian planes hit al-Faw, al-Sulaymaniyah, Aras, Irbil, Khorramshahr, and Iraqi forces in the Susangerd-Bostan area.

A Tehran radio commentary said American news sources were creating propaganda about the release of the hostages, saying that plane loads of spare parts were waiting on runways ready to fly to Iran. It was clear, said the commentator, that President Carter and Secretary of State Muskie believed the war would lead to the release of the hostages, and that the United States supported the Iraqis by "rushing" tanks to Jordan and sending AWACS to Saudi Arabia. By sending spare parts to Iran, the commentator added, the United States would give Iraq's President Saddam Husayn an excuse to withdraw his troops from Iran by claiming that Iraq can not fight both Iran and the United States. (The commentary suggested that the United States told Iraq to start the war so the U.S. could offer spare parts to Iran to get the hostages back and at the same time give Iraq an excuse to end the war by saying it could not defeat both Iran and the United States.)

Iran objected to holding the OPEC meeting in Baghdad in mid-November because Iraq was an aggressor nation.

OCTOBER 25, 1980 -- SATURDAY

U.S. Government officials cautioned against expecting a quick release of the hostages.

AFP reported that a spokesman for Ayatollah Khomeini said the hostages would "probably" be released in "successive groups." The spokesman did not state specifically that the hostages would be released in stages, but said there was a "probability" that they would be.

A spokesman for Prime Minister Rajai denied that the Prime Minister said the hostages would be released Sunday or Monday and denied that the Prime Minister said the hostages would be released in stages. An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman told AFP that the United States should "begin to accept" Khomeini's conditions. Some members of the Majlis would react favorably to a U.S. acceptance of conditions and might free "at least some" of the hostages, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. AFP cited members of the Majlis who have read the special committee recommendations as saying that the report was short and added details to Khomeini's conditions of unfreezing the assets, returning the Shah's wealth, promising no future interference in Iran's affairs, and dropping all claims against Iran. Some Majlis members will demand that the Majlis vote be public to allow the people of Iran to see how their representatives voted on the conditions, AFP said.

In another AFP interview, Ayatollah Khoini, Deputy Speaker of the Majlis, a member of the special committee, and a confidant of the "students," refused to comment on his statement of last Thursday that some hostages might be freed as soon as the United States accepted the conditions or that the hostages would be tried if the United States did not accept the conditions. Khoini told AFP today that the hostages would be released only after the United States accepted all the conditions, but then reversed himself and said "some" hostages could be released sooner than others if the United States met part of the conditions set by the Majlis. Khoini appeared to be suggesting that both Iran and the United States should make reciprocal good will gestures. Khoini added that "we are not in a hurry to release the hostages. We have no intention of helping Jimmy Carter in his presidential campaign." Khoini said the Majlis debate on the hostage release could be "long and



tough."

Former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh told Japanese television that the "gap" between Iranian and American attitudes toward the hostages had been "surmounted." Ghotbzadeh said that, in his estimation, the U.S. admission of past mistakes in Iran amounted to an apology and that Ayatollah Khomeini agreed with him. On the problem of returning the Shah's wealth to Iran, the former Foreign Minister said that an American admission that the Iranian people have a justified claim to the wealth may be enough to satisfy Iran. Ghotbzadeh said that a staged release was possible, and that he did not believe Khomeini would be involved in the hostage question in the future. (Since stepping down as foreign minister, Ghotbzadeh has been serving as an advisor to Bani Sadr to formulate a comprehensive foreign policy and has had several meetings with Khomeini.)

The Iranian ambassador to Italy met with the chairman of the Italian House Foreign Affairs Commission. According to reports, the two discussed the hostage problem. (Yesterday, the ambassador met with the Pope.)

Iraq released 13 Iranian diplomats detained in Baghdad since the start of the war. The 13 crossed into Kuwait under the auspices of the United Nations.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Hammadi said the United States had abandoned the pretext of neutrality when it agreed to help Iran with arms and spare parts in exchange for the hostages.

Tehran radio said President Carter offered to exchange spare parts for the hostages, but Iran rejected the offer because it was clear that the real reason was to end the war and save Iraqi President Saddam Husayn from defeat.

The Japanese announced that they would complete the petrochemical project at Bandar Shahpur (Bandar Khomeini).

Iraqi Foreign Minister Hammadi announced that he had sent a message to members of the UN Security Council, stating that Iraq could not withdraw its troops from Iranian territory because it did not know where the border was. The 1975 agreement and the 1937 treaty had been abrogated by Iran, leaving only the 1913 boundary agreement, which was not clear and must be interpreted through negotiations, said Hammadi. The Foreign Minister said that once negotiations defined the border, Iraq would withdraw from any positions inside Iran.

Iraq claimed it sank one Iranian gunboat in the Shatt al-Arab and that Iraqi planes attacked Shush, Bandar Shahpur, Abadan, Masjid-e Sulayman, Ahvaz, and Iranian armored columns moving toward Abadan. Iraqi ground forces claimed to have captured or destroyed a large number of Iranian tanks attempting a breakthrough to Abadan, and that Iraqi artillery was bombarding Ahvaz. Iran claimed the breakthrough to Abadan was successful and that Iraqi forces in the area were in retreat. Iran also claimed that it still held parts of Khorramshahr, including the bridge between Khorramshahr and Abadan. Iranian Revolutionary Guard, gendarmerie, and tribal forces controlled the heights above Gilan-e Gharb, Qasr-e Shirin and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, said a military spokesman, and were advancing in the Dehloran and Mehran areas. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi positions along the front and at al-Tamim.

The Supreme Defense Council, meeting in a city in Khuzistan province, decided to have a more active foreign policy and to "establish more contacts

with the world." The SDC named Bani Sadr as president, Rajai as vice president, and Ayatollah Khomeini as secretary.

OCTOBER 26, 1980 -- SUNDAY

U.S. Government officials -- Vice President Mondale, President Carter, Deputy Secretary of State Christopher, and others -- repeated yesterday's caution against "undue optimism" to expect a quick resolution of the hostage crisis.

UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said there was "some hope" for a hostage release, but added that the Majlis could take "days or weeks" to set the conditions.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, said that if the United States meets "Iran's just conditions" it is possible that the hostages could be released soon. The Speaker said "it makes no difference to us who comes to power in America," referring to suggestions that the Majlis was manipulating the hostage issue to influence the U.S. presidential vote.

Tehran radio said Ayatollah Khomeini denied reports by AFP yesterday that some hostages could be released after the United States agreed to some of the conditions.

The Majlis began its morning session in public, but then voted to go into a closed session. Before expelling the public, Ayatollah Rafsanjani criticized news reporters present at the open session for ignoring Iraq's attacks against Iran and concentrating on the hostages. Rafsanjani also criticized the Islamic world for remaining silent on Iraq's aggression against Iran. The Majlis adjourned after 2 hours until Monday, Oct. 27. After the session, AFP interviewed a few Majlis members who said several sessions may be needed before the Majlis votes on conditions. The special committee report was read to the Majlis, according to AFP, and contained the four conditions listed by Ayatollah Khomeini but with more detail and clarifications. The Majlis members told AFP that during the Majlis discussions following the reading of the report, a "student" condition calling for an American withdrawal from the Persian Gulf area was rejected as "unrealistic," and that there was no discussion of an American apology. One Majlis member told AFP that the parliament would have to distinguish between "spies" and "non-spies" among the hostages (presumably as part of a phased release plan). Reuters reported that some of the Majlis members wanted to postpone naming the conditions for the release of the hostages to deprive President Carter of any advantage he might realize in the election campaign. Reuters said the Majlis session tomorrow, Monday, Oct. 27, will also be closed to the public and that other, as yet unspecified, conditions would be considered in addition to those listed by Ayatollah Khomeini.

INA, the Iraqi news agency, reported from New York that U.S. officials had met three times with Iranian officials to arrange for a hostage release; Beheshti met with U.S. Government spokesmen in West Germany to draw up broad outlines of a spare parts-for-hostages exchange; Ghotbzadeh met with U.S. officials in Geneva to define the steps in the exchange, and members of Rajai's UN delegation met with President Carter at Camp David to close the deal. INA also said that former Attorney-General Ramsey Clark was Carter's representative in New York at the UN Security Council session who arranged

the final agreement.

The Sunday Times of London published an article by Amir Taheri which said that one segment of the Iranian leaders wanted to filibuster the Majlis debate through the U.S. Presidential election, and that another segment wanted to release the hostages in stages, except for four "spies (one of whom was one of the two women hostages). The group that wanted to release the hostages all at once and quickly, said the Times article, believed that the United States would send spare parts and military equipment, end the economic sanctions, and unfreeze the assets immediately, which would help Iran win the war with Iraq. The Times said all 52 hostages were in Tehran, although some were being held at a Revolutionary Guard barracks six miles east of Tehran rather than at the U.S. Embassy. (Until now, the "students" have held the hostages; having the Revolutionary Guards holding some of the hostages may be a signal that the government is stepping in.) The Times said extra security measures were being taken to guard the hostages against a leftist kidnapping or assassination attempt that would ruin the Iranian government's arrangement to exchange the hostages for an end to the economic sanctions. The Times said the hostages would be turned over to the Revolutionary Guards, who would in turn give the hostages to the Swiss embassy to be flown to Geneva. The Times reporter said the break came after the United States abandoned its ban on dealing directly with the Iranian religious leaders in August and sent a "mysterious" contact to Europe to bargain with Beheshti and Rafsanjani. According to the Times, the Iranian-American deal was concluded when the war between Iraq and Iran erupted. The United States, said the Times, had agreed to Khomeini's conditions, plus paying interest on the frozen assets.

Meanwhile, on the battlefield, Iran claimed the Iraqis attacked Dezful with "Plak-7" missiles (Prog-7 Soviet missiles). Iran still held Abadan and the Abadan-Khorramshahr bridge, according to Iranian military authorities, and launched air attacks against al-Sulaymaniyah, Irbil, Tikrit, and Iraqi troops concentrations along the Ahwaz-Khorramshahr front. Iraqi planes attacked Iranian troops in Ilam province and at Ahwaz, and Iraqi authorities claimed to be advancing on Abadan and to have sunk two Iranian gunboats in the Shatt al-Arab.

OCTOBER 27, 1980 -- MONDAY

The Majlis met in closed session from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. to discuss the special committee report on a resolution to the hostages issue. After meeting for over an hour in the afternoon, during which time the Majlis discussed the war with Iraq, the Majlis adjourned for lack of a quorum (two-thirds of the 270 members). The Majlis will not meet on Tuesday, Oct. 28, a Muslim religious holiday, but will meet again on Wednesday, Oct. 29.

Citing sources in Tehran, the BBC reported that Khomeini believed the hostages have served their purpose, which was to defeat pro-Western elements in Iran, but the Ayatollah does not want the hostage release to be "a deciding factor" in the American presidential election, and therefore believes the hostages should remain captive "for the moment." The BBC also reported that speculation in Tehran suggested that the Majlis would add other conditions to those named by Khomeini.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, was quoted in Tehran newspapers as saying that if the United States does not take into

consideration Iran's legitimate rights, the hostages will remain as they are.

A Tehran radio commentary said that Iran's objectives in holding the hostages were to stop American "vile plots" against Iran, to make the United States admit its "crimes" in Iran, to have the United States return the Shah's wealth to Iran, and to end the "arrogant image" of the United States. "Why is the United States so eager to make concessions to secure the release of the hostages?" asked the commentator, who then said the reason was to guarantee Carter's re-election. U.S. pledges made to secure the hostages' release will be discarded after the election, the commentator said. President Carter will not "escape" from Iran's grip until the U.S. President "falls from his tyrannical throne", the commentator added. The commentator accused the United States of using the international press to divert attention away from Iran's war with Iraq and toward the hostages. In a separate commentary, Tehran radio said Iran would not release the hostages until the United States "succumbs" to Iranian demands.

Tahir Tawfig, Iraqi Minister of Industry, warned the United States not to use the hostages as a pretext for helping Iran with arms supplies. Tawfig said the United States should remain neutral in the conflict. (Since the start of the war, Iraqi leaders have accused the United States of helping Iran; now an Iraqi leader says the United States is neutral.)

Kuwaiti news agency reported from Tehran that Iran's President Bani Sadr repeated his complaint to Soviet ambassador Vinogradov that the Soviet Union had promised Iran that Tupolev bombers supplied to Iraq would be used only against Israel, yet the Tupolevs were being used against Iranian cities. Bani Sadr also complained again that the Soviets were shipping arms to Iraq through Jordan, according to KUNA, and that the Soviets were furnishing intelligence information to Iraq gathered by Soviet "spy aircraft."

Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi said the Islamic Conference was "exploring" the possibility of forming a seven-man head-of-state mission to mediate a cease-fire between Iraq and Iran. (Talk of an Islamic Conference five-man head-of-state delegation emerged about Oct. 18.)

In Belgrade, Yugoslavia, PLO chairman Yasir Arafat said Iran and Iraq had accepted a Non-Aligned Conference mediation mission. (Arafat said the same thing on Oct. 19.)

Japan's Foreign Minister Ito told the Indian ambassador that India should mediate the Iraq-Iran war. The Under Secretary of the Indian Foreign Ministry sent a message to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn seeking cooperation with a cease-fire. Husayn told the Indian ambassador in Baghdad that Iraq was willing to accept a cease-fire. (Iraq has stated since the outbreak of the war that it would accept a cease-fire.)

According to a report from Baghdad, Iraq asked the European Community to begin a mediation effort to end the war.

Tehran radio said Iraq's Saddam Husayn was begging for a cease-fire in order to save himself from being overthrown.

Iraqi planes attacked Kharg Island, Bushehr, Kermanshahr, Abadan, Bandar Mah Shah, and Dezful. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi troop concentrations near Susangerd and Ahwaz, and struck targets at al-Faw and Basra. Iran claimed to control the heights above Qasr-e Shirin, Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and Gilan-e Gharb. Iran said its forces were still holding parts of Khorramshahr

and the bridge leading to Abadan. Iraq claimed its forces controlled all of Khorramshahr and were advancing toward Abadan.

The Iranian cabinet announced rationing of electrical power because of the shortage of fuel oil to run generators.

OCTOBER 28, 1980 -- TUESDAY

A commentary broadcast over Tehran radio denied that Iran had agreed to exchange spare parts for the hostages or that Iran had negotiated with the United States on the hostage question. The Tehran radio commentator said that Iran was presenting its demands and the United States could either accept them or reject them, but not negotiate over the terms of the demands.

EFE news agency from Madrid, Spain, reported from Tehran that the Majlis had agreed upon the conditions for the release of the hostages; releasing the frozen assets, returning the Shah's wealth, pledging non-interference in Iranian affairs, dropping any claims for compensation for damages for the hostages, withdrawing AWACS and all U.S. Navy ships from the Persian Gulf, and condemning past U.S. policies in Iran. EFE cited former Revolutionary Council member and current Majlis deputy Ayatollah Bahrani and a Majlis delegate from Tehran as the sources for its report.

The Hamburg, West Germany, television station reported that the Majlis had added one condition to Khomeini's four conditions, that the United States broadcast a three-hour television transmission from the Majlis in which the Iranians would present their views on the hostage issue and other U.S.-Iran problems to the American people. A first group of hostages would be released after the television transmission and a second group of hostages would be released after the United States met the other Iranian conditions. The Hamburg television station also reported that a majority of the Majlis members wanted to release the hostages as soon as possible, but a minority wanted to release the hostages after the American presidential elections. Tehran news sources reported a statement by Ayatollah Khomeini, a member of the special committee, in which he denied that the Majlis would demand the television time in the United States.

The Majlis announced that a closed session on the hostages would begin at 8 a.m. Tehran time (12:30 a.m. EST) on Wednesday, Oct. 29.

Iran's President Bani Sadr met with the Italian ambassador in an unnamed city in Khuzistan province. The President's office said the meeting was a diplomatic call because the ambassador was returning to Rome. (On Oct. 24, the Iranian ambassador to Italy met with the Pope; the next day he met with the chairman of the Italian House Foreign Affairs Commission. Today's meeting could have been a diplomatic gesture, but it fueled speculation that Italy may be playing some role in the negotiations over the hostages.)

Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca met with the Non-Aligned Conference Coordination Bureau at UN headquarters to report on his month-long efforts to arrange a cease-fire mediation in the Iran-Iraq war. According to a Cuban news report, Iran and Iraq have agreed to a "good will mission" composed of Foreign Ministers from Cuba, Zambia, India, Pakistan, Algeria, and Yugoslavia, and a representative from the Palestine Liberation Organization, which will travel to Baghdad and Tehran to seek agreement on a

cease-fire. The Cuban news source said the Cuban ambassador to the UN and the PLO UN representative would act as contacts between the Iraqi and Iranian UN representatives to arrange the mission. The Cuban source said the "good will mission" resulted from a proposal and mediating efforts of PLO chairman Yasir Arafat. Beirut radio repeated the story, citing PLO sources in Lebanon and sources at the UN.

Iranian President Bani Sadr sent a letter to the Non-Aligned Conference asking for a condemnation of Iraq for its aggression.

Iran reported more gains along the Qasr-e Shirin-to-Mehran front in Kermanshah and Ilam provinces. (The Iraqis have not been reporting on activity along the northern battle zone for the past several days.) Iran also claimed its forces were holding the bridge between Khorramshahr and Abadan, and that Iranian artillery was driving the Iraqis back in the Ahvaz area. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi troops in front of Dezful and Abadan, and hit targets in al-Tamim, Ninawah, al-Faw, and Basra. Iraqi planes attacked Iranian troops in Abadan. Iraq claimed it held all of Khorramshahr and was advancing into Abadan.

Ayatollah Khomeini did not mention the U.S. hostages in his long speech to the nation commemorating the Muslim holiday of Id al-Ghadir (the day the prophet Muhammad announced that Ali should be his successor).

OCTOBER 29, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

At the end of the closed session, Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani told the Pars news agency that the Thursday, Oct. 30, session of the Majlis would be open and that the conditions for the release of the hostages probably would be announced at the session. Rafsanjani said "all deputies must attend" the session. (The Majlis session of Monday, Oct. 27, was adjourned for lack of a quorum; yesterday, Oct. 28, was a religious holiday.)

AFP reported from Tehran that a majority of the Majlis deputies believed the parliament would complete its work on the hostage release conditions in the Thursday session, although a few believed another session on Saturday, Nov. 1, would be necessary. Majlis members contacted by AFP said no conditions would be added to the four named by Khomeini.

Ayatollah Khomeini said it was in the best interests of Iran to release the hostages before the Nov. 4th American elections because Iran could get the best deal in a hostage-for-spare-parts exchange. President Carter needs the hostages released before the election, said Khomeini, and will be "most generous" in what he offers Iran. Khomeini said Ayatollah Khomeini agreed with the need to release the hostages before the American election.

Pars news agency repeated the denial that the Majlis added a condition that the United States give Iran three hours of television time to broadcast the Iranian viewpoint on the hostage issue.

Japan's Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito said Japan would not end its economic sanctions against Iran until all the American hostages were released. Ito said Japan was consulting with all the countries involved to ensure that the Japanese position was understood and that Japanese neutrality in the Iran-Iraq war was maintained.

Cuban President Fidel Castro sent a letter to the leaders of the Non-Aligned Conference, stating that the efforts to arrange an Iraq-Iran cease-fire under Non-Aligned Conference auspices would continue, and that Cuban Foreign Minister Malmerca would continue his mediation efforts. Malmerca arrived in Baghdad.

The Voice of Palestine (PLO) said Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq, this year's president of the Islamic Conference, contacted PLO chairman Yasir Arafat to coordinate their efforts to arrange a mediation mission for the Iraq-Iran war.

AFP quoted Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi as saying that Iran had better and more plentiful weapons than Iraq, that the Iranian army was larger, and that its equipment was more modern than Iraqi equipment. Hammadi said Iraq had no proof that the United States was assisting Iran.

Iranian planes attacked Iraqi troops positions near Susangerd, Ahwaz, Khorramshahr, and in Maysan province, and bombed Iraqi installations at Kirkuk, al-Faw, Basra, and Umm Kasas. Iraqi planes attacked Iranian troops positions in Abadan, and hit Iranian targets in Shush and Dezful. Iran claimed to have shot down two Tupolev bombers, one over Najafabad and one over Qum. Iraqi forces continued their artillery shelling of Abadan and Ahwaz, and Iranian forces claimed advances along the Qasr-e Shirin-to-Mehran front. Iranian military authorities announced that a "surprise attack" on Iraqi lines north and east of Abadan had driven the Iraqi forces back.

OCTOBER 30, 1980 — THURSDAY

The Majlis could not meet in open session to complete its hostage release condition debate because it could not muster a quorum. (The Majlis has 270 seats, 228 of which are filled. Elections were not held in some Kurdish, Baluchi, Azari, and other areas because of unrest or boycotts, and several elected members were expelled by the Majlis for "improper credentials," which usually meant connections with the Shah or leftist politics. A quorum is two-thirds of the 270 seats, or 180 members present. Today, 162 members were present in the chamber while others waited in the corridors to demonstrate their refusal to allow the hostage debate to end.) Speaker Rafsanjani set the next Majlis session for 8 a.m., Sunday, Nov. 2. Western reporters present at today's open session (French, Swedish, Finnish, British) described the meeting as "chaotic" or "anarchic" and said Rafsanjani and most of the Islamic Republic Party members were frustrated and impatient with the few who blocked the session. Ayatollah Khomeini issued a "diatribe" from the podium against the holdouts, calling them "enemies of the Majlis." Boycotting members told a Swedish interviewer they would boycott the Sunday session as well. A Finnish reporter was told that the holdouts were using the hostage debate in a power play against the dominant Islamic Republic Party.

In his statement, Rafsanjani said Iran was "about to settle the hostage matter" when "America and its allies" started the war.

The Supreme Defense Council, plus military commanders and political officials from Khorramshahr, Abadan, and Khuzistan province, met with Ayatollah Khomeini to discuss the southern front in the war with Iraq. After the early afternoon meeting, Ayatollah Khomeini told reporters the hostage

issue was not discussed.

The Non-Aligned Conference-Islamic Conference peace effort appeared to be moving again. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Agha Shahi went to Baghdad via Amman, Jordan, where Arab Foreign Ministers were meeting. Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmerca arrived in Baghdad and met with Revolutionary Command Council member and Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz. Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti arrived in Pakistan enroute to Tehran. Shatti sent a cable to Iran seeking an official approval of the "good will mission" of seven foreign ministers who will mediate a cease-fire. Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Jamshid Haggu (Iran does not have a foreign minister at present) said that Iran welcomed the "good will mission."

There was no noticeable change in the northern or southern battle fronts. Iraq claimed it was advancing toward Abadan and Iran claimed it was holding the Iraqis back. Iran claimed advances in the north, at Qasr-e Shirin, Gilan-e Gharb, and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, while Iraq claimed its planes were hitting Iranian troop concentrations along the northern front. Iraqi planes also hit Bushehr and Abadan and Iranian planes hit Irbil and Iraqi troop concentrations on the Dezful-Ahwaz line.

Tehran radio announced that Nov. 4 would be a holiday to celebrate "Banishment Day," the anniversary of the day in 1963 when Ayatollah Khomeini was expelled to Turkey by the Shah.

Kuwait news agency reported that Prime Minister Rajai issued a "ruling" that all official letters and programs of President Bani Sadr must be approved by the prime minister before being issued. Mansur Farhang, former Iranian delegate to the United Nations and now a political advisor to Bani Sadr, stated in an article in the newspaper Islamic Revolution that Rajai had prevented the Foreign Ministry from issuing a passport to a Bani Sadr appointee to attend a labor conference in North Korea and that Rajai had also prevented the Ministry of National Guidance from approving visas for Western journalists the president invited to Iran to report on the Iraq-Iran war. (On Oct. 22, President Bani Sadr issued a similar "ruling," stating that all of Prime Minister Rajai's official communiques had to be approved by the president. The "feud" between Rajai and Bani Sadr appears to be both personal and political. It was no secret that Bani Sadr did not favor Rajai's appointment by the Majlis as prime minister and did not approve several members of the cabinet appointed by Rajai; Bani Sadr said such positions should be filled by people qualified by education and experience, not by their religious credentials. Rajai, as a leader among the Islamic Republic Party and a foremost proponent of a religious oriented government, made no secret for his disdain of Bani Sadr and other Western-educated, secular, technocrat "liberals." On the political level, Bani Sadr claims that the presidency is the supreme authority (after Khomeini) in the land and that the Majlis and its prime minister and cabinet act in support of the president. Rajai holds that the prime minister and cabinet, nominated from and approved by the elected Majlis, are the supreme authority (after Khomeini) and that the president is a functionary who implements the Majlis-cabinet decisions.)

OCTOBER 31, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Swedish radio reported that Scanair, a subsidiary of SAS, had received a

request from a "London company" to prepare a DC-8 to fly to Tehran to evacuate the American hostages.

A "student" spokesman at the U.S. embassy in Tehran said the hostages would be allowed to vote in the U.S. presidential election. According to Tehran sources, the "students" contacted the Swiss embassy, representing U.S. interests in Iran, to arrange for delivery of absentee ballots. The Swiss ambassador in Tehran acknowledged that he was arranging for absentee ballots for the hostages. Reports from several cities and towns in the United States said election officials had been asked to provide absentee ballots for some of the hostages.

Ayatollah Montazari sent telegrams to all 228 members of the Majlis stating that the failure to muster a quorum at the Thursday, Oct. 30, session was leading to "protests and dismay" in Iran and that the Majlis members' negligence to attend the session was "unacceptable." Montazari is often portrayed as the man most likely to succeed Khomeini as the "guide" of the Islamic revolution.

Tehran radio commented that the conditions for the release of the hostages to be announced by the Majlis provide a "just method" and are "Islamic." The commentary said the "tyrants" had learned an "unforgettable lesson" by the one-year detention of the hostages which Tehran radio called "a year of punishment," and that their release now was not a "cowardly act" by Iran. The "goal" of the release was to "bring the United States to trial" and to "expose the long criminal history of the United States." (Clearly, the radio commentary was attempting to justify the release of the hostages now and to chastise anyone opposing the release. The radio is controlled by the Islamic Republic Party, so there can be little doubt that the commentary reflects the religious fundamentalist thinking in the government.)

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) said the Majlis failure to hold a session yesterday "aroused anger and opposition" in Iran. NVOI said the Majlis members who boycotted the session were "unjustified" in their actions, even if their act of boycotting the session was an attempt to cause President Carter to lose the election. Ayatollah Khomeini was right when he said that those opposing the release should come to the Majlis to debate the issue rather than boycott the session, said NVOI.

In another commentary, radio Tehran said Iran should not "normalize" relations with the United States because the United States would use relations to "start a new conspiracy" against the Islamic government.

Iraqi news agency reported from Kuwait the the U.S.-Iran "political deal" to release the hostages was intended to allow Iran to increase its war effort against Iraq. INA quoted a follower of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari as saying he had "incriminating documents" revealing that an "Egyptian middleman" was arranging for the hostage release "hours before the U.S. elections begin." INA said other sources in Kuwait reported that the hostages would be released Sunday or Monday. (Ayatollah Shariat-Madari is the popular religious scholar who disagreed with Khomeini's involvement in politics.)

In a speech at Tehran University, Prime Minister Rajai implied that Iran would rather starve than accept U.S. conditions to end the economic sanctions. Rajai said the United States was telling Iran "compromise so that we will give you wheat" and that Iran's response was "we would eat a single loaf so that we would not bear the burden of this ignominy." Iran's seizure of the U.S. embassy demonstrated "to the whole world" that the embassy was a

"den of espionage," said Rajai.

President Bani Sadr called a press conference for noon on Saturday, Nov. 1. Later in the day, Bani Sadr cancelled the press conference and left Tehran for Khuzistan. (Bani Sadr appeared in Tehran to attend the Supreme Defense Council meeting with Khomeini yesterday, his first known visit to the capital in two weeks. When the press conference was announced, there was speculation in Tehran that the President would make an announcement concerning the hostages; the speculation ended with the cancellation of the press conference.)

Ayatollah Khomeini met with Ayatollahs Khamenei and Montazari, General Fallahi, and others to "confer." The meeting ended when Khomeini issued "guidelines." (Such meetings with the Ayatollah are commonplace, as are the cryptic descriptions of what takes place at the meetings, but with the furor over the postponed Majlis session, this meeting added to the speculation that Khomeini might intervene in the hostage situation.)

India's Foreign Secretary Sathe went to Tehran to confer with Bani Sadr and Khomeini on the Non-Aligned Conference mediating effort. India's External Affairs Minister, Narasimha Rao, flew to Belgrade, Yugoslavia, for consultations with the foreign ministers of Cuba, Algeria, Pakistan, and Zambia and a representative of the PLO to prepare for the cease-fire talks. Rao was accompanied by Secretary of the Minister Bhandari, who just returned from Baghdad. Cuban Foreign Minister Malmerca met Iraqi President Saddam Husayn yesterday and Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz today in Baghdad.

Iraq claimed to make advances in Abadan and Iran claimed to repel the Iraqis. Iran said it still held the Khorramshahr-Abadan bridge and that the Iraqi pontoon bridges across the Karun River to the north had been destroyed. Iraq said the bridges were still in use. Iranian military authorities claimed to have stopped an Iraqi tank thrust at Dezful and to have pushed the Iraqis back at Susangerd. (Susangerd is about 25 miles inside the Iran-Iraq border, 40 miles northwest of Ahwaz and 60 miles southwest of Dezful. Iraqi forces hold territory in two bulges, one pointed at Dezful and one at Ahwaz while the Iranians hold the bulge at Susangerd between the two cities. The Iraqi line above Dezful runs almost due west some 70 miles toward the Iran-Iraq border to Dehloran. The Iraqis hold pockets of territory inside Iran from Dehloran northwest to Qasr-e Shirin, some 150 straight-line miles but longer if one follows the winding border. Most of the fighting in the north has been at Qasr-e Shirin and the nearby towns of Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and Gilan-e Gharb — Gilan-e Gharb is about 60 miles west of the Iranian city of Kermanshah on the Iraq-Iran border and just over 100 miles east of the Iraqi capital of Baghdad; Mehran has been the scene of heavy fighting. Mehran is about 60 or 70 miles northwest of Dehloran.)

The Iranian Supreme Defense Council warned newspapers not to print false stories or they would be closed down, one week for a first offense, one month for a second, and one year for the third offense.

In Paris, former Prime Minister Bakhtiar said he would establish an Iranian liberation front soon.

In Cairo, Reza Pahlavi declared himself the Shah of Iran. Under the 1906 Iranian constitution, Reza became the Shah on his 20th birthday, today, because the throne became vacant following the death of his father on July 27. Reza Pahlavi said he would return to Iran and pledged his support in the Iranian battle against Iraq.

## BACKGROUND

NOVEMBER 1, 1980 -- SATURDAY

At a press conference, Secretary of State Muskie denied that the United States had made a "deal" with Iran for the release of the hostages. Muskie ridiculed the suggestion that the Administration was trying to time the hostage release to help the President in his re-election campaign.

An editorial in the Islamic Republic newspaper, the voice of the Islamic Republic Party, said the Majlis should "clarify" the hostage question and announce the conditions for their release before the U.S. Presidential election. The editorial said "America is ready to give more concessions" to Iran now than it will be after the election, adding that "the next American President will see no reason to submit to the rights" of Iran. The hostages should be placed on trial or held in captivity if the United States does not meet the conditions, said the editorial. The Islamic Republic added that releasing the hostages before the election can demonstrate that the "rotten" American democratic system can be "dominated by political waves generated by a foreign people."

A commentary broadcast over Tehran radio said that Western "propaganda" sources were saying falsely that Iran made a deal to exchange the hostages for spare parts, when the truth was that Iran rejected "bargains or compromises" as stated by Prime Minister Rajai at the United Nations. The commentator then said that Iran had paid for the spare parts and would "drag the equipment out of America's throat" if need be. Another commentary on Tehran radio said President Carter launched the Iraqi war against Iran in order to force Iran to surrender the hostages which in turn would prove that Iran was not an independent country.

Al-Mustaqbal, the Arabic-language newspaper published in Paris, reported that the hostages would be released "Sunday or Monday," Nov. 2 or 3.

Ayatollah Montazari met with the ambassadors of Syria, Libya, and Algeria in Tehran.

The "students" repeated their invitation to attend the rally in front of the U.S. embassy in Tehran on Tuesday, Nov. 4, to commemorate Nov. 4, 1963, when the Shah expelled Ayatollah Khomeini to Turkey, Nov. 4, 1978, when the Shah's troops "massacred" Iranian students demonstrating against his regime at Tehran University, and Nov. 4, 1979, when the "students" seized the U.S. embassy and 66 Americans. (Thirteen were released in November 1979 and one in July 1980.)

The Non-Aligned Conference-Islamic Conference mediating effort for the Iraq-Iran war began to take shape in Belgrade, Yugoslavia: Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malierca, representing the Non-Aligned Conference, Zambian Foreign Minister Wilson Chakulya, and PLO Chairman of the Political Department Faruk Qaddumi, arrived in Belgrade to meet with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec. Indian Minister of External Affairs Rao arrived yesterday; Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, now in Baghdad, is

expected tomorrow. PLO Chairman Arafat met with the Iraqi charge d'affaires in Beirut, Lebanon. Cuban Premier Fidel Castro met with an Iraqi envoy in Havana. Indian Foreign Secretary Sathe met with Iranian Foreign Ministry officials in Tehran.

Iraq's Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi said Iraq does not covet Iranian land, only the land and water rights which belong to Iraq. Hammadi said Iraq is willing to negotiate and is ready for a cease-fire. In a speech to the Iraqi National Assembly, Hammadi said Iraq will help the United Arab Emirates reclaim the islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs. The Foreign Minister said Iraq was glad to see the Soviet Union and the United States remaining neutral in the Iran-Iraq war, but cautioned that the United States could endanger its neutrality by furnishing spare parts to Iran in exchange for the hostages. (When the war started six weeks ago, Iraq claimed the United States was not neutral and was helping Iran.)

It was reported from Paris that France may begin delivery of 60 Mirage F-1 aircraft "next month," three months earlier than the first delivery originally scheduled for February 1981. Iraq ordered some of the planes in 1977, and increased the order in 1979. The French government would not confirm the story.

The London Financial Times reported that Iraq approached the British government to purchase Rapier anti-aircraft missiles. The Financial Times also reported that two Iranair 747 aircraft loaded munitions at Damascus airport on Oct. 30. The Financial Times said that one Iranair 747 loaded munitions in Damascus on Oct. 26 and that six C-130s picked up war material in Syria during the first week of the war.

The war along the Iran-Iraq border remained static. Iran claimed to have destroyed an Iraqi "mobile" bridge across the Bahmanshir River north of Abadan and Iraq claimed to have replaced a second mobile bridge in the area. Iran said its troops still held the Karun Bridge between Khorramshahr and Abadan and the eastern portions of Khorramshahr. Iraq claimed it controlled all of the city of Khorramshahr. Iran said its forces still controlled Abadan-to-Bandar Mah Shahr road, while Iraq said its forces controlled the road. Iraq claimed its planes bombed and sunk two Iranian gunboats in the Khor-e Bahmanshir (the Bahmanshir River parallels the Shatt al-Arab in Iranian territory, flowing out of the Karun River which separates Khorramshahr and Abadan).

NOVEMBER 2, 1980 -- SUNDAY

The Majlis approved the conditions proposed by the special committee, which stated that the United States must:

- (1) "pledge and promise" not to interfere "either directly or indirectly, politically or militarily in the affairs" of Iran;
- (2) release all frozen assets and place them "at the disposal of Iran," declare "null and void" the Nov. 14, 1979 Presidential order freezing the assets, "carry out necessary legal and administrative actions" to "cancel and annul decrees by American courts," and "guarantee security and free transfer of assets regardless" of legal proceedings in U.S. courts;



- (3) "abrogate and cancel economic and financial decisions and measures against Iran" and "implement necessary administrative and legal measures" to cancel U.S. Government or U.S. companies' claims against Iran, and the United States should "guarantee to be answerable" for any new claims against Iran for compensation resulting from the seizure of the embassy or the hostages; and
- (4) "recognize Iranian sovereignty over" the assets of the Shah and his family, and the U.S. President must issue an order to "identify and freeze" the Shah's assets and take "administrative measures" to transfer the assets to Iran.

The report stated that "all 52" hostages will be returned to the United States when the conditions are fulfilled, but added that after all the conditions have been accepted by the United States, it may be found that some conditions "will require more time," to fulfill, in which case "a number of hostages" will be released as each condition is fulfilled. The Majlis report ended with the statement that the Iranian Government will enforce the decision of the Majlis, and that the Iranian "judicial system" will "punish the criminals" if the United States fails to accept the conditions. (The Majlis conditions raised some questions. Placing the frozen assets "at the disposal" of Iran could mean allowing Iran to draw the money frozen in U.S. banks and other institutions, but could be interpreted as delivering the spare parts to Tehran. Is Iran asking the U.S. President to "cancel" the pending court cases, which under the American system of government he may not be able to do, or just to offer some form of guarantee of payment against the resolution of the cases? The Majlis report said the "Iranian Government" will enforce the decision, but in the current contest between Prime Minister Rajai and President Bani Sadr, which one is the Iranian Government? Will the "students" holding the hostages accept the Majlis decision, and will Khomeini intervene if the "students" should resist? If Iran waits for a final resolution of American court cases, which may take years, do the Iranians intend to hold some of the hostages until the last claim is resolved?)

The Majlis met in open session at 8:10 a.m. Tehran time (12:40 a.m. EST) with 187 members present (180 needed for a quorum). After about 45 minutes, the debate grew so raucous that Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani called a one-half hour recess. After the recess, Ayatollah Khomeini read the special committee report, and Rafsanjani announced that two members favoring adoption of the report and two opposing adoption would speak for five minutes each, followed by open debate in which each member would be allowed five minutes. About 200 members were present after the recess. About 12:40 p.m. Tehran time, Rafsanjani called for a "stand-up" vote (no roll call or formal count) and the conditions proposed by the special committee were approved -- unanimously, according to Tehran radio, by a large majority, according to AFP. There were 203 members present at the vote.

Ahwaz radio said in a broadcast that all 52 American hostages were in the U.S. embassy in Tehran. There was no other confirmation of the report.

AFP reported that the Iranian government had received a message from President Carter before the Majlis debate in which the President said the United States accepted the conditions. The AFP story was not confirmed by other sources.

A Reuters correspondent asked the "students" at the American embassy after

the Majlis decision was announced if the "students" accepted the conditions, but a spokesman refused to comment. Shortly after the Reuters report, the "students" announced that they would meet with Ayatollah Khomeini at a mosque in north Tehran on Monday, Nov. 3. The "students" said they would issue a statement after meeting with Khomeini and "learning Khomeini's directives."

Secretary of State Muskie, appearing on ABC's Issues and Answers, said he could not answer direct questions about the conditions until an official text was made available to the United States, and could not estimate the time the negotiations with Iran could take.

President Carter said, in an evening address to the nation, that the conditions set by the Majlis "appear to offer a positive basis" for a resolution of the hostage crisis. The President gave no indication when the United States would accept or reject the Majlis conditions, and no indication when the hostages might be released pending the outcome of negotiations with Iran. The President did say that his decisions would not violate American law or the constitution and would not tarnish American honor.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary which stated that the Majlis decision reflected the will of the Iranian nation to turn over the hostages in return for "numerous concessions" from the United States. The commentary said the United States "has guaranteed" to free the assets and return the Shah's wealth, but cautioned that "American procrastination" might prevent the hostages' release and lead to a trial.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, called a press conference for 10 a.m. tomorrow, Nov. 3.

Ayatollahs Beheshti and Rabbani-Amlashi, of the Council of Guardians, met with President Bani Sadr in Khuzistan province.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Shahi left Baghdad for Belgrade for the Non-Aligned Conference meeting on mediating a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war. In Tehran, Prime Minister Rajai met with an envoy from Indian Prime Minister Gandhi. A communique issued by the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Conference in New York said Iraq and Iran had accepted the seven-man mediating mission and that the meeting in Belgrade was intended to complete the formation of the mission.

On the battlefield, Iranian sources said the Iraqis were building another bridge across the Bahmanshir River north of Abadan, but that Iranian forces had stopped another Iraqi drive on Abadan. Baghdad radio reported that its forces had captured Iranian Oil Minister Javad Tondguyan during military operations in Iran on Oct. 31, and that the Oil Minister had been transferred to Baghdad. Tehran radio reported that Tondguyan and six companions had been "kidnapped" by Iraqi forces near Ahwaz.

Iraqi Central Bank director Hasan al-Najafi denied reports from Europe that Iraq was selling gold to finance its war effort. Rumors in financial circles in the United States suggested that some American banks might be in serious trouble if forced to repay Iranian assets in the next few days. The rumors appeared to be based on the presumption that all the assets would have to be repaid in one lump sum and that the banks may not have cash readily available.

The Observer of London reported that Israel was transferring spare parts for F-4 Phantoms to Iran via third-country ships calling at Iranian ports of



Shah Bahar on the Gulf of Oman, Bushehr in the Persian Gulf, and Bandar Abbas in the Strait of Hormuz. The Observer said Israel was also sending spare parts for helicopters and missiles to Iran, and that some shipments bound for Israel were being diverted directly to Iran without ever reaching Israel. The Observer said Israel was supplying spare parts to Iran in the hope of prolonging the war and wearing down the Iraqi military and to regain access to Iranian oil after the war is over.

NOVEMBER 3, 1980 -- MONDAY

The Swiss ambassador, accompanied by the West German ambassador, called on Prime Minister Rajai to give him a letter from President Carter. The contents of the letter were not disclosed.

In a mosque near Khomeini's home in north Tehran, the "students" asked the Ayatollah for "permission" to delegate to the Iranian government the responsibility for keeping the hostages. Khomeini, in a one hour speech, gave the "students" his "permission" to transfer the hostages. After the meeting with Khomeini, the "students" sent a letter to Prime Minister Rajai which said, "please have your representative take responsibility for the U.S. spies." Rajai, in an early afternoon interview, said that a "group" composed of representatives from various government ministries would be established under the supervision of Executive Affairs Minister Behzad Nabavi to "handle the matter" of the hostages. Later, Rajai's office said no decision had yet been made on who would guard the hostages or if the hostages would be moved to other locations.

Shortly after the Khomeini-student meeting, Prime Minister Rajai met with the Algerian ambassador to request formally that Algeria take over the "issue of the hostages." (The report was misinterpreted by some press sources as Algeria taking immediate custody of the hostages, but Algeria is being asked to act as a diplomatic conduit between the United States and Iran. It may be possible that Algeria could take custody of the hostages at a later date.)

The Iranian Foreign Ministry said in a morning statement that the text of the Majlis decision on the conditions for the release of the hostages was being translated from Farsi to English and would reach the United States tomorrow, Tuesday, Nov. 4. According to the Foreign Ministry, the text was transferred from the Majlis to the prime minister, who transferred it to the Foreign Ministry, who will transfer it to the Algerian ambassador in Tehran to be transferred to the Algerian ambassador in Washington, who will deliver the English and Farsi texts to the State Department. In the evening, the Foreign Ministry announced that the two texts had been delivered to the Algerian embassy. The Algerian ambassador in Washington delivered the texts to the State Department in the afternoon. (The time in Tehran is 7-1/2 hours later than in Washington.)

Rafsanjani said the conditions set by the Majlis had nothing to do with the Iran-Iraq war or the U.S. elections. Whether the conditions played a role in the U.S. elections was of no consequence to Iran, said the Majlis speaker. Rafsanjani said the Supreme Judicial Council would conduct the trial of the hostages if the United States did not accept the conditions.

Tehran radio reported that the U.S. Presidential candidates, Reagan and Carter, were focussing their campaigns on the hostages issue and U.S.

relations with Iran with the intention of avoiding the "economic, political, and religious problems of the United States or the crisis in Europe."

The Yugoslav, Cuban, Zambian, Algerian, Pakistani, and Indian foreign ministers and the PLO political chairman continued their meetings in Belgrade to establish their mediating mission for the Iran-Iraq war. An announcement from the Iranian Foreign Ministry said that Iran rejected the Non-Aligned-Islamic mediating effort. (Reports over the past few days have said that Iran accepted the mediation effort.) Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani met with the Indian envoy. Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti, who has been involved in the mediation effort since the war began, met with Algerian officials in Algiers.

Meanwhile, Iran reported an "intense" battle underway near Mehran, along the Iraq-Iran border, and claimed to have regained ground south of Abadan. Iran said its air force destroyed an Iraqi tank concentration on the Ahvaz-Dezful front, destroyed the Iraqi-built bridge across the Bahmanshir River leading to Abadan, and bombed al-Faw, al-Sulaymaniyah, and al-Tamin. Iraqi planes bombed Ahvaz, and a concentration of Iranian armor near Mahabad in the far northern border region (there has been little fighting in the northern border area). Iran appealed to the International Committee of the Red Cross to seek the release of Iran's Oil Minister Tondguyan and four of his aides captured on Oct. 31. (First reports said the Oil Minister and six aides had been captured.) Iran claimed the Oil Minister was being held by the Iraqis in violation of international law.

The Soviet Union denied an Iranian report that Soviet advisors were taking part in Iraqi military operations.

Iraq approved a postponement of the OPEC meeting scheduled to begin Nov. 4 in Baghdad.

Bani Sadr chaired a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council in Khuzistan province.

NOVEMBER 4, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs directed the Algerian embassy in Tehran to direct the Algerian embassy in Washington to request the United States Government to "announce its response as soon as possible" and to "inform the world" of the American answer to the hostage release conditions. The Foreign Ministry said the United States should respond through the "mass media."

The State Department responded to the Iranian request by saying that a careful analysis of the conditions would take time and that a quick response was not possible.

The Swiss ambassador in Tehran delivered a United States message to the Iranian government dated Nov. 3 and written before the United States received the official text of the Majlis conditions. Contents of the message were not disclosed.

According to APP, the Iranian Foreign Ministry will communicate with the United States through Algerians exclusively, apparently because the Iranians

believe the Algerians are faster than the Swiss or other third parties. A Ministry spokesman told AFP that Algeria "could not take custody of the hostages until a complete agreement" has been reached. (Coupled with Rajai's hint of yesterday that Algeria was taking over the "issue" of the hostages, today's Foreign Ministry statement suggests that the Algerians may play a role in the actual transfer of the hostages.)

Some 100,000 people gathered at the American embassy in Tehran to celebrate "banishment day" (on Nov. 4, 1963, the Shah exiled Khomeini), "massacre day" (on Nov. 4, Iranian troops, under the Shah's command, fired on students at Tehran University), and the day one year ago when the "students" seized the American embassy and some 100 hostages, of whom 66 were Americans. (Thirteen Americans were released in Nov. 1979 and one in July 1980.) About 20,000 Iranians entered the U.S. embassy grounds, which the "students" had not permitted in the past, to hear speeches. Revolutionary Guards were posted at the compound buildings, which may indicate that the Revolutionary Guards will take custody of the hostages from the "students" because the Guards have not been involved directly in guarding the hostages in the past. When the "students" moved the hostages to other locations after the Apr. 24 rescue attempt, there were suggestions that the Revolutionary Guards were involved in the transfer and guarding of hostages, but today's demonstration is the first time Revolutionary Guards have been seen performing guard duties in the embassy and close to the hostages, presuming the hostages are in the U.S. embassy.

At the U.S. embassy rally, Prime Minister Rajai said the "Government will take the hostages" from the "students" at some future but unspecified time. Rajai said the seizure of the embassy and hostages demonstrated Iran's "depths of dependence" upon the United States and forced Iran to break relations with the United States. Iran had gained self-confidence because of the hostage seizure, Rajai said, and Iran was grateful to the "students" for benefitting the country.

Prime Minister Rajai and Behzad Nabavi, who is to head the "group" that will take over the hostage problem from the "students," met with Ayatollah Khomeini to discuss implementing the Majlis decision on the hostages and the letters received from the United States on the hostage issue.

The West German ambassador in Tehran was quoted as saying that the "case of the hostages" would not be resolved for "at least ten days."

Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki said Japan would not lift its sanctions against Iran until all 52 hostages were released.

A Tehran radio commentary said that President Carter's "verbal concessions" were nothing more than a maneuver to deceive Iranian officials into accepting negotiations over the hostage release conditions. Carter tried to gain the sympathy of Iran, said the radio commentator, because he needed the hostages released to win re-election.

Tass reported that American banks had "plundered" the Iranian assets and were "extremely worried" that the U.S. Government would try to return the assets which the banks no longer held. The banks, said Tass, were "determined" not to allow the United States to agree to return the assets.

A communique issued from Belgrade said the seven-man commission was prepared to travel to Baghdad and Tehran to begin the mediating effort aimed at stopping the Iran-Iraq war. The communique said the seven would meet

again in New Delhi, India, after the Cuban Foreign Minister and the PLO representative made contact with Iran and Iraq. Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca left Belgrade for Tehran. In Iran, the Foreign Ministry issued another declaration that Iran did not accept the mediating effort. The ambassadors of Syria, Libya, and Algeria met with the Majlis Foreign Affairs Commission, and President Bani Sadr met with the Indian Foreign Secretary in a city in Khuzistan. In Iraq, Saddam Husayn said Iraq would withdraw from Iranian territory if Iran offered a "complete recognition" of Iraqi rights. (In previous statements, Husayn said Iraq would not withdraw from the border areas claimed by Iraq, some 125 square miles according to current Iraqi statements, but would withdraw from any territories beyond the claimed border areas. It is not clear if Husayn's statement today is a concession to withdraw from all Iranian territory or if the border areas previously claimed are to be retained.)

On the battlefield, Iran claimed it stopped another Iraqi thrust at Abadan, and Iraq claimed that its forces were advancing on Abadan. Iranian radio reports from Khuzistan province complained of people fleeing Abadan and the surrounding region, which tended to lend credence to the Iraqi claim of tightening the noose around the city. Iraq also claimed to have surrounded Ahwaz. Iran claimed its forces seized the city of Gilan-e Sharb from the Iraqis. Iranian planes bombed Irbil, Kirkuk, Basra, al-Faw, Naft-e Shah, Bostan, al-Kut, and Abadan. Iranian sources said the International Committee of the Red Cross was appealing to Iraq to release Iranian Oil Minister Tondguyan, captured on Oct. 31.

NOVEMBER 5, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said that the United States was finding it difficult to accept the Majlis conditions for the release of the hostages because the United States was used to dictating to others. Rafsanjani said "we have decided not to import weapons from the United States," which repeats suggestions made in recent weeks by other Iranian leaders that Iran does not want the spare parts paid for but held by the United States.

Ayatollah Khoini, Deputy Speaker of the Majlis, said the results of the American election would mean that a resolution of the hostage issue would take longer because Reagan was taking over the presidency. (From the statement, it appears that Khoini believes that Ronald Reagan officially became President today rather than on Jan. 20, 1981.)

A spokesman for the Iranian Prime Minister said the election of Ronald Reagan "makes no difference" to Iran and that the "hostages issue will take its natural course" and "not be affected by the election results." Later Rajai said the election would not change the conditions for the release of the hostages and that there was "no difference between Reagan and Carter." Iran was independent of U.S. influence, the Prime Minister said.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said Iran had nothing to do with the outcome of the American election. Other Majlis deputies interviewed said about the same thing, that the election results did not matter to Iran and would not change the conditions for release of the hostages. Reuters news service reported that there was a "public stand of indifference" to the Reagan victory, but that privately many Iranians were saying that Reagan was more pro-Israeli than Carter and therefore more anti-Iranian. (A common theme in Iran since

the revolution is that United States foreign policy is dictated by Zionists, and since the beginning of the war with Iraq that the United States was using Iraq to seize Iranian territory the same way the United States used Israel to seize Arab territory.) Reuters quoted a "student" spokesman at the U.S. embassy as saying "all of them (Americans) are the same. U.S. policy does not follow the President, it follows the big capitalists."

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary on the American election that said President Carter was "toppled from his throne" because of the Iranian revolution. The commentary said President Carter "tried very hard to solve the United States' problems" and that the "whole world believed he would be re-elected," but Carter lost because he failed to delay the Majlis action on the conditions for release of the hostages which made the American people vote for Reagan. A second Tehran radio commentary said the Carter defeat was attributed to Ayatollah Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution because the American people saw all of President Carter's mistakes in dealing with Iran: seeing the Shah defeated, the hostage seizure, the failure of the economic sanctions, and the rescue attempt. Iran, said the commentator, will take a place in American history as the cause for Carter's defeat. The commentary pointed out that Khomeini had said that the American people would "turn away from Carter" because of these mistakes. (A general theme heard repeatedly in Iranian comments on Reagan's election is that the American people were convinced by Khomeini of Carter's "mistakes" and voted for Reagan. Tehran radio assumes that the American people listen to and believe Khomeini. Another theme suggests that President Carter tried to trick the American people into believing he could delay the Majlis from acting or that he could control the actions of the Iranians. When the American people discovered that the President could not control the Iranians, they voted for Reagan. The commentators in Iran are claiming that Iranian independence from U.S. influence and Khomeini's wisdom caused the Reagan victory. The fact that some Iranian leaders, such as Rafsanjani and Rajai, are saying that Iran had no effect on the American election does not appear to bother the government-owned radio and television commentators.)

The Kuwait news agency reported that India was "rushing" shipments of fuel oil and lubricating oils to Iran and that Libya was shipping high octane fuels and gasoline to Iran. KUNA said there were widespread oil shortages in Iran.

Iran complained to the French Foreign Ministry about a Nov. 1 report that France would begin deliveries of the Mirage F-1 aircraft to Iraq. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz arrived in Paris to meet with French President Giscard d'Estaing.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi arrived in New York to participate in the UN Security Council debate on the Iraq-Iran conflict. India's Foreign Secretary Sathe left Tehran for New Delhi.

The Iranian Majlis called a session to receive a briefing on the war. Iraqi planes attacked Kharg Island and an Iranian armored concentration near Mahabad in the north. Iranian planes attacked al-Sulaymaniyah, Iraqi troop positions in Dyala province, al-Faw, Basra, and Iraqi positions near Abadan. Iranian forces claimed control over Abadan and said they were continuing the battle for Gilan-e Gharb. (Yesterday, Iran claimed it had retaken Gilan-e Gharb.)

Prime Minister Rajai submitted the names of six candidates to President Bani Sadr for the empty Foreign Minister post. Bani Sadr, according to

reports, rejected all six. Rajai then sent a telegram to Bani Sadr, who is headquartered in Khuzistan province, telling the President to select one of the six.

The Iranian Central Bank ordered all foreign currency exchange offices closed, and confiscated all foreign currency. (The move was interpreted as a sign that Iran was short of foreign currencies.)

NOVEMBER 6, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Le Monde reported that the U.S. State Department asked Iran for "clarifications" of some of the conditions for the release of the hostages and proposed "methods for carrying out" the conditions. According to Le Monde, the Iranians rejected the "methods" proposed by the United States, which hinged on the release of all 52 hostages before the United States would meet the Iranian conditions. Le Monde reported that the Iranians believe that President Carter has "hardened" his position on the hostages since his defeat in the Presidential election. Members of the Iranian government now believe, said Le Monde, that the spare-parts-for-hostages exchange was initiated two weeks too late. (Le Monde accepted the Iranian's word that there was a spare-parts-for-hostages deal being arranged between Iran and the United States.) Le Monde also reported that Khomeini is being pictured as a prophet in Iran because he predicted the downfall of the Shah, President Carter, and Iraq's Saddam Husayn, two of whom have, indeed, fallen. The Iranians are now saying, according to Le Monde, that Iran does not need new military equipment or spare parts for the war against Iraq because Husayn's downfall is assured by the prediction of the Ayatollah.

The Islamic Revolution newspaper reprinted an article by Bani Sadr from Dec. 1, 1979, in which the then Finance Minister said the hostages should be released or Carter would be defeated in the Nov. 1980 elections and would be followed by "U.S. militarists" in the presidency. (Reprinting the article appeared to be an "I told you so" gesture, but may be a challenge to those touting Khomeini's gift of prophecy by reminding the Iranians of Bani Sadr's predictions.)

Ayatollah Khoini, the Majlis Deputy Speaker who is close to the "students," told a Greek television interviewer that Reagan's election would have no effect on U.S. policies and no affect on conditions for the release of the hostages. Khoini said the hostage problem could have been concluded quicker if Carter had been re-elected. Khoini repeated that the hostages will be placed on trial if the United States does not accept the Majlis conditions.

Tehran radio reported a statement by an "aide" of Ronald Reagan that Reagan and Carter did not have a common policy toward the hostages. But the radio then said that Reagan was committed to abide by any agreement Carter would reach on the hostage issue. Tehran radio cited a White House spokesman as saying that Carter is to focus his last efforts as President on resolving the hostage problem.

Tanjung, the Yugoslavian press service, reported from Tehran that Iranian leaders would have preferred Carter to Reagan in settling the hostage issue. Reports in Tehran, according to Tanjung, stated that Carter was continuing the negotiations through the Algerians, but that the United States could not

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**4 OF 5**

accept the condition calling for the return of the Shah's wealth. Iran's central bank director Nobari "eased" the condition by asking the United States to help Iran reclaim the Shah's wealth, but such an alteration of the conditions must be approved by the Majlis and Khomeini. Officially, the Majlis has completed its consideration of the hostage conditions and turned the matter over to the Iranian government, and Khomeini has stated that he would have nothing more to say about the hostages. However, Tanjung probably is correct in saying that any changes in the conditions would have to get some form of approval from both the Majlis and Khomeini. The Nobari statement "easing" the conditions was made Oct. 24.)

Pars, the Iranian government news agency, interviewed several Majlis members on the U.S. Presidential election. Rafsanjani, speaker of the Majlis, told Pars that the election did not concern Iran, and that who "ruled" the United States made no difference to Iran. Ayatollah Khomeini told Pars that Reagan and Carter were "identical twins" and that Iran's differences with the United States remained the same regardless of who was President. Ali Akbar Parvareh, a member of the Supreme Defense Council and a member of the special committee that proposed the Majlis conditions, said neither the Republicans nor the Democrats could play a role in Iranian affairs. Tehran deputy Fakhruddin Ruzi said it did not matter which party controlled the White House as proven by history: the Republican Eisenhower "caused" the Iranian coup of 1953 (which removed Prime Minister Mussadiq and restored the Shah to the throne), Democrat Kennedy "caused" the "catastrophe" of June 5, 1963 (Khomeini's arrest for advocating the riots against the Shah's "white revolution"), and the Democrat Carter "caused" the deaths of 60,000 Iranians during the 1979 rebellion against the Shah. (The Iranians keep increasing the number of deaths during the revolution against the Shah: at first "thousands," then 10,000, then 20,000, and now 60,000. Ayatollah Montazari used the figure of "60-70,000" in a statement of Sept. 11.) Sadiq Khalkhali of Qum said the "capitalists," not a person, rules America, and that Iran will see no change in the United States after Reagan becomes President. Secretary of the Majlis Ahmad Tavakoli told Pars that the United States only changed tactics but not its goals, that the Democratic tactic of "kindness" was being replaced by the Republican tactic of "harshness." Tehran deputy Muhammad Javad Hojati Kermani told Pars that there would be no difference to Iran which party governed the United States, except that the Democrats hid their "steely claws in silk gloves."

A Tehran radio commentary on the U.S. elections said all Presidents are selected by the "owners of industrial and capitalist companies, trusts, and cartels" and that the only difference between the two American parties was that the Democrats "hid under a cover of human rights" while the Republicans are "less discreet." In the end, said the radio commentator, "5 million Jews" decided the election for "250 million Americans" because Ronald Reagan said the Palestinians were terrorists while Jimmy Carter disagreed with Israel's settlement policy and the annexation of the Golan Heights. The U.S. election was decided by the Israelis, said the commentator. (For all their claimed indifference for the election results, the Iranian press is devoting what appears to be an inordinate amount of coverage to Iranian reactions to Reagan's election, which may suggest that the Iranians are not quite as indifferent as they profess.)

Haaretz newspaper of Tel Aviv quoted Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir as saying: "We have a great deal of interest in the Iran-Iraq war since it is happening in our region and we are following events there so as to be able to intervene if the need arises." An Israeli government press office later issued a clarification, stating that Shamir "did not say Israel

might interfere in the war." Shamir also told the Tel Aviv University audience, according to Haaretz, that reports Israel was sending arms to Iran were "unfounded" and that Israeli Deputy Minister of Defense Tzipori had said (on Sept. 27) such assistance was a "possible option" for Israel. (Reports that Israel was sending spare parts and military equipment to Iran surfaced on Nov. 2, Oct. 4 and Sept. 30.)

India denied the report of yesterday that it had shipped fuel oil and lubricants to Iran.

Lian claimed its forces cleared the Bahmanshir River north of Abadan of Iraqi forces and that Iranians still held the eastern section of Khorramshahr, the western approaches to Dezful, and the areas around Susangerd. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi troop and tank concentrations in al-Sulaymaniyah and Abadan, and oil facilities at Basra and al-Faw. Iraqi planes attacked Iranian military targets at Ahwaz and Abadan.

Ayatollah Abd al-Karim Musavi-Ardabili, Iran's Prosecutor-General, met with Ayatollah Khomeini to discuss Iranian television and radio broadcasting.

NOVEMBER 7, 1980 — FRIDAY

The State Department said it was close to reaching a decision on a response to Iran.

Ayatollah Khomeini told the Tehran prayer gathering that there would be no changes in the hostage situation. Khomeini said Iran brought "shame" to the United States by seizing the hostages and more "shame" by setting the conditions for their release. There is no difference between Reagan and Carter, the Ayatollah said.

Revolutionary Council member and Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz left Paris for Amman, Jordan, and Baghdad. Aziz reportedly discussed French arms supplies to Iraq.

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) repeated the Soviet denial that Soviet advisors were helping the Iraqis, and echoed the Soviet warning that if Iran received spare parts from the United States, Iran would also receive American advisors, which was part of the "great imperialist conspiracy" to re-establish influence over Iranian affairs. NVOI said that Iranians who advocate taking spare parts from the United States were advocating the return of American control over Iran.

Ayatollah Montazari told the Friday prayer gathering at Qum that the Iranian army was "sluggish" because the "responsible authorities and war commanders" cannot make "firm decisions" on running the war effort against Iraq. Montazari asked rhetorically if the "war commanders" were deliberately holding back the army and the Revolutionary Guards. (Montazari's inuendo appeared to be aimed at Bani Sadr.) Bani Sadr and Khomeini met with Khomeini to discuss the war, and later Bani Sadr met with the Supreme Defense Council in Tehran. After the meetings, Bani Sadr told the press that the Iranian army was stronger now than when the war began and that within two weeks would be twice as strong as it is now.

Reports from Baghdad said that Iranian Oil Minister Tondguyan was near

death after undergoing surgery to repair wounds he suffered when he was captured on Oct. 31. Iranian officials said Tondguyan did not appear to be wounded when he was shown on Iraqi television after the capture, and said Tondguyan had been tortured by the Iraqis.

Iran reported "very intense fighting" along the northern border areas and said Iraqi artillery was shelling Ahwaz and Dezful. Iran said it stopped another Iraqi armored assault on the bridges across the Bahmanshir River into Abadan. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi positions around Abadan. Iraq claimed its ships sunk two Iranian gunboats in the Persian Gulf.

Tehran radio announced there would be no gasoline sales to private automobiles between Nov. 8 and Nov. 12.

The Islamic Republic newspaper reported that former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh had been arrested for "provocative statements" made during a television interview last night. Ghotbzadeh had said that the television officials were incompetent and were censoring the news. The publicity staff of the Supreme Defense Council said an investigation of Ghotbzadeh's comments and arrest was underway.

NOVEMBER 8, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Iran's Prime Minister Rajai told AFP, the French news agency, that the "students" still held the hostages and occupied the U.S. embassy. (The "students" requested that the government take custody of the hostages on Nov. 3, and Rajai named a group to take over the hostages the same day.) Other sources in Iran told AFP that the delay in transferring custody of the hostages to the government "might be" because the hostages were not in Tehran and still were dispersed in various cities around Iran.

The Islamic Republic newspaper, voice of the Islamic Republic Party, said in an editorial entitled "Death to Carter, Death to Reagan," that Reagan was "inflexible, harsh, and violent" and would expand American military power. The editorial said there were "doubts about free elections in the United States" because the U.S. Government controlled the U.S. economy, currency values of "any country," a sophisticated "espionage apparatus," and was capable of "carrying out bloody coups," and consequently "selected" the American Presidents. The American peoples' "opinion is worthless" and Ronald Reagan's election a "forgery," said the editorial.

Iranian sources reported that former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, arrested yesterday, was in Evin prison outside Tehran. Baghdad radio said other so-called moderate leaders, such as Mehdi Bazargan, Ibrahim Yazdi, Mustafa Shamran, and Abu Sharif would be arrested soon. Paris radio reported an interview with Bani Sadr in which the President said he would no longer speak on Iranian radio or television and would make his views known only through the newspaper Islamic Revolution, which he expected to be censored soon. The French radio wondered if Bani Sadr might be arrested as well. Ghotbzadeh told the Paris radio that the individuals running the Iranian government were "mediocre" and "totally incompetent" to understand the need for a free press to broadcast the Iranian "cause" to the world. In Tehran, the publicity headquarters of the Supreme Defense Council, which gave the order to the Revolutionary Guards to arrest Ghotbzadeh, issued a statement that said all "chief editors" would meet to hear the publicity headquarter's policies,

which included reporting the "realities" of the war, showing "restraint in reporting war news to avoid helping the enemy, and avoiding "discordant" articles which have a "negative impact" on Iranian public opinion. The publicity headquarters said it had issued "warnings" to the Ettelaat, Islamic Republic, Islamic Revolution, and Keyhan newspapers and had closed Mardom newspaper for publishing an article against Ghotbzadeh. The publicity headquarters announced that it would "supervise" television and radio broadcasts to avoid "discordant" talks, such as the Thursday night program in which Ghotbzadeh criticized the television station. The Shiraz Revolutionary Guards announced that they had banned three leftist magazines, and that anyone caught with one of the magazines would be arrested.

The Iran Central Bank denied that Iran was short of cash. Iran has \$7 billion in foreign currencies and gold, said the bank, not \$1 billion as reported in a London financial journal.

A United Arab Emirates newspaper published an article stating that Algeria withdrew from the seven-man mediation commission formed by the Non-Aligned and Islamic Conferences after learning that Iraq intended to proclaim an independent state of Arabistan (Khuzistan province in Iran). The story was not confirmed from other sources.

Bani Sadr met with Iranian pilots and army commanders in Khuzistan.

Prime Minister Rajai told a Beirut newspaper the war should be prolonged to weaken Iraq and cause the collapse of the Baathist regime.

Iran claimed its gunboats "completely destroyed" the Iraqi offshore oil loading terminals of Khawr al-Amaya and Mina al-Bakr, in the Persian Gulf off al-Faw. (This is the first mention of damage to the two Iraqi offshore facilities, although the Iranians claimed to have attacked onshore facilities serving the offshore loading platforms.) Iraq claimed its gunboats sank two Iranian gunboats in the Shatt al-Arab and one "steamboat" in the Karun River, and to have captured an Iranian naval base in the Shatt al-Arab. Iranian planes attacked al-Sulaymaniyah, al-Tamim, Kirkuk, and Iraqi positions outside Dezful. Iran also claimed its helicopters engaged Iraqi helicopters in air-to-air combat. Iran said its forces held against an Iraqi attack on Abadan and east Khorramshahr, and made advances along the northern front at Qasr-e Shirin, Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and Gilan-e Gharb. Iraq denied that Iranian Oil Minister Tondguyan had been tortured and said he was resting after medical treatment for wounds received during the capture.

NOVEMBER 9, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani praised Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad for supporting Iran in the war with Iraq; al-Assad said that Iraq was the aggressor in the conflict. Rafsanjani said that Syria, Libya, and Algeria were revolutionary countries similar to Iran.

Iran repeated its appeal to the International Committee of the Red Cross to seek the release of Iran's Oil Minister Tondguyan, captured by the Iraqis on Oct. 31.

President Bani Sadr met with General Zahirnezhad in Khuzistan province to discuss the war effort. Iran claimed to hold back Iraqi advances at Abadan

and Khorramshahr and to have made advances of its own along the northern front. Iran reported heavy fighting on the Allah Akbar heights between Susangerd and Bostan. Iranian planes hit Iraqi military concentrations near Abadan and civilian targets at Kirkuk.

The arrest of Ghotbzadeh triggered a debate in the Majlis over the right of Prosecutor-General Ardabili to appoint an acting head of the television broadcasting agency, and the right of the Supreme Defense Council publicity headquarters to call for the arrest of Ghotbzadeh. Ayatollah Allamah Nuri said Ghotbzadeh's arrest was unjustified. Ghazan Farpur, who was a broadcasting director before being elected to the Majlis, said Ghotbzadeh was arrested for telling the truth, and that many people in Iran were prevented from speaking out against the broadcasting system's refusal to allow alternate points of view. Ali Naravi of Khorasan questioned the constitutional right of the Supreme Defense Council to order people arrested and said Ardabili violated the constitution by appointing an acting director for the television station. Mahdi Bazargan appealed to Ayatollah Khomeini to have Ghotbzadeh released from Evin prison. Former Oil Minister Muinfar said Ardabili's appointment of the television director was contrary to law.

Prime Minister Rajai said President Bani Sadr had not answered his request for the selection of a foreign minister. Rajai submitted six names, which Bani Sadr rejected on Nov. 5.

NOVEMBER 10, 1980 — MONDAY

Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher left for Algeria carrying the American response to the Majlis conditions for the release of the hostages. Christopher gave the still-secret American reply to the Algerian Foreign Minister Muhammad Ben Yahia to be presented to the Iranians. It was believed that Iran had sent a delegation to Algiers, but that the American and Iranian delegations would not meet face-to-face. According to sources in Washington, the American reply accepted the Iranian demand for a pledge of non-interference in Iranian affairs, but offered only "good faith gestures" toward accepting the other three conditions because of U.S. legal problems. Christopher was accompanied by Treasury Deputy Secretary Robert Carswell, Assistant Secretary of State for Middle Eastern Affairs Harold Saunders, State Department legal officer Robert Owen, and Arnold Raphel, an assistant to Secretary of State Muskie. Carswell, Saunders, and Owen accompanied Christopher on his secretive trip to Europe during the week of Sept. 15-19, when they met with European officials to discuss the hostage crisis. According to rumors in Europe and the Middle East, the Christopher group also met secretly with Iranian officials during the Sept. trip.

Earlier in the day, Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani told reporters the United States had not replied to the Iranian conditions and that Iran did not want a reply, it wanted the United States to "take action to meet the conditions." Rafsanjani repeated that the hostages would be tried if the United States did not accept the conditions.

Bani Sadr said that if the hostage issues were resolved "within a week" Iran could begin receiving military equipment that would help the war effort against the Iraqis, but that if the hostage issue "drags on" there would be no effect on the war.

British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington said Britain hesitated to call the four Britons held by the Iranians "hostages" because they had not been formally charged with any crimes. The four are John and Audrey Coleman, who ran a medical clinic, Jean Waddel, secretary to the Anglican bishop of Iran, and Andrew Pyke, a businessman, all arrested by the Iranian authorities for "spying."

The Supreme Defense Council met in Khuzistan, first, to discuss a suggestion offered by UN Secretary-General Waldheim to send a UN representative to Iran and Iraq to mediate a cease-fire and, second, to discuss the Non-Aligned/Islamic Conferences mediation effort. Bani Sadr said Iran had asked for "clarifications" on one of the five points offered in the Conferences cease-fire proposal, which called for an Iraqi withdrawal from Iranian territory in exchange for an Iranian recognition of Iraqi territorial rights under the 1975 boundary agreement. Iraqi President Saddam Husayn said on Nov. 4 that Iraq would withdraw if Iran recognized Iraqi territorial rights. Bani Sadr said the Supreme Defense Council would make a decision on the withdrawal/recognition proposal which would be made public soon, but the Iranian president added that there could be no negotiations until after an Iraqi withdrawal.

Malaysian Foreign Minister Tengku Ahmad Rithaudeen said the Islamic Conference meeting scheduled to be held in Saudi Arabia in "a few weeks" would discuss the Iraq-Iran war. PLO chairman Yasir Arafat met with Indian External Affairs Minister Rao to discuss the seven-man commission peace effort and announced that another meeting of the seven would be held in New Delhi in the near future.

Ahmad Khomeini, son of the Ayatollah, visited Ghotbzadeh in Evin prison. Later, the Iranian ambassador in Paris said Ghotbzadeh would be released today. When asked by the Iranian press if the story was true, Prosecutor-General Ayatollah Ali Ghodussi said that Ghotbzadeh had been arrested for "spreading rumors," and that he might be released soon "because of matters of which I cannot speak." Ghotbzadeh was released from Evin prison late at night. Meanwhile, the Majlis considered a bill to draft a "constitution" for the state-owned broadcasting agencies that would also spell out a procedure for appointing the directors of the agency. Ghotbzadeh had criticized the television agency and the temporary director, appointed by the Prosecutor-General's office, for not allowing freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Ghotbzadeh's arrest raised a second controversy over the authority of the publicity headquarters of the Supreme Defense Council to order the Revolutionary Guards to arrest the former Foreign Minister. The Ghotbzadeh affair pointed out two fundamental problems in Iran: Will there be freedom of expression or must everyone parrot the IRP-Khomeini line? and who controls the government, the religious fundamentalist-dominated IRP/Majlis/cabinet or the secularist executive branch/president?

The battlefields remained stalemated. Iran claimed its forces were gaining ground along the Mehran-to-Qasr-e Shirin front in the north and holding at bay the Iraqi forces surrounding Abadan. Iranian helicopters attacked Iraqi troop and tank concentrations near Khorramshahr and Abadan. For the past week, Iraqi reports on the war have been subdued; the Iraqi government issued twice-daily communiqués listing the number of tanks and planes destroyed and the number of Iranian troops killed or captured, but has said little about advances or retreats or the sometimes suspect claims about encircling or destroying cities. Similarly, Iranian claims to have repulsed Iraqi thrusts at Abadan or to have retaken strategic sites in the north have been repeated.



everyday for over a week until they, too, are suspect.

President Bani Sadr said Iran had received "no tangible aid" from other countries to assist in the war effort against Iraq.

NOVEMBER 11, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher and his delegation left Algiers for the United States (with an unscheduled stop in Shannon, Ireland, because of mechanical problems) after delivering to the Algerian Foreign Ministry the American response to the Iranian conditions. The U.S. delegation explained the American position to the Algerians who will forward the response to Tehran tomorrow (the Algerian ambassador to Tehran left Algiers with the response today).

In Tehran, Iranian bank director Nobari told Reuters that the American response was "cool" toward Iran, that the United States maintained its position that the Shah's wealth could not be released to Iran but must await U.S. court action, and that he, Nobari, was not optimistic about an early resolution of the hostage crisis. Nobari believed the hostages could be released by Jan. 20, 1981, the day Ronald Reagan will be inaugurated as President. Nobari had not seen the American response, but told Reuters he was aware of the contents through "channels" and that his reaction to the American response was personal, not official. Nobari said he had advised the Iranian government on the wording of the conditions to allow the U.S. Government to meet its own legal requirements, and had suggested that the United States issue a declaration accepting Iran's rights to the Shah's assets and "order" a U.S. Government agency to identify the Shah's assets. Nobari told Reuters he also suggested that if the United States and Iran could not agree on the status of the Shah's assets, that a neutral party be named to mediate between the two countries and that the United States establish an escrow account for the Shah's assets to be distributed after the neutral party mediated the dispute. Nobari said his suggestions for asking the United States to accept Iran's rights, to identify the Shah's assets, to name the neutral party, and to establish an escrow account that had been rejected by the Iranian government. Nobari said he believed the hostage issue would be resolved before Jan. 20 because President Carter did not want to leave the hostage legacy behind when he left office, President-elect Reagan did not want to assume the office with the hostage problem unresolved, and the Iranians wanted to solve the hostage problem.

The Swiss ambassador in Tehran delivered a message from President Carter to Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani which said, according to Rafsanjani, that President-elect Reagan approved of President Carter's decisions on the settlement of the hostage problem.

It was announced in Stockholm that UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim had named former Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme to be Waldheim's personal envoy to attempt to mediate the Iraq-Iran war. Palme said he would go to Baghdad and Tehran. After a Supreme Defense Council meeting, Ayatollah Khamenei said the UN envoy had been discussed and that Iran had no objections to the mediating effort. (Iran maintains that all such efforts are fact-finding missions and does not use the word mediation.)

Habib Shatti, former Tunisian Foreign Minister and current

Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, proposed that a six-member Muslim head-of-state mission be formed to mediate a cease-fire to the Iraq-Iran war. Shatti said Iraq approved the suggestion and that Iran had not rejected it.

It was announced in India that PLO chairman Arafat would visit New Delhi next week to discuss the next step in the seven-member Islamic/Non-Aligned Conference Foreign Ministers' mediating effort. The Indian Foreign Office said the Islamic/Non-Aligned effort had not failed and was continuing.

Iran claimed the Iraqis shelled Ahwaz, Dezful, and Susangerd with long-range artillery and that the Iraqis were in retreat from Abadan. Iran also claimed its forces were advancing along the Qasr-e Shirin to Mehran front. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi targets at al-Sulaymaniyah and Haj Umran. The Iranian Foreign Ministry escorted some 50 ambassadors stationed in Tehran to the city of Kermanshah to see the war damage -- Kermanshah is the largest city in the Qasr-e Shirin/ Sar-e Pol-e Zahab/ Gilan-e Gharb area and a frequent target of Iraqi planes and artillery.

NOVEMBER 12, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

The Algerian Ambassador to Iran and the Algerian ambassador to the United States presented to the Iranian government in Tehran the U.S. response to the Majlis conditions. (Reuters said the response was presented to Executive Affairs Minister Behzad Navavi, who is chairing the government group that is to implement the Majlis decision on the release of the hostages. AFP reported that U.S. response was presented to Prime Minister Rajai.) One source in Iran said the Iranian reaction to the American response would be made public in a few days.

Havana radio repeated the Nov. 10 story from Tehran that the Iranian government was considering the Iraqi five-point proposal for a cease-fire. The proposal was carried from Baghdad to Tehran by Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, who is acting as the representative for the Non-Aligned Conference mediation effort. Havana radio said the Iraqis offered to withdraw from Iranian territory if Iran would recognize Iraqi claims to border adjustments under the 1975 agreement, but Havana radio added that the Iraqis claimed sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab, a point not mentioned in the Nov. 10 reports of the Iraqi proposal. According to Cuban radio, Iran asked for "clarifications," which presumably meant that Malmierca would continue shuttling between Baghdad and Tehran. Meanwhile, the Iranian government denied that PLO chairman Yasir Arafat would visit New Delhi next week as reported from India yesterday.

The Iran-Iraq battlefield remained static. Iran claimed to have driven Iraqi forces back along the Bahmanshir River north of Abadan and to have made advances in the Qasr-e Shirin area. Both sides said their forces punished the opposition with artillery fire in the Dezful-Susangerd-Ahwaz front. Iranian planes bombed Basra, al-Faw, and Umm Qasr. Kuwait reported that an unidentified plane fired two missiles at the Iraq-Kuwait border town of al-Abdali, which is close to Umm Qasr, Iraq. Later, the Kuwaiti government filed a formal complaint with the Iranian ambassador in Kuwait for the incident, claiming the plane was Iranian.

The contest within Iran over control of the broadcasting institutions

continued, with Ayatollah Khomeini meeting with officials of the publicity headquarters of the Supreme Defense Council to "issue new instructions." Khomeini also met with Sadig Ghotbzadeh, just released from Evin prison, and with Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani. Although Iranian sources did not release details of what was discussed at the meetings, it appears that Khomeini told the publicity headquarters officials to report the news and refrain from political commentary. Earlier, Rafsanjani told the Majlis that there was "excessive freedom" in Iran, that opposition groups were allowed to speak out against the authorities and to criticize the government. The Majlis speaker said groups, such as the Fedayin-e Khalq, a leftist guerrilla group, were allowed to carry weapons and post their political slogans on walls. Rafsanjani singled out Ghotbzadeh, although he did not mention the former foreign minister and broadcasting head by name, as having taken too many liberties with Iran's freedom of expression by criticizing the broadcasting officials.

NOVEMBER 13, 1980 — THURSDAY

The Iranian government "group" handling the U.S. response to the Majlis conditions for the release of the hostages held a meeting, chaired by Executive Affairs Minister Behzad Nabavi, to discuss the hostage situation. The "group" did not disclose its reactions to the American reply, delivered by the Algerians yesterday, nor did it disclose how it would respond. Western news sources in Tehran said the impression left by members of the "group" and other Iranian leaders was that the American response was not "positive" and that Iran was not pleased with the American approach.

Ayatollah Beheshti told the Iranian press that the hostages would be placed on trial once the Islamic Consultative Council decides that a trial is necessary "in the event the United States fails to accept the Iranian conditions." (Although it is not clear what the "Islamic Consultative Council" may be, it is believed to be the name of the "group" studying the American response, chaired by Nabavi. The Iranians call the Majlis the "Islamic Consultative Assembly" and the cabinet the "Islamic Republic Government," and the various other institutions in the government, such as the Supreme Defense Council or the Council of Guardians, are clearly named. This is the first time the "Islamic Consultative Council" has appeared in the Iranian lexicon. Beheshti's comment appears to recognize the Islamic Consultative Council's authority as the final arbiter on accepting or rejecting the American response.)

The Islamic Republic newspaper published an article describing a "top secret" document taken from the U.S. embassy in Tehran which "exposes" collaboration between the United States and Iraq to start the war against Iran. According to the newspaper, the document detailed the steps necessary to overthrow the Khomeini regime, to provoke tribal and ethnic minority unrest in Iran, to support parties of both the right and left, and to "kindle" a war between Iraq and Iran. Islamic Republic, which mirrors the Islamic Republic Party, said the document had been reproduced in Tishrin, the Damascus newspaper, as well.

Tehran radio mentioned the Kuwaiti aircraft incident of yesterday, but said the identity of the plane was "unknown." (After a plane fired two missiles at the Kuwaiti town of al-Abdali on Nov. 12, the Kuwaitis complained to Iran.)

Prime Minister Rajai told the Tehran press that Iran would not negotiate with Iraq even if the Iraqis withdrew from Iranian territory, denying press reports yesterday that Iran was willing to talk to the Iraqis after an Iraqi withdrawal.

Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, representing the Non-Aligned Conference mediating effort, met with PLO chairman Yasir Arafat in Beirut to discuss the seven-man commission. Malmierca left Beirut for Baghdad.

Iranian planes hit Iraqi targets in al-Sulaymaniyah, Haj Uman, Panjwin, al-Faw, Umm Qasr, and Basra. Iraqi planes hit Iranian troop concentrations at Ahwaz and Razaiyah. The two sides exchanged tank and artillery fire at Ahwaz and Dezful, and the stalemate continued along the Bahmanshir River north of Abadan.

After a meeting with Ayatollah Khomeini, Prime Minister Rajai said they had discussed food rationing and "schemes" to prevent hoarding and inflation.

NOVEMBER 14, 1980 — FRIDAY

The Iranian government group studying the American response to the Majlis conditions did not meet because Bahzad Nabavi, who chairs the group, went south to visit the battlefields.

Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca continued his discussions with Iraqi government officials on the Non-Aligned/Islamic Conferences mediation effort.

South Korea announced that it would receive a shipment of crude oil from Iran, to be loaded at Lavan Island south of the war zone sometime in the next five days. Except for a few reports of Iranian shipments from Lavan to India, this is the first mention of Iranian crude exports since the war began in late Sept. The Koreans said they would receive about 900,000 barrels of crude.

Iraqi planes attacked Kermanshah, Dehloran, and Iranian positions around Susangerd. Iranian planes attacked Haj Uman, al-Sulaymaniyah, Kirkuk, Mosul, al-Faw, and Iraqi positions near Ahwaz and Susangerd. On the ground, a major battle appeared to be building at Susangerd, with the Iraqis mounting an armored and artillery attack on the Iranian-held city. Iran claimed it was holding back the Iraqi push. Iran also claimed it was gaining ground along the northern front, particularly in the area of Gilan-e Gharb. Iran said it held back an Iraqi advance on the Bahmanshir River, north of Abadan.

In the morning Ayatollah Khomeini met with Ayatollah Khamenei, Muhyi al-Din Anvari, head of the gendarmerie, and Mahdi Karrubi, who heads a charitable foundation that helps families of those killed in the war. In the afternoon, President Bani Sadr returned to Tehran from Khuzistan province to chair a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council and to meet with Khomeini. Kamal Kharazi, director of the Supreme Defense Council's Publicity Headquarters, which was involved in the freedom of the press controversy with former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, attended the SDC meeting.

NOVEMBER 15, 1980 — SATURDAY

The Washington Post reported from Beirut that a spokesman for the Iranian Prime Minister's office said the special group studying the U.S. response to the Majlis conditions would reach a decision in two or three days. The group, headed by Executive Affairs Minister Nabavi, met in Tehran today, and will decide how Iran is to respond to the American response.

Al-Watan, a daily newspaper in Kuwait, reported that Ayatollah Khomeini was considering a proposal to turn the hostages over to UN Secretary-General Waldheim. Al-Watan said Prime Minister Rajai made the proposal during his Oct. 18 visit to the UN Security Council. The newspaper also said that President Bani Sadr favored releasing the hostages to a neutral third world country rather than the UN.

Pars, the Iranian government news agency, announced that British and American journalists would be granted visas to enter Iran and report on the Iraq-Iran war. There are some British journalists in Iran now, such as Reuters news service, but no American news agencies have been accredited since Jan. 14, 1980. A few Americans have been allowed into Iran on temporary visas since January.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn met with Isidoro Malmierca, the Cuban Foreign Minister who is negotiating on behalf of the Non-Aligned Conference mediation effort. Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis, said Iran will make no concessions and will join no negotiations until Iraqi troops are withdrawn from Iranian territory. Rafsanjani said the war would last a long time and will end when the Baath regime in Iraq falls. The Majlis Speaker said that Iran continues to receive all the military equipment it needs from other countries, but would add no other details.

The tank and artillery battle at Susangerd continued for the second day, and appears to be a major confrontation between the two forces. Iran claimed advances near Ahwaz and in the Qasr-e Shirin area. Iraq claimed advances at Abadan, and said that all the oil facilities of the city were destroyed. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi positions at al-Sulaymaniyah, Panjwin, Basra, and Kirkuk, and Iraqi planes attacked Iranian positions at Ahwaz and Susangerd. INA reported that since the war began in late September, Iraqi forces had destroyed 345 Iranian planes, 87 helicopters, two "jumbo" planes on the ground at Mehrabad airport near Tehran, 663 tanks, two frigates, seven "gunboats," and captured two helicopters, 136 tanks and 261 self-propelled and towed artillery pieces.

Tehran radio announced the march routes for the Ashura religious holiday, Tuesday and Wednesday, Nov. 18 and 19. The several marches on Tuesday all converge at the American embassy in Tehran, where the principal rally will be held. Ashura commemorates the death of Husayn, Ali's son and Muhammad's grandson.

The Iranian Islamic Court sentenced Muhammad Reza Saadati, a leader of the Mujahidun, to 10 years in prison for "spying for the Soviet Union." Saadati was arrested in April 1979 after contacting a Soviet journalist. The Mujahidun, or Islamic Marxists, have been banned by the Islamic government.

NOVEMBER 16, 1980 — SUNDAY

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said in Paris that he believes that the hostages will be released before President-elect Reagan's inauguration, Jan. 20, 1981. Kissinger, who said he was speaking as a private citizen, based his prediction on what he considers the Iranian government's interest in beginning its dealings with the new American government with "a clean slate."

Iran's President Bani Sadr told a Hungarian correspondent that Iran "will never surrender to America," and that President-elect Ronald Reagan will have to accept the Majlis conditions for the release of the hostages or "it means war."

Tass quoted the New York Times as reporting that the United States Government was "unwilling" to "sacrifice" the claims of U.S. banks, companies, and individuals against Iran's wealth held in the United States.

Bani Sadr also told the Hungarians that the Iranian army was stronger now than when the war started. The army had been allowed to deteriorate over the past two years, said the President, and spare parts for Iranian military equipment were "mishandled," but now the spare parts were being distributed to points where they were needed and the stronger army was able to defend the country. He said the war would continue until Iraq "loses its resources" and that a "political solution" would be possible after an Iranian victory. The President also said that Iran was isolated internationally in part because of its own misdeeds and in part because of a "world wide propaganda" campaign against it. Bani Sadr said he opposed the concentration of power in the hands of a few (implying the IRP) but that he was not opposed to the religious authorities.

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) said that Ghotbzadeh's release from Evin prison was a "victory for U.S. imperialist lackies and mercenaries" and that Ghotbzadeh was an "audacious and courageous C.I.A. agent" who accepted "bribes from the C.I.A."

The chief prosecutor of the "Islamic Revolutionary Court" announced that all members of the Tudeh Party, fedayin, and mujahidun must leave Khuninshahr (Khorramshahr) and Abadan because they were "godless atheists." (Most of the defense of the two cities under siege by the Iraqis has been led by the guerrilla groups and the Revolutionary Guards and not by the Iranian army. The announcement that the "leftists" must leave the two cities may suggest that either the Iranians are abandoning their claims that they can defend Khorramshahr and Abadan or that they are preparing a military action to drive the Iraqis out and do not wish to allow the leftists to reap any glory from the anticipated victory.)

The Iraqis, AFP, Bahraini radio, and Kuwait all reported that "numerous" Iranian aircraft attacked the Kuwaiti border town of al-Abdali with air-to-ground rockets and bombs. No damage or injuries were reported. A similar incident involving one Iranian plane occurred on Nov. 12. Kuwait said its air defense system fired on the Iranian planes in today's incident, but did not mention hitting any of the planes or scrambling any of its own aircraft to confront the Iranians. The Kuwait government said it would transmit an official complaint to the Iranian ambassador in Kuwait.

Iraq reported gains at Susangerd and said the city was "surrounded" by Iraqi troops. Iran said "hand-to-hand" fighting was occurring in the city.

The Iranians also claimed that their troops were advancing in "heavy fighting" at Mehran and Qasr-e Shirin. Iran said its artillery was shelling al-Faw. Iraqi planes attacked Abadan and Khanah, and Iranian planes attacked al-Sulaymaniyah, Irbil, Panjwin, and al-Nasariyah.

Ayatollah Khomeini criticized those Iranians who disunited the country with their political bickering. Khomeini added that 100,000 Iranians had died from 1963 until the Shah fell and that another 100,000 were disabled by the Shah's regime.

NOVEMBER 17, 1980 -- MONDAY

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani told reporters prior to his departure for Algeria, Libya, Syria, and Lebanon that the Iranian government committee was still "studying" the U.S. Government reply to the Majlis conditions for the release of the hostages. Rafsanjani said the United States should "submit" to the conditions, and should admit to using the hostage issue as an "excuse" for its "cunning imperialist plots" against Iran. The Majlis is no longer involved in the hostage issue and would not address the hostage matter again, the Speaker said. The Iranian government was holding "serious discussions" on how to proceed, but it was now up to the United States to "accept facts and realities." Rafsanjani then flew to Algiers.

Ayatollah Montazari, interviewed by Hungarian radio, said the Iranian government had custody of the hostages. (This was not confirmed by other sources. Montazari is the only Iranian leader to claim that the Government does hold the hostages.) Montazari also said that the United States had attempted "four or five" coups in Iran since the Shah left, in addition to the rescue attempt of April 24. The Ayatollah, who many say will replace Khomeini as the "guide" to the Iranian revolution, said that the United States wanted Khuzistan province and its oil wealth "broken off" from the rest of Iran, implying that the United States was behind the Iraqi invasion of Iran.

The "Islamic Revolutionary Tribunal" issued warrants for the arrest of the "main leaders" of the Mujahidun-e Khalq (Islamic Marxists) because the leaders did not appear at the trial of Muhammad Reza Saadati, convicted on Nov. 15 of "spying for the Soviet Union" and sentenced to ten years in prison. (Combined with yesterday's announcement that leftists had to leave Abadan and Khorramshahr, today's announcement appears to signal a resumption of the Government's attack on the left.)

Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca left Baghdad for Kuwait and a meeting with Kuwaiti officials concerning his efforts on behalf of the Non-Aligned Conference to arrange a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war.

Iran complained to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva that the Iraqis had "abducted" and "kidnapped" an Iranian four-person medical team near Abadan.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry said that Iraq was using chemical, biological, and environmental weapons in the war.

Iraq said it had stopped an Iranian attempt to mount an attack against northern Iraq by shifting troops to the north. The Iraqis said that the

aborted Iranian northern invasion effort was now being shifted to the south and that the Iranians would try to achieve a breakthrough against Iraqi forces in the Ahwaz-Abadan area. The Iraqis said they controlled Susangerd and that their forces were moving toward Dezful to the north and Ahwaz to the south. Iran said its forces had "annihilated" the Iraqis at Susangerd and stopped the Iraqi advance on the southern front. Iran claimed more advances in the Mehran area, and that its forces still held parts of Khorramshahr and all of Abadan. Iraq said it sank 12 Iranian gunboats on the Karkheh River. (The Karkheh runs parallel to the Dezful-Ahwaz road; it is doubtful that Iran would have "gunboats" in the river.) The BBC quoted an Iraqi source as saying that Iraq shot down 432 Iranian planes since the war began in later Sept., but also pointed out that most public sources said Iran had only 445 planes when the war began, and that about one-half of those planes were airworthy. Iraq said its planes bombed Abadan and Ahwaz, and Iran said its planes bombed al-Sulaymaniyah, Umm Qasr, and al-Faw. President Bani Sadr met with military commanders in Khuzistan.

The Kuwait government presented a formal complaint to the Iranian ambassador in Kuwait for the attack yesterday on Kuwaiti territory by Iranian planes. The Kuwaitis also informed other Arab states of their complaint. The Iranian Foreign Ministry issued a statement that Iran did not intend to seize Kuwaiti territory, but was engaged in a war with Iraq, which appeared to be an attempt to appease the Kuwaitis. The Foreign Ministry did not deny that Iranian planes attacked the Kuwaiti town of al-Abdali.

In Paris, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz told the press that a Reagan administration would treat Arab rights in a just manner because Reagan "knows what he wants" and will not "vacillate" the way the Carter administration did. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was waiting to see which side won the war before committing itself. (Aziz appeared to be implying that a Reagan administration would recognize the justice of the Arab cause and side with Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war.)

The Fars provincial government issued ration cards for some foodstuffs and consumer goods. (There are increasing signs that Iranians are experiencing shortages of food, fuel, and other goods.)

Khomeini told a group of police officers that his doctors told him not to make long speeches and to reduce the number of his public appearances.

NOVEMBER 18, 1980 -- TUESDAY

PLO head Yasir Arafat said he had sent a PLO envoy to Tehran after the Nov. 12 incident in which an Iranian plane fired rockets at a Kuwaiti village, apparently to mediate between Iran and Kuwait. Arafat also said that the mediation effort to secure a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war was "difficult" but that the effort was continuing. Meanwhile, former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme arrived in Tehran to begin his mediation efforts on behalf of UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani and his delegation met with Algerian Speaker of the National People's Assembly Rabah Bitat and a delegation from the assembly in Algiers.

In a speech marking the beginning of the two-day celebration of the Shiite

religious holiday of Ashura, Ayatollah Beheshti, the head of the Iranian supreme court and the leader of the Islamic Republic Party, appealed to the nation to set aside differences and seek unity.

The Soviet news service Tass reported that Iran had denied that its planes had attacked Kuwait. (Iran did not deny the attack, but did say that it had no intention of seizing Kuwaiti territory.)

Iran claimed its forces were in control of the city of Susangerd after Iranian tanks broke Iraqi lines south of the city. Iranian and Iraqi forces traded artillery barages at Abadan, Ahwaz, and around Gilan-e Gharb. Iranian planes attacked al-Pav and Iraqi troops at Abadan and Susangerd, and Iraqi planes attacked Ahwaz and Amirabad.

NOVEMBER 19, 1980 — WEDNESDAY

After his meetings with Algerian President Ben Jadid Shadli and Algerian Assembly Speaker Rabah Bitat, Iranian Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said the United States had "agreed in principle" to the Majlis conditions for the return of the hostages. "The United States has accepted the conditions. We have accepted to release the hostages," Rafsanjani said. But the United States "created certain problems," such as the return of the Shah's wealth, said Rafsanjani. The Speaker added that he could envision a progressive release of the hostages along with a progressive fulfillment of the conditions. (Rafsanjani's comment today that the United States accepted in principle the conditions is different from what he said on Monday, Nov. 17, when he left Tehran for Algiers. On Monday, he said Iran was still studying the U.S. reply, delivered to Tehran by the Algerian ambassadors to Tehran and Washington one week ago, on Nov. 12. It is not clear if Rafsanjani received some word from Tehran or if he was expressing an unofficial interpretation of his own. It should also be noted that the Algerian ambassadors are still in Tehran, reportedly to interpret the American response to the Iranian government group charged with considering the hostage matter. It was also reported, but not confirmed, that the head of the Algerian bank accompanied the two Algerian ambassadors to Tehran to explain the American difficulty in returning Iran's assets because of the legal entanglements. Supposedly, the American team that delivered the American response to Algiers on Nov. explained the American position to the Algerians who are now relaying the message to the Iranians.)

In a speech to Iranians participating in the Ashura religious celebrations, President Bani Sadr said that Iraq attacked Iran "possibly relying on U.S. Government promises." Bani Sadr said Iran was not receiving arms or spare parts from the United States or the Soviet Union, but was manufacturing its own weapons and spare parts, and that "very soon" would have a missile of its own that would "strike" Iraqi targets. The President said he would postpone a discussion of why the Iranian army was ill prepared for the war with Iraq until after Iran achieved its victory over Iraq. He also criticized Iranian government press censorship and "repression" by the Government, which he said was comparable to the repression under SAVAK. Meanwhile, Ayatollah Khomeini appointed an Ayatollah to be the "supervisor" of the daily newspaper Keyhans. Four of the six Tehran dailies are controlled by Ayatollahs.

The Arab League announced in Tunis that it had sent a communique to Iran

expressing its "deep concern" over the Iranian air attack on Kuwait and warning that such attacks were a danger to the region.

Iranian planes bombed or strafed Iraqi targets near Abadan, Susangerd, and Ahwaz. Iraqi planes attacked Iranian targets at Susangerd (which the Iraqis call Khafajiyah) and flew over the city of Qum. On the ground, the battle for Susangerd continued, with both sides claiming advances. Iraq said its forces were holding in the north, and Iran said its forces were advancing at Gilan-e Gharb and had won a strategic victory at Mehran.

NOVEMBER 20, 1980 — THURSDAY

Secretary of State Muskie told reporters at the State Department that "we have said publicly that we accepted the four points in principle." Later, according to the New York Times, officials at the State Department said that the United States accepted the four conditions set by the Majlis for the release of the hostages as "a basis for resolution of the crisis," and that the "principle" involved was Iran's right to seek the return of the Shah's wealth. (Despite the "clarifications," Muskie's statement that the United States accepted the four conditions, in "principle" or any other way, was the first such public statement by a U.S. official. The U.S. response to the Majlis conditions, delivered to Algeria on Nov. 10 and to Tehran on Nov. 12, remains secret.)

In Tehran, Iran's Prime Minister Rajai said Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani was correct yesterday when he said the United States had "agreed in principle" to the Majlis conditions. (Rajai's press conference was held about 11:30 a.m. Tehran time, or about 4 a.m. Washington time, thus it is possible that the Muskie comment cited above was a calculated response to both the Rafsanjani comment of yesterday and the Rajai comment today. On the other hand, the Secretary of State's meeting with reporters at the State Department was unscheduled, and his comment appeared to be a "throw-away line" at a casual encounter with reporters. And, because the United States Government has kept secret its correspondence with Iran over the hostage issue, it would appear unlikely that the Secretary would now use the press to communicate with Iranian officials. Whatever the case, the fact that Rafsanjani, Rajai, and Muskie all used the "agreed in principle" phrase raised speculation that the two sides, indeed, has surmounted the first hurdle in accepting the four conditions and now were negotiating details for fulfilling the conditions.) Rajai also told the Tehran press conference that Iran, although "disappointed with the American reply, would seek "clarifications" of the U.S. position on the return of the Shah's wealth, and that Iran would offer "supplementary explanations" of its positions. "In our view," he added, "the hostage issue is over," implying that the critical issue had been resolved and only details remained to be worked out. Rajai also said that there was no need to go back to the Majlis for further approval of any Iranian decisions, and that the Government was "in the process" of taking custody of the hostages.

Olof Palme, representing UN Secretary-General Waldheim, met with Iranian President Bani Sadr and Prime Minister Rajai to discuss a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war. After his meeting with Palme, Rajai said the UN mediation effort would make no difference to Iran's conduct of the war.

On the northern front, the battle for Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and Gilan-e Gharb continued for the second day. Both sides exchanged artillery fire at Ahwaz,

Susangerd, and Abadan. Iraqi planes hit Iranian concentrations along the northern front and Iranian planes hit concentrations at Susangerd and Abadan.

Bani Sadr said that the aim of the United States and Iraq in starting the war was to give President-elect Ronald Reagan a "victory" in the region to launch the Reagan presidency. (Bani Sadr's statement did not make sense because the Iran-Iraq war began before Reagan's election or before it was clear that he might be elected, and mistakenly presumes that the United States and Iraq colluded to attack Iran, points which would not escape Bani Sadr.)

Iran complained to OPEC about Iraq's "kidnapping" of Iranian Oil Minister Tondguyan on Oct. 31 and because no OPEC members supported the Iranian claims of Iraqi aggression.

Prime Minister Rajai said Iran had a "right" to the arms and spare parts paid for but held by the United States. (Other Iranian officials, including Rafsanjani, have said that Iran did not want the weapons, only the money.)

Rajai told the morning press conference that he had asked the "constitutional council" to examine the Prime Minister's differences with President Bani Sadr over which of the two has the authority to run the government.

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) attacked Ghotbzadeh, Ibrahim Yazdi, Amir Entezam, and other "liberal-bourgeois-compromisers" who wanted to re-establish ties with the United States. NVOI concentrated its attack on Ghotbzadeh, saying the former Foreign Minister cooperated with "U.S. espionage organizations," gave information on Iranian military displacements to "America's son" Iraq so that Iraq and the U.S. could attack Iran, and secured his release from prison by "blackmailing officials and religious figures."

The Publicity Headquarters of the Supreme Defense Council held meetings with Tehran newspaper publishers to explain the new "guidelines."

Yesterday, Tehran radio reported that former Defense Minister and current military advisor to Khomeini Mustafa Shamran had been wounded while visiting the front near Abadan. Today, Iraqi sources reported that Shamran was the target of an assassination attempt by conservative religious elements in Iran. Shamran is associated with Bani Sadr and the "secularists" in the secular vs. clerical political conflict in Iran.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani left Algiers for Tripoli, Libya.

NOVEMBER 21, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Ayatollah Montazari told the Friday prayer gathering in Qum that the Revolutionary Guards and the Iranian army were not coordinated and acting together, but added that the "responsible authorities" should give "heavy weapons" to the Revolutionary Guards. (Montazari criticized the army earlier for not defeating the Iraqis. His appeal to the "responsible authorities," meaning Bani Sadr, to give artillery and tanks to the Revolutionary Guards would assure the Guards superiority over the regular army, something the religious authorities have wanted since the Khomeini regime came to power.

Bani Sadr and the secularists used the Iraqi war to reinstate the army.) Rajai also attended the Friday prayers in Qum and met with religious leaders in the city, a center of religious teaching.

In his Friday sermon in Tehran, Ayatollah Khomeini appealed for unity and warned the crowd not to get involved in political differences. Khomeini made an emotional appeal to appreciate the wisdom and guidance of Ayatollah Khomeini, adding that the "Guide of the Revolution" may not be around too long. Khomeini's hint about Khomeini's mortality, coupled with Khomeini's statement of Nov. 17 that his doctors told him to reduce his public appearances may inspire another series of speculations on Khomeini's failing health.

President Bani Sadr met with the Supreme Defense Council in Tehran.

Rafsanjani met with Abd al-Salam Jallud, second-in-command in Libya.

Ayatollah Khalkhali banned the growing of opium poppies and ordered all poppies destroyed. Khalkhali, who presided over many of the early trials which ended in the execution of some 1,000 people, is the head of the Government anti-narcotics drive.

Olof Palme visited Kermanshah and Dezful to inspect war damage. Earlier Palme met with Prime Minister Rajai who told the former Swedish Prime Minister and envoy of UN Secretary-General Waldheim that Iran believed the United Nations was controlled by the great powers as demonstrated by the world's willingness to cooperate with American economic sanctions but unwillingness to brand Iraq the aggressor in the Iran-Iraq war.

A three-man Iranian delegation delivered a message from Prime Minister Rajai to Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao. Contents of the message were not disclosed.

Iran claimed its forces advanced against the Iraqi forces along the Bahmanshir River north of Abadan and drove the Iraqis out of their positions along the Ahwaz-Abadan highway. Iran also reported gains at Qasr-e Shirin, Gilan-e Gharb, and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and claimed a strategic victory at Sumar. Iran said it had "cleansed" Susangerd of Iraqis. In the air, Iraqi planes attacked Iranian troop concentrations at Ahwaz, Mehran, and Gilan-e Gharb, and Iranian planes attacked Iraqis at Irbil, al-Sulaymaniyah, Susangerd, Kirkuk, Panjwin, and al-Tamim.

NOVEMBER 22, 1980 -- SATURDAY

The Iranian government gave an "official response" to the Algerian diplomats in Tehran to be delivered to the United States. According to Iranian news sources and Reuters, a spokesman for Prime Minister Rajai said "we have asked the Americans to give a clear, precise response to the Iranian conditions." The spokesman said the American reply to the conditions set by the Majlis on Nov. 2 was "neither explicit or clear" and offered "additional proposals" which the Iranians did not seek.

Pars, the Iranian government news agency, reported Secretary of State Muskie's Thursday, Nov. 20, comment that the United States "accepted in principle" the Iranian Majlis conditions and added that Muskie offered to

send an American diplomat to Algiers to negotiate with the Iranians. Pars also said that Muskie stated that Iran offered a "positive reaction" to the American response. Pars reported a statement by the Prime Minister's spokesman in which the Prime Minister said the U.S. proposed modifications in the Majlis conditions, but that the Iranian government could not make such modifications because the conditions were set by the Majlis and not by the government.

Olof Palme left Iran for Amman, Jordan, to meet with Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi, who is attending a summit meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers. Palme left Amman for Baghdad. Arafat arrived in Baghdad to meet with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn to discuss the Non-Aligned/Islamic Conference mediation effort.

Kuwait said the Iranian reply to the Kuwaiti complaint about the Iranian attack on a Kuwaiti village denied that any Iranian planes were involved. The Kuwaitis rejected the Iranian response.

A major battle between Iraqi and Iranian forces began at Sumar on the Iraq-Iran border, some 80 miles southwest of Kermanshah and 40 miles south of Qasr-e Shirin. Iran claimed to have gained more ground along the Bahmanshir River and to have retaken Iraqi positions along the Ahwaz-Abadan road. Iraqi planes attacked Islamabad and positions in Ilam province, and Iranian planes attacked Irbil, al-Sulaymaniyah, Kirkuk, and Iraqi forces at Sumar.

In Libya, Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani met with Muammar al-Qadhafi.

The Pars province Revolutionary Guards pledged their support to President Bani Sadr. (For the most part, Revolutionary Guard units remain loyal to the religious leaders and not to Bani Sadr and the secularists.) Bani Sadr returned to Khuzistan province after three days in Tehran.

Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat said that Egypt would support Arab nations except Iraq because Iraq was the "aggressor" in the war with an Islamic country, Iran. Al-Sadat said Egypt would help defend Arab states in the Persian Gulf and would offer its facilities to Western nations aiding or defending the Gulf. Al-Sadat said Egypt had "common interests" with the Arab Gulf states, particularly in keeping open the Strait of Hormuz.

NOVEMBER 23, 1980 — SUNDAY

PLO head Yasir Arafat met with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn in Baghdad, partly to discuss the continuing negotiations to arrange a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war and partly to discuss the Arab summit meeting scheduled for next week. The summit is threatened by an inter-Arab division over support for the Iraqis in the war with Iran. Arafat left Baghdad for Kuwait.

Olof Palme, former Swedish Prime Minister and current envoy for UN Secretary-General Waldheim, met with Saddam Husayn to discuss the UN effort to arrange a cease-fire.

Iran claimed another strategic victory at Sumar, and reported artillery exchanges at Qasr-e Shirin, Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and Gilan-e Gharb. Both Iraq and Iran exchanged artillery and tank fire at Susangerd, along the Ahwaz-Abadan road, and along the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road. Iran claimed,

again, to have driven the Iraqis back from the Bahmanshir River crossing north of Abadan. Iran said its planes bombed al-Faw, al-Sulaymaniyah, and several industrial sites near Mosul.

Ahwaz radio said the governor of Khuzistan province issued an order that all Afghani living in Khuzistan must leave the province and all Afghani workers must be replaced with Iranian workers. Tehran radio said some 40,000 Khuzistan residents had become refugees and moved to Bushehr province.

NOVEMBER 24, 1980 — MONDAY

The Algerian delegation left Tehran with the Iranian Government reply to the U.S. response to the Majlis conditions. (A spokesman for Prime Minister Rajai said on Nov. 22 that the Iranians were asking the United States for a "clear, precise" answer, either a "yes" or a "no" to accepting the Majlis conditions.) The Algerian delegation, composed of ambassadors to Tehran and Washington, and, according to some reports, the Algerian bank director, met with Algerian Foreign Minister Muhammad Ben Yahia in Algiers, and announced after the meeting that the Algerians would go on to Washington on Tuesday, Nov. 25. In Washington, the White House and the State Department repeated their offer to send Under Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Algiers.

The Tehran radio reported a headline in a Tehran newspaper that said Ayatollah Khomeini, the "hanging judge" and head of the anti-narcotics drive in Iran, had told an interviewer that he did not expect the hostages to be released before Ronald Reagan's inauguration on Jan. 20, 1981.

Olof Palme, former Swedish Prime Minister and envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim told AFP after his meeting with Iraqi officials that he was "neither optimistic nor pessimistic" over the chances for a quick resolution of the Iraq-Iran war. Palme left Baghdad for U.N. Headquarters in New York.

Iraqi planes attacked Iranian military positions around Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and Gilan-e Gharb, and Iranian planes attacked Iraqi military targets around Susangerd, Ahwaz, and Abadan. Iran reported "fierce fighting" along the northern front, from Qasr-e Shirin south to Mehran, with "intense" fighting at Sar-e Pol-e Zahab. The battle appeared to be an exchange of artillery fire rather than any major movement of the battle lines. Iran also claimed to have "routed" the Iraqi forces at Susangerd and to have gained more territory along the Ahwaz-Abadan road.

For the second day, the Majlis failed to muster a quorum and could not hold a session. Majlis officials appealed to the members to return to Tehran and attend the session scheduled for tomorrow.

NOVEMBER 25, 1980 — TUESDAY

A report from Algeria stated that the Iranian response to the United States was five questions concerning the U.S. reply to the Majlis conditions for the release of the hostages. After meetings with Algerian Foreign Minister Ben Yahia, the three Algerian delegates, Ambassador to Washington Beda Malek, Ambassador to Tehran Abd al-Karim Ghraib, and Governor of the



Algerian Central Bank Seghir Mustafai, left for Washington. It is presumed the three Algerians will remain in Washington to discuss the Iranian response for some time; the three were in Tehran discussing the American reply from Nov. 12 until Nov. 24.

Ayatollah Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Iranian Majlis, told reporters in Beirut that if the United States implemented the conditions, Iran would release the hostages. Rafsanjani said: "The question of the hostages, as far as we are concerned, is finished. The matter now lies with America."

Earlier, Rafsanjani told the Syrian parliament that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn would be overthrown because of the war with Iran, and that Syria should help the people of Iraq establish a new government that would unite with other states in the region (Rafsanjani explicitly excluded Jordan) to confront Zionism. Rafsanjani then went to Lebanon where he met with Lebanese Government officials.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi told al-Qabas, the Kuwaiti newspaper, that the U.S.S.R. does not believe in "real" independence for other countries. Hammadi said the "superpowers" only talk about "legal independence" but do not want other nations to have "real" independence. Hammadi criticized the Soviet Union for the invasion of Afghanistan. (Hammadi's statements, if accurately reported, may be a significant, first public signal that the Iraqis are disenchanted with the lack of Soviet support in the war with Iran.)

On the battle front, Iraqi planes and helicopters attacked Iranian positions at Gilan-e Gharb, Naft-e Shah, Sumar, Abadan, and Dehloran, and Iranian aircraft attacked Iraqi positions at al-Sulaymaniyah, Irbil, and Panjwin. Both sides claimed advances on the ground, with the Iranians claiming to have pushed the Iraqis further back along the length of the northern front, from Qasr-e Shirin south to Mehran. Iraq said its forces

NOVEMBER 25, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti said the hostages were not Iran's "top priority," and that the U.S. reply to the Majlis conditions was "not sufficient."

Ayatollah Rafsanjani said in Beirut that Iran will "set free a group of hostages" if the United States meets part of the conditions set by the Majlis. Rafsanjani said President-elect Ronald Reagan would not be able to launch "military operations to free the hostages," and that the United States was "trying to interfere" in Iranian affairs through Iraq and Jordan, and by placing AWACS planes in Saudi Arabia.

Rafsanjani also said that Iran would not accept a cease-fire in the war with Iraq, would not negotiate with Iraq, and wanted a "national government" in Iraq to replace Husayn.

Olof Palme said in New York that Iraq and Iran had "agreed in principle" to accept a limited cease-fire to allow the "more than 60" merchant ships trapped in the Shatt al-Arab to leave the battle area.

Rafsanjani said the Iranian attack on Kuwait was "unintentional" and that Iran had told the Kuwaitis as much. The speaker of the Majlis said the Iranian pilots had been attacking Iraqi trucks hauling war materials when the

inadvertent attack on Kuwait happened. Rafsanjani said Kuwait "should learn a lesson" from the Iranian air attacks that Iran would not tolerate the Kuwaitis helping the Iraqis. (Iran did not acknowledge responsibility for the attack in its explanation to the Kuwaiti government, saying only that Iran did not covet Kuwaiti territory. Rafsanjani's comment was the first such admission that Iranian planes did fire on Kuwaiti territory. The Majlis speaker's comment about the Iranian planes attacking Iraqi trucks also lends credence to unconfirmed rumors circulating in the area that Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and other Gulf states were unloading Iraqi-bound war material at their ports and trucking it to Iraq. The Iranian planes may have been after the truck convoys carrying war material through Kuwait or crossing the Kuwait-Iraq border.)

The artillery duel at Abadan and Dezful continued, and the Iranians claimed to have seized more ground from the Iraqi forces north of Abadan along the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road. Iran also claimed to have attacked Iraqi forces in Khorramshahr. Iraq claimed that its forces attacked Ahwaz. The battles around Sumar, Qasr-e Shirin, and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab continued, with Iran claiming new advances. Iraqi planes hit Khorramabad and Ilam, and Iranian planes hit Irbil, Kirkuk, and al-Sulaymaniyah.

NOVEMBER 27, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Reuters reported from Tehran that a "student" spokesman said the Iranian government had taken custody of all 49 hostages (three hostages are at the Iranian Foreign Ministry already under government control). The "student" told Reuters that none of the hostages were in the U.S. embassy in Tehran and that the "students" would continue to hold the embassy compound. The Iranian government would not comment on the Reuters report. No Iranian news sources carried the story. The Department of State said it could not confirm the report and that it had received conflicting reports that the hostages remained under "student" custody in the embassy.

Habib Shatti, Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, said in Paris that he was willing to return to Baghdad and Tehran to negotiate a cease-fire if there were "a glimmer of hope" that either side was ready to end the war.

Iraqi planes bombed Khorramabad for the second day, and Iranian planes bombed al-Sulaymaniyah, Susangerd and Kirkuk. Iran claimed its forces pushed the Iraqis back along the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road, and that Iranian forces seized more ground near Susangerd, Ahwaz, and in the north near Qasr-e Shirin and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab. Both sides exchanged artillery fire along the Ahwaz-Susangerd line. The battle over Sumar continued.

Iran announced its representatives would attend the OPEC meeting scheduled for Bali, Indonesia, next month.

The Iranian government announced that a court to try wartime violations and crimes would be established and asked all Iranian police and court officials to cooperate with the new court. held the line and that the Iranians did not advance.

NOVEMBER 28, 1980 -- FRIDAY

An Iranian official described the Arab summit in Amman, Jordan, as a "conference of shame" and said it was justifiably boycotted by the most progressive states of the region. Jordan has been the most open of Iraq's supporters in the war. Iran's supporter, including Syria, Libya, Algeria and the PLO, boycotted the summit.

Rafsanjani returned from his tour of the Arab world during which he explained Iran's position on the war. A similar delegation touring European capitals cautioned France on its arms sales policy towards Iraq.

Fighting was reported on the Susangerd front, as well as in Abadan and Khuninshahr. Ahvaz was reported to be calm and President Bani Sadr toured the war zones.

NOVEMBER 29, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Reuters reported that the militants in the embassy have confirmed that custody for the hostages has been transferred to the government, despite a conflicting report of several days ago. The government maintained its silence on the matter, and the militants' statement provided few details, leaving open the possibility that the actual physical transfer has not occurred.

Speaker Rafsanjani told a press conference that the Majlis' role on the hostages was completed and that it was now up to America to act. He declined comment on the whereabouts and status of the hostages since he had just returned from Beirut and had not yet had a chance to be briefed.

Iran's delegation touring Europe told the French that the four conditions for releasing the hostages were reasonable. The delegation then moved on to London.

Tehran radio claimed military success along the Abadan front, where an artillery battle reportedly resulted in the loss of several Iraqi tanks.

An earthquake measuring 5.8 on the Richter scale was recorded in Bandar Abbas.

NOVEMBER 30, 1980 -- SUNDAY

An anti-fundamentalist rally was held in Mashhad, 1000 km. east of Tehran. Demonstrators shouted pro-Bani Sadr slogans, according to unusual coverage of the event on the pro-clergy IBP newspaper. In what appears to be coordinated developments, bombs went off at a theological college in Qom, in Imam Khomeini square in Tehran, and near the Foreign Ministry in Tehran. Casualties were reported, but no fatalities.

On the war front, Iran reported operations in Abadan and Khuninshahr. Prime Minister Rajai chaired a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council, and Iran's delegation in Europe met with Britain's Lord Carrington, who proposed negotiations between the two belligerents.

In the midst of allegations about beatings and torture in Iran's prisons, Ayatollah Khomeini (known as the "hanging judge") threatened to resign as head of Khomeini's anti-drug campaign.

Bani Sadr was reported to be ill by the Tehran domestic news agency. Jordan, responding to similar actions taken by Iran last week, reduced its diplomatic representation in Iran to the charge d'affaires level.

DECEMBER 1, 1980 -- MONDAY

In an interview on Hungarian television, Rafsanjani said that the hostages might be released in stages, beginning early next year. He said the American Presidential inauguration had nothing to do with the issue.

An aide to Bani Sadr said the hostages were in the government's custody, and that the students could no longer intervene in the hostage issue. (This seemed to imply, as have other statements, that there has been no physical change in the treatment of the hostages but that on a more abstract plane, the government now considers itself the primary agent on behalf of the hostages.) Japan's TV station, which conducted the interview, also concluded that the actual change in custody has not been implemented. The aide also said that the United States has requested direct negotiations but that Iran will not consider this until all the problems are resolved.

Minister of State Nabavi told a Reuters correspondent that the custody has not been transferred entirely to the government, which is still awaiting U.S. clarifications. He elaborated on how the initial U.S. response was not sufficiently frank.

Bazaars were closed in Qom, Mashhad, and Tehran, in apparent protest against the previous day's anti-clergy demonstration in Mashhad.

The Imam, Khomeini's advisor on the Supreme Defense Council, who is also the head of the Friday prayers in Tehran, said that the main issue in the Iran-Iraq war is between America and Iran, since Iraq is an American agent.

Fighting was reported all along the western front, with dozens of enemy losses to Iraq. Iraq reported sinking an Iranian frigate.

DECEMBER 2 1980 -- TUESDAY

Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrived in Algiers with the American delegation, carrying the American response to Iran's Nov. 22 request for clarifications on the four conditions set by Iran for release of the hostages.

At a press conference in Tehran, Rafsanjani denied that there is any connection between Iran obtaining spare parts from the United States and releasing the hostages. He also stated that the government is now responsible for the hostages.

On the war front, Iraqi losses were reported during artillery clashes at Sar-e Pol-e Zahab. Ahvaz was reported calm, but continued fighting took place in Abadan and Khuninshahr. Iranian correspondents were taken on a tour of the battlegrounds.

DECEMBER 3, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Talks between the American team led by Deputy Secretary of State Christopher and the Algerian intermediaries continued in Algiers.

In an interview with NBC, Prime Minister Rajai said it doesn't matter if the hostages are in the custody of the students or the government. He said the reason the crisis is taking so long to resolve is American pursuit of political gain. He also made clear that Iran will only work with Algeria, and does not want direct negotiations with Secretary of State Muskie, as he has suggested.

At a press conference, Minister of State Nabavi said that 1 million Iranians have been made homeless because of the war with Iraq.

Bani Sadr said that the war has reached a turning point; up to now it has been a question of defeating the Iraqi offensive, which has been achieved. Now it's Iran's offensive to rout out the enemy troops from its soil. Fighting continued in Abadan and Khuninshahr. Iranian troops attacked inside Iraq near the city of Zurbatiyah, and Iran reported gains in Ahvaz and Susangerd.

The Governor of Iran's Central Bank Nobari met with the Soviet Ambassador, presumably to discuss an oil for foreign exchange deal.

Earthquakes were recorded in Tehran, Lanrud, and Qazvin.

DECEMBER 4, 1980 -- THURSDAY

As the hostages entered their fourteenth month of captivity, the Algerian delegation acting as intermediaries arrived in Tehran carrying the American clarifications to the Iranian conditions, and met with Iranian officials.

Minister of State Nabavi told Reuter before he met with the Algerian delegation that the hostages have not been mistreated, and reiterated his government's position on not conducting direct negotiations with the United States. He also said the U.S. message would determine whether the hostages would be freed or tried, or whether the issue would be returned to the Majlis. Washington officials cautioned that Iran was unlikely to find the response completely acceptable.

DECEMBER 5, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Ayatollah Montazari's Friday sermon was carried by Tehran's domestic news

service. In the speech, he blamed the Jews for all of Islam's problems, dating back to the seventh century when the Jews of Mecca and Medinah failed to rally to the Prophet Mohammed's call. Today, preached Montazari, it is the American and Israeli Jews who are sowing the seeds of Islam's discord.

There was a pro-clergy demonstration in Esfahan, presumably in response to pro-secular marches held in Mashhad last week.

Bani Sadr chaired a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council, and battle successes were reported along the Ilam front. An artillery exchange took place in Ahvaz.

DECEMBER 6, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Reuters reported that at a meeting of Bani Sadr, Rafsanjani, Rajai and others, it was decided to set up a mediation team of five clergymen to resolve intensifying differences between clerical and secular elements in the government. Bani Sadr and Khomeini are, according to some observers, heading for a showdown over their political roles. Khomeini is thought to conceive of the role of President as a relatively powerless figurehead, whereas Bani Sadr has become increasingly independent and has strengthened his ties with the army and other non-religious groups.

DECEMBER 7, 1980 -- SUNDAY

In the first Iranian response to the U.S. clarifications received Dec. 4, Nabavi indicated that Iran will try to ease the remaining difficulties in reaching agreement on the four conditions for release of the hostages. He said that there had been progress since the initial American response. Officials in Washington were unclear of what specific steps Iran could take, but expressed some expectation that the matter may be returned to the Majlis.

Khalkhali announced his resignation as head of Iran's anti-drug campaign after days of allegations about torture in prisons.

The Iranian parliament ratified a trade agreement with the Soviet Union by an overwhelming majority.

Bani Sadr met with military commanders somewhere in Khuzistan province to discuss the recent operations in the war with Iraq. Fighting was reported in Susangerd, Ahvaz, Abadan and Kanisakht.

DECEMBER 8, 1980 -- MONDAY

Speaker Rafsanjani told a press conference that the latest American response is positive and that the United States appears "almost ready" to accept Iran's conditions. He said that Nabavi told him that the U.S. answer had few obscure points and was "virtually clear."

Some high schools in Tehran were closed today following clashes between fundamentalist and Muslim leftist students.

Iraq announced that it will hold Iran's oil minister prisoner until the war ends. The Minister, Javad Tondguyan, was captured on Oct. 31.

DECEMBER 9, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The German newspaper Die Welt interviewed two ayatollahs close to Khomeini, both of whom expressed growing concerns with political factions competing with the mullahs. They explained that the supreme political authority in Iran is still Imam Khomeini, who can dissolve parliament, dismiss the government, appoint the president, and declare war. But, unlike the pope, he is not infallible, and can make mistakes, although "the odds are very very small."

Both Bani Sadr and leading religious figure Ayatollah Kameini toured the battle areas. Progress in the war with Iraq was reported by the public relations office of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps.

The domestic news service reported that an army column was attacked by "illegal armed groups," and a battle ensued, with several gendarmes and revolutionary guards "achieving the lofty status of martyrdom." Presumably, the armed groups are Iranian dissidents. The battle occurred in the road to Mahabad in northwestern Iran.

DECEMBER 10, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Ayatollah Beheshti said that Iran hasn't yet studied the U.S. clarifications delivered on Dec. 4, and that it was too early to tell when Iran would reply.

The Majlis wrote to Khomeini about the allegations of torture in Iran's prisons that earlier in the week prompted the resignation of Khalkhali, who has heading the anti-drug campaign. The parliamentarians said the controversy was spoiling Islam's clean image and asked Khomeini to identify those responsible, publish their names, and punish the offenders. Khomeini responded by asking the chief prosecutor to investigate the matter.

Iran's ambassador to the Soviet Union returned to his post after two months of consultations in Tehran. He was recalled from Moscow after making some controversial remarks about Iraq.

Clashes were reported to be occurring daily between Islamic leftists and the "working people" in northern towns.

Stockholm radio reported on the perceived growing animosity between Bani Sadr and the religious forces. It mentioned a previously revealed letter from Bani Sadr to Khomeini dated Oct. 31 that called for Rajai's resignation, referred to the government as a greater disaster than the war with Iraq and characterized the ministers as incompetent.

The political jockeying between Bani Sadr and the religious leaders close to Khomeini continued. Prime Minister Rajai met with Khomeini where they discussed increasing aid and public services to the villages. Bani Sadr, on an extended tour of the battlefield, visited with war refugees in Khuzistan. Bani Sadr, who has been outspoken in his criticism of the ineffective clerical politicians, appears to be consolidating his support among the rural population, as well as with the military and the secularists. The detailed coverage of routine Rajai-Khomeini discussions seems to be an effort to compete with Bani Sadr on issues of concern to the rural populations.

DECEMBER 11, 1980 -- THURSDAY

As-Safir, a Beirut newspaper, carried a story alleging that the United States had agreed to make certain (unspecified) legal arrangements for the Shah's assets and that Iran had agreed to release the hostages by Dec. 25. Government spokesman Ahmad Aziz denied the report, saying no agreement had been reached, and later in the day, Minister of State Nabavi also denied the As-Safir claim.

The Islamic Republic newspaper attacked Bani Sadr indirectly by accusing certain Western-educated secular leaders of attempting a pro-Western plot to thwart the Iranian revolution. The friction between Bani Sadr and the clerical powers is now receiving daily attention in Iranian and foreign media coverage.

Tehran radio commented on the Persian Gulf proposal of Leonid Brezhnev during his state visit to India. The analysis likened the benevolent tone of the Russian policy in the Gulf to Soviet-American tensions at the time of the Bay of Pigs crisis, and it characterized the U.S. posture then and under the future Reagan Administration as "militarist."

DECEMBER 12, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Behzed Nabavi, Minister for Executive Affairs and head of the group dealing with the hostage release conditions, again denied the Beirut newspaper report of yesterday that the hostages would be released before Christmas, and added that Iran would not accept the United States' contention that the disposal of the Shah's wealth would be decided by American courts. Nabavi also said that Iran had not requested an "arms-for-hostages" exchange with the United States.

A member of the Iranian delegation to the OPEC meeting in Bali, Indonesia, scheduled to begin on Dec. 15, said oil should be used as a "weapon" to help the "oppressed" of the world. The Iranian delegate said Iran would raise the issue of the "kidnapped" oil minister at the OPEC meeting. The delegate confirmed that the Soviet Union and Iran still had not agreed on a price for Iranian natural gas. Later, former Iranian Oil Minister and current head of the Majlis Oil Commission Ali Muinfar said the price of oil should be raised to \$35 or \$36 per barrel. Muinfar also said that Iraqi Oil Minister Tayib Abd al-Karim was "bragging" when he said that Iraq was exporting 1 million barrels per day when the actual figure was 350,000 b/d. Muinfar said Iran would help the Iraqi people rebuild the oil facilities damaged in the war.

The Egyptian Foreign Ministry called the Brezhnev proposal for peace in the Persian Gulf "ridiculous."

Israeli officials refused to comment on a French report that President Carter had asked the Israelis to stop shipping arms to Iran.

Prime Minister Rajai told a gathering of Revolutionary Guards in Mashhad that the Guards, the army, the gendarmerie, and the police should be unified into a "popular force" as advocated by Ayatollah Khomeini. Rajai earlier chaired a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council in Tehran.

The United Arab Emirates denied Iranian President Bani Sadr's statement that the Shah had paid them money to remain silent on the Iranian seizure of the Persian Gulf islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry repeated again the contention that the United States planned the war between Iraq and Iran and that Saddam Husayn of Iraq implemented the plan. The Foreign Ministry also repeated its previous statements that Iran intended to keep the Strait of Hormuz open to international shipping and that Iran opposed the presence of any foreign bases in the region. On the battlefield, there was continued fighting near Qasr-e Shirin and Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and the Iranians claimed to have destroyed an Iraqi ammunition storage site near Gilan-e Gharb. Both sides exchanged artillery fire at Dezful and Shush.

DECEMBER 13, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Reuters reported from Tehran that Ahmad Azizi of the Prime Minister's office said the U.S. response received 9 days ago through the Algerians was "basically positive," and that Iran will send a response to the United States that will spell out details on how the United States must meet Iran's conditions for the release of the hostages. Azizi also said that the four U.S. clergymen, who arrived in Tehran yesterday, would not secure the release of the hostages.

A report from Algiers, not confirmed from Tehran, said that Nabavi described the U.S. response as "clear" except for some "minor details" and that "progress" was being made in the negotiations for the release of the hostages. Nabavi said Iran would not accept the U.S. court decisions on the disposal of the Shah's wealth, according to the report from Algeria.

EFE, the Spanish news agency, reported in Madrid that Rajai had said that Iran will release the hostages if the United States acts rapidly. The United States and Iran had "reached an agreement" on certain points, according to EFE.

Saudi Arabian Defense Minister Sultan Abd al-Aziz denied that Soviet arms were being transported across Saudi Arabia to Iraq. A Saudi newspaper said Saudi Arabia rejected the Brezhnev Persian Gulf proposal because the Soviets had occupied Afghanistan.

Iran's President Bani Sadr returned from Khuzistan province to Tehran and chaired a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council.

A Reuters correspondent reported from Abadan that 20,000-30,000 Iranians remained in the besieged city out of a pre-war population of 300,000, that Iran held the Karun River bridge between Khorramshahr and Abadan, and that Iraqi troops maintained a bridgehead across the Bahmanshir River north of Abadan. The Reuters correspondent said that Iraqi artillery fire continued to set fires in the refinery area. On the northern battle front, the Iranians claimed a "commando" raid across Iraqi lines near Gilan-e Gharb destroyed Iraqi emplacements. Iraq shelled Dezful.

DECEMBER 14, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Ahmad Azizi, of the Iranian Prime Minister's office, told Reuters that no agreement had been reached with the United States on the release of the hostages, but that it was "possible" that the hostages could be released before Christmas. According to another report from AFP, a Majlis "committee" was "studying" the negotiations between Iran and the United States being mediated by the Algerians. (The Majlis has not been involved in discussions over the hostages since Nov. 2 when it voted the conditions for their release, and Iranian officials repeatedly have stated that the Majlis would not deal with the hostage issue again.) The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Watan reported that Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad was playing a role in convincing the Iranians to accept the American reply for the release of the hostages. Al-Watan also reported that a "source close to Reagan" was involved in the negotiations with the Syrians. Al-Watan said that the three Algerians now in Tehran would go to Damascus to meet with Algerian Foreign Minister Muhammad Ben Yahia and that the hostage transfer would take place in Damascus when the Iranian-U.S. agreement was complete. The al-Watan story was not confirmed from other sources.

The four American clergymen now in Tehran asked to see Prime Minister Rajai and were refused an audience.

Kuwaiti Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Abd al-Aziz Husayn said no arms were passing through Kuwait enroute to Iraq as the Iranians claimed.

Iran's Prime Minister Rajai ordered an investigation into dismissals and purges of Iranian government employees.

Iraq claimed to have stopped an Iranian advance at Suwar on the northern front. Iraq shelled Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, Dezful, and Ahwaz.

DECEMBER 15, 1980 -- MONDAY

Bani Sadr told a press conference that the "real power" centers in the United States were holding up the hostage release agreement, and that all Iran asked was the return of its assets. Bani Sadr specified the Iranian government assets and not the Shah's wealth, calling the Shah's wealth "less of a problem" than the government funds frozen in the United States.

At the same press conference, General Fallahi said that Iran's air force was getting stronger, not weaker, despite the noticeable decrease in air activity in the continuing war with Iraq. Fallahi said Iran would resume

attacking Iraqi oil facilities in retaliation for the Iraqi attacks on Iranian oil facilities. Meanwhile, Iranian planes attacked Maysan province in Iraq.

Prime Minister Rajai said Iran would increase its oil production after the war with Iraq ended in order to finance the reconstruction of war damaged facilities in Iran.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman announced from Aden, South Yemen, that it approved the Brezhnev plan for peace in the Persian Gulf. PFLO has been involved in a sporadic war with Oman over Oman's Dhufar province. Both the PFLO and the Government of South Yemen are considered pro-Soviet Marxists.

DECEMBER 16, 1980 -- TUESDAY

After an early morning meeting with Ayatollah Khomeini, Prime Minister Rajai told the press that Khomeini had approved "alterations" made in the reply that Iran will send to the United States through the Algerian diplomats concerning the release of the hostages. Reuters news agency of Britain reported that Iran was asking for "financial guarantees" from the United States that Iran's assets frozen in the United States since Nov. 14, 1979, would be transferred to a neutral country, presumably Algeria, as a first step toward release of the hostages. Pars news agency of Iran reported that the Prime Minister said the hostage issue is a "dead subject" for Iran, that "soon we will not have a so-called hostage issue," and that the United States can take the hostages "any time" it wants to. Rajai's meeting with Khomeini followed a late-night cabinet meeting on Dec. 15, where the cabinet agreed to the "alterations" in the conditions set by Iran for the hostages' release.

In Washington, State Department spokesmen cautioned against unwarranted optimism generated by the Rajai statements.

Tehran radio said that Iraqi oil shipments through the pipeline to the Syrian port of Baniyas had stopped because Iran had bombed pumping stations at Kirkuk.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said that Iran needed a Foreign Minister. Rafsanjani said that Prime Minister Rajai had submitted four more names of candidates to President Bani Sadr, who had rejected all four. (One of the four was Behzad Nabavi, who heads the team dealing with the hostage negotiations.)

Several ayatollahs called for a nationwide demonstration on Dec. 18 in support of Khomeini and the clergy in response to the "anti-clerical" demonstrations in Isfahan, Qum, Tehran, Mashhad, and other cities last week.

Some 60 Majlis deputies accused President Bani Sadr of "leaking" state secrets through the newspaper Islamic Revolution over the past few weeks. According to the deputies, Bani Sadr disclosed proceedings of the Majlis while it was in closed session when the Majlis was discussing the siege of Abadan. The deputies charged that Bani Sadr's articles about Abadan in the newspaper gave military information to Iraq.

The "Iranian Export Promotion Center" reported that Iranian exports

(excluding oil) had dropped in volume but increased in value over the first five months of the year (from Mar. 21 through Aug. 22, 1980 -- the Iranian year begins on Mar. 21).

Iranian planes hit military and economic targets near al-Amarah, and Iraqi planes attacked Iranian military targets along the northern front. Both sides exchanged artillery fire at Dezful, Shush, Susangerd, and in the Sar-e Zahab area. There was a tank battle near Dezful in which the Iranians claimed to have destroyed a number of Iraqi tanks. Iran claimed advances along the Ahwaz-Abadan road and the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road.

DECEMBER 17, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Reuters reported that Ayatollah Beheshti said "corrections" had been made to the Iranian reply to the United States, and that the American reply of Dec. 4 was "nearly acceptable" to Iran. Beheshti said that if the United States accepts the Iranian reply, the two countries could begin "actual steps", presumably to release the hostages. If the United States does not accept the Iranian reply, Beheshti said, either the Iranian government or the Majlis would decide what to do next, which Beheshti suggested might be a trial of the hostages to demonstrate what the Iranians allege was U.S. culpability in the oppressive regime of the Shah. A report from Stockholm quoted Beheshti's statements and added that the Iranian position on the release of the hostages has "hardened." According to the Stockholm report, both Iran and the United States had agreed to transfer Iranian government assets now frozen under U.S. Presidential order to a third country, presumably Algeria, but Iran had rejected an American offer to freeze the Shah's wealth and rely on Iranian appeals through U.S. courts to retrieve it. (Only Iranian government assets were frozen by President Carter on Nov. 14, 1979; the Shah's personal wealth was not affected. If the Stockholm report is true, the United States may have offered to freeze the Shah's personal wealth to permit the Iranian government and the Shah's heirs to battle for control through the U.S. courts. It is not known publicly where the Shah's assets are located or how much money may be involved. Estimates range from several hundred million dollars up to \$20 billion.)

The Kuwaiti newspaper al-Siyasah reported that a French doctor enroute from Tehran to Paris told a Cypriot audience that Khomeini's health was "delicate." The doctor, according to al-Siyasah, also said that Khomeini had asked Husayn Sadighi, a National Front leader in the 1960s and one of the politicians approached by the Shah to form a government in late 1978, to replace Muhammad Ali Rajai. According to the al-Siyasah report, Sadighi said he would form a new government if the constitution were abolished and a new consultative assembly were formed to write a new constitution, if new presidential elections were held, and if the religious leaders of Iran agreed to get out of politics. Al-Siyasah said Khomeini rejected all three conditions. (The al-Siyasah report was not confirmed by other sources. Reports of Khomeini's failing health appear periodically. The report, if true, of Khomeini's dissatisfaction with Rajai is new, as is the suggestion that Khomeini would ask a secular politician, such as Sadighi, to form a new government. It appears more likely that if Khomeini was dissatisfied with Rajai and his coterie, the Ayatollah would seek another religious leader to form a new government.)

AFP reported that a religious leader at the Hamadan air base called for

the abolition of President Bani Sadr's office of "Coordination with the People," the office formed by Bani Sadr to disseminate information on presidential policies. The religious leader claimed, according to AFP, that the "Coordination with the People" office had ties with "counterrevolutionaries."

Ayatollah Khomeini cancelled the pro-religious demonstrations planned for Dec. 18.

Iraqi radio said Iraqi troops were using captured Iranian military equipment in the front lines, specifically British-made Chieftan tanks and American-made self-propelled 155mm howitzers, M-60 tanks, and TOW anti-tank missiles.

Iranian and Iraqi forces clashed near Ilam.

DECEMBER 18, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Tehran radio said the three Algerian diplomats would carry the new Iranian message to the United States "soon."

Algerian radio quoted Ayatollah Beheshti as saying that Iran added details of the financial guarantees to its answer to the United States.

After a meeting with the Swedish ambassador, Prime Minister Rajai said it was up to the United States to meet the Iranian conditions for the release of the hostages. Rajai said the hostages could be free before the "Christmas holiday" if the United States provided the "appropriate" guarantees called for by the Iranians. Rajai also complained to the Swedish ambassador for the absence of European support for Iran in the face of Iraq "aggression" in the Iran-Iraq war.

Tehran radio said saboteurs inside Iraq sabotaged the Iraq-to-Syria oil pipeline yesterday, interrupting the flow of oil to the Syrian port of Baniyas which resumed on Dec. 7. Tehran radio said the Iraqi saboteurs blew up a power station supplying power to pumping stations to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the Baathist regime in Baghdad.

Algerian Foreign Minister Muhammad Saddik Ben Yahia, enroute from Abu Dhabi to Riyadh on his current tour of Arab capitals, denied that he was trying to mediate Arab differences and re-establish Arab unity. Ben Yahia said Algeria would work "quietly" for Arab unity but would not sponsor a public effort to ease tensions created by the Iraq-Iran war. Ben Yahia also denied that he was mediating the Iranian-United Arab Emirates dispute over the Gulf islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs.

Iraqi and Iranian forces exchanged fire at Gilan-e Gharb, Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, Susangerd, and Shush. Iran claimed its planes attacked Iraqi troop concentrations at Khorramshahr.

Tehran radio reported that a Revolutionary Guards detachment was attacked by "counterrevolutionaries" in Azarbaijan province on Dec. 17.

In a speech to university students and clerics, Ayatollah Khomeini said the universities should remain closed because they were used by the

Communists and the Kurds to "wage war on Iran." The Ayatollah said the universities were pushing Iran into the arms of the United States and the Soviet Union. Khomeini praised the new alliance between university students and the religious leaders.

An earthquake, reading over 5 on the Richter scale, hit the area around the northern Iranian city of Urumiyah.

DECEMBER 19, 1980 -- FRIDAY

The three Algerian diplomats left Tehran for Algiers. One report said they carried the Iranian reply to the United States with them; another report said they cabled the Iranian reply directly to the United States. The Algerians, the ambassadors to Washington and Tehran and the Central Bank Director, had been in Tehran 15 days.

Reuters reported that the Iranian reply suggested that both the United States and Iran establish escrow accounts in Algeria to be held against judgements of the two nations' claims against one another. Reuters quoted Ahmad Azizi, who was described as the "Director of American Hostage Affairs" in the Iranian Prime Ministers' office, as saying Iran sought "valid guarantees" from the United States. Pars, the Iranian government news agency, said Iran was requesting an American statement of non-interference that would comply with the Majlis demand. Pars said Iran would not accept the word of the American President for financial guarantees but wanted the United States to deliver Iran's gold and assets to the Algerian Central Bank where it would be held until after the hostages were released. Pars also said that Iran wanted some form of "acceptable guarantee" and a "gesture of goodwill" that the Shah's wealth would be transferred to the Algerian government, and that Iran wanted an American "goodwill gesture" that the United States would not take "subsequent reactions" against Iran once the hostages and the money were exchanged.

On the Iraq-Iran battlefield, Iranian planes struck at targets in al-Tamim, Kirkuk, and Panjwin. Iraqi troops ambushed an Iranian force near Shush. Iran claimed its forces fought "triumphal" battles at Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and Qasr-e Shirin and destroyed 17 Iraqi tanks. The two sides exchanged artillery fire at Ahwaz and in the Kermanshah and Ilam areas. Iraq said it captured "Strella" rocket launchers from Iranian troops; "Strella" is a popular name for the Soviet-built SA-7 ground-to-air missile, probably supplied to Iran by the North Koreans, Syrians, or Libyans.

Delhi radio said Iranian Deputy Oil Minister Sadat, enroute to Tehran from the OPEC meeting in Bali, Indonesia, assured India that Iran would continue to export crude oil to India.

An earthquake measuring 5.7 on the Richter scale hit Iran, some 200 kilometers southwest of Tehran.

DECEMBER 20, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Iranian Prime Minister Rajai told the state-owned Tehran radio there were



no difficulties with the United States accepting the non-interference pledge or the return of Iran's assets, but problems developed over the return of the Shah's wealth. Rajai told AFP, the French news agency, that Iran had asked for a "trust fund" to be established in Algeria from which Iran could draw funds as the Shah's wealth in the United States was catalogued and identified.

Tehran radio broadcast a political commentary which claimed the United States was not trying to resolve the hostage crisis, but was using the issue as a "political toy" to undermine and isolate the Iranian revolution. The commentator said President Carter's refusal to light the national Christmas tree was a "show of weakness" and a propaganda ploy. The radio commentator then warned the United States that it might not have its Christmas tree lit next year unless it accepts Iran's conditions for the release of the hostages.

Azadegan, the conservative Tehran newspaper, published a photocopy of what the newspaper purported was a check from the United States to former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadah for 1 million dollars to secure Ghotbzadah's cooperation in releasing the hostages. The check was drawn on the "Army National Bank" and was signed by a former Iranian military officer associated with the Shah; it bore the inscription "for the release of the hostages."

Kurds ambushed a Revolutionary Guard vehicle near Saggez in northwestern Iran, and threw grenades into a Revolutionary Guard building in Sardasht in the same area. Tehran radio said 15 Kurds were executed for "counterrevolutionary" activities.

In the Iran-Iraq war, Iran reported gains in the north and at Susangerd. Both sides exchanged artillery fire at Ahwaz and Dezful.

The Iranian government announced the nationalization of the Iran-Russia Bank, wholly-owned by the Soviet Union, and the formation of a commission to take over the operation of the bank.

DECEMBER 21, 1980 — SUNDAY

Tehran radio broadcast a summary of the Iranian reply sent to the United States on Dec. 19. According to Tehran radio, the United States offered to recognize the Iranian government, but Iran said recognition was a fiat accompli, and that the Iranian government wanted a U.S. pledge of non-interference in Iranian affairs. Tehran radio said the United States accepted the Iranian claims to Iranian government assets but that the Iranian government was offering a "procedural method" for returning the assets to Iran by transferring the funds to the Algerian Central Bank prior to the release of the hostages. Algeria would transfer the funds to Iran after the release. Tehran radio then listed the Iranian assets frozen by the United States:

Iranian Central Bank deposits in U.S. banks in London	\$3.518
billion	
Iranian Central Bank deposits in U.S. banks in Paris	.400
Iranian Central Bank deposits in U.S. banks	.167
Other Iranian bank deposits in U.S. banks	.300
National Iran Oil Company deposits in U.S. banks	.407
Oil sales agreements	2.108
Iranian Central Bank-owned Treasury Bonds	1.100
Iranian Central Bank deposits in U.S. Federal Reserve	.269
Iranian Ministry of Defense revolving fund	.800
Total	\$9.069
billion	

In addition, Tehran radio said Iran has 1,632,827 ounces of gold on deposit in the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank. Iran proposed, according to the Tehran broadcast, that the United States establish a cash guarantee in the Algerian Central Bank of \$4 billion (apparently in addition to the \$9 billion in assets) to cover "other Iranian assets and property controlled or seized by the American Government, American nationals, or American companies." (Neither the U.S. State nor Treasury Departments could clarify what "other assets and property" could mean or what the \$4 billion would be used for.) Iran's reply included a request for a "detailed list" of all assets and property "in one week." The Iranian reply, according to Tehran radio, said Algeria would hold 1 billion dollars to pay Iranian loans and debts in the United States. The United States should promise not to claim compensation stemming from the seizure of the embassy. Tehran radio said Iran proposed that Iran and the United States agree to settle outstanding U.S. company claims against Iran through a joint commission or, failing agreement through the commission, to submit the claims to international arbitration. Iran would place 1 billion dollars in Algeria to cover the settlement of such claims. And finally, Iran asked that United States to freeze the American assets of the late Shah, to furnish a list of such assets, to furnish information on the Shah's assets transferred out of the United States, and to establish a \$10 billion cash guarantee in the Algerian Central Bank as collateral for the Shah's wealth.

In Washington, Secretary of State Muskie said the Iranian demand for \$24 billion to be deposited in Algeria was "unreasonable" and that much of what Iran sought was beyond the President's powers.

Reuters reported that Behzad Nabavi, Minister for Executive Affairs, said the hostages could be freed 24 hours after the United States met Iran's conditions (presumably after depositing some or all of the \$24 billion in Algeria), but that he doubted that the hostages would be released before Christmas and that they would not be released in groups as some Iranians had suggested. Nabavi said the hostages were being held in hotels, not at the embassy or in prisons. The Majlis was no longer involved in the hostage issue, Nabavi said, but the Iranian government might consult with the Majlis if the United States failed to meet Iran's conditions. Nabavi said the United States should be able to list the Shah's assets in the United States in 30 days and send the list to Iran. Iran has the "right" to ask for the \$300 million in arms and spare parts paid for but held in the United States, Nabavi added.

The Majlis Defense Commission began a review of the hostage negotiations.

Iran's Defense Minister Pakuri dismissed the rumors of an impending U.S. attack on the Persian Gulf Islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs, but added that Iran was prepared to defend the Islands if the United States did invade. (The rumor circulating in Tehran of a U.S. invasion of the islands has persisted for the past week.)

Keyhan newspaper reported that the Iranian navy had mined the "coastal regions" of Iran along the Shatt al-Arab (called the Arvand Rud in Iran).

Iraqi and Iranian troops exchanged fire at Abadan and Ahwaz and engaged in an artillery duel at Dezful and Shush.

In his press conference, Nabavi also said that the Interior Ministry was studying a proposal to regulate Iranian political parties, and singled out the Tudeh Party (Communist) as one that would be restricted.

DECEMBER 22, 1980 -- MONDAY

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani rejected Secretary of State Muskie's statement yesterday that the Iranian proposal for a \$24 billion escrow deposit was "unreasonable." Rafsanjani said the hostages would be placed on trial if the United States did not accept the Iranian conditions, but that he did not believe the hostage issue would be reconsidered by the Majlis. (Yesterday, Nabavi said the Government might consult the Majlis.) Rafsanjani said the United States would try another "scheme" to "provoke disorder in Iran," such as the rumored U.S. invasion of the three Persian Gulf Islands. Rafsanjani also said that the United States accepted in general the Iranian conditions for the release of the hostages.

Prime Minister Rajai told the London-based Arabic newspaper al-Sharq al-Awsat that the Iranian reply sent through the Algerians was final (presumably the reply sent on Dec. 19).

Rajai denied that Algeria was mediating a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war. Iraq claimed advanced at Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, Mehran, Susangerd, Dezful, and Abadan. Planes from both sides fought an air battle over Abadan, one of the few air-to-air confrontations of the war. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said that Iraq was holding the positions it seized on Sept. 28 and was making no effort to expand its lines, to seize additional Iranian territory, or to overthrow the Iranian government. Aziz said Iraq was interested only in securing territory that it claimed under the 1975 Algiers agreement.

Aziz also said that Iraqi oil was being exported through the Syrian pipeline, but that deliveries had been halted temporarily because of "technical problems."

In his interview with al-Sharq al-Awsat, Rajai said that Iran must not cling to nationalism, that the revolution was Islamic, and that the whole world would someday turn to Islam following the Iranian example.

Rafsanjani explained to Tehran television that the controversy over his name appearing on a 2-billion Rial (\$28 million) transfer from the Iranian bank was actually funding for an arms purchase for the Revolutionary Guards. Rafsanjani had been suspected of transferring the funds for his own use. The Majlis Speaker said his political enemies had "leaked" the information from the bank to embarrass him.

An earthquake registering 5.3 on the Richter scale hit Tehran, Saggez, Arak, and Qum.

DECEMBER 23, 1980 -- TUESDAY

The First Secretary of the Swiss embassy in Tehran visited Bruce Laingen, Victor Tomsseth, and Michael Howland, the three Americans being held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry. The Swiss representative said after the meeting that Iranian officials told him Christmas services for the other 49 hostages would be conducted by Iranian Christian clergymen. Foreign clergy were banned because of "security reasons," according to the Iranians. Reuters reported that the 49 hostages were being held at several sites along the Caspian Sea coast.

Reuters quoted Hasan Ayat, leader of the Islamic Republic Party, as saying that President-elect Ronald Reagan will have to accept Iran's conditions for the release of the hostages because "he has no other choice." Ayat said the hostages would not be released before Jan. 20, the day Reagan will be inaugurated.

Rafsanjani told Tehran radio that the hostages would be tried if the United States did not accept Iran's conditions. The Majlis Speaker also said that Iran was prepared to defend the three Persian Gulf islands against an American invasion, which Rafsanjani said was part of a larger plot to overthrow the Iranian regime with the assistance of Iranian "generals" now in Britain "and elsewhere."

Tehran radio broadcast a long commentary on the living conditions of the hostages, saying U.S. State Department spokesman John Trattner was wrong when he said some of the hostages were being held in Iran in Iranian prisons and were being tortured. Tehran radio said the hostages were well taken care of.

Prime Minister Rajai complained to the Vatican's ambassador in Tehran about a remark attributed to the Pope that the hostages should spend Christmas at home with their families.

Another Tehran radio commentary said the United States was training a rapid deployment force in Egypt to seize the three Persian Gulf islands. The radio commentator said the United States forces in Egypt had discovered that their equipment was not suited to desert warfare. The commentator said the United States was spreading the rumor about the possible invasion of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs in an attempt to frighten Iran into releasing the hostages and ending the war with Iraq. But, the commentator said, the "whole region" would resist "American aggression" against Iran's control of the islands.

The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) said Ashraf Pahlavi, the late Shah's twin sister, had visited the United States to meet with the "Republicans who will be running the United States" to discuss U.S. policy toward Iran. NVOI said Ashraf met with "Kissinger, Rockefeller, and Rogers." NVOI said a key Reagan policy was to overthrow the Iranian Islamic regime and reinstate the monarchy.

Prime Minister Rajai told the Iranian parliament that President Bani Sadr had disagreed with his appointment as Prime Minister and now disagreed with Rajai's cabinet appointments. To resolve the dispute between the Prime Minister and the President, Rajai was submitting the issue to a five-man commission.

Iran's chief prosecutor Ayatollah Musavi-Ardebili survived an assassination attempt in Tehran when a bomb exploded near his car. Reuters said that Forqan, the anarchist terror group, claimed credit for the attack.

Iran and Iraq reported fighting along the northern front, from Mehran to Qasr-e Shirin.

DECEMBER 24, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

Ayatollah Reheshti, head of the Iranian supreme court and a power in the Islamic Republic Party, said the hostages would be tried under the Islamic constitution of Iran in civilian, not military, courts. Beheshti said his court would decide where and when the hostages would be placed on trial.

Tehran radio broadcast an interview with Prime Minister Rajai after a Council of Ministers (cabinet) meeting in which Rajai said the United States had agreed with the Shah prior to his death to "guard" the Shah's assets in the United States, and that the United States Government "permitted" American companies to file claims against Iran's assets. Rajai said the United States Government was responsible for the court cases that were tying up Iran's assets. Iran was not materialistic, Rajai said, as demonstrated by Iran's proposal to transfer the assets to Algeria. The U.S. refusal to transfer the funds to Algeria was proof that the United States did not want to settle the hostage issue, but was using the hostages as part of a larger "treacherous plot," the Prime Minister added.

The Council of Guardians announced that it had decided in favor of Prime Minister Rajai in his dispute with Bani Sadr over which of the two men controlled executive authority. The Council of Guardians said that Presidential aides were not "responsible officials" and had no right to intervene in executive decisions or to issue orders. (Rajai and Bani Sadr have issued orders cancelling each others' orders and have decreed that each must have all orders approved by themselves.)

In Paris, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said that all attempts to arrange an Iraqi-Iranian cease-fire had failed. Aziz said that the war could last a long time and that Iraq could fight "indefinitely." Aziz condemned those nations that suggested that Iraq withdraw from Iranian territory before a cease-fire, pointing out that often those same nations suggested that the Arab states negotiate with Israel while Israel still occupied Arab territory. Aziz confirmed that Iraq had not received any Soviet weapons since the war began. The Deputy Prime Minister said that Iran should give the three Persian Gulf islands back to the United Arab Emirates and that Iran would have to recognize Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab before Iraq would withdraw from Iranian territory.

Iran claimed its ships shelled Iraqi positions along the Shatt al-Arab, and Iraq claimed to have sunk an Iranian ship in the Shatt. Both sides exchanged artillery fire at Abadan, Dezful, and Ahwaz, and Iraqi planes hit Iranian targets at Abadan.

DECEMBER 25, 1980 -- THURSDAY

Pars, the official Iranian news agency, reported that Christmas services for 49 of the hostages began at 10:30 p.m. on Dec. 24 and lasted until 4 a.m. on Dec. 25. The services were conducted by three Iranian Christian clergymen and the "Pope's representative" in Tehran. Annibale Bugnini, Papal envoy in Tehran, told AFP after the ceremony that he had seen between 25 and 30 of the hostages in groups of six or seven at a time. AFP said three Iranian and two foreign clergymen, one of whom was Bugnini, took part in the Christmas service. Reuters said that the three Americans held at the Iranian Foreign Ministry would be given a Christmas service separately on Christmas night.

Ayatollah Muhammad Khoini, who has been associated with the "students" holding the hostages, said that the hostages would be placed on trial if the United States did not fulfill Iran's terms for release. Khoini also said that the hostages were not in the American embassy in Tehran at the time of the U.S. rescue attempt on April 24, 1980, but had been moved to other locations prior to the rescue. Previously, most Iranian sources have said that the hostages were in the embassy on April 24 and were moved after the rescue attempt.

There were a series of strikes and sit-ins in Tehran by unemployed workers. There was also a near riot when the Hezbollahi (right-wing fanatics) tried to seize the headquarters of the Mujahidun (Islamic Marxists) near Tehran University. Revolutionary Guards broke up the rock-throwing melee between the Hezbollahi and the Mujahidun, and fired several shots into the air. Iran's Interior Minister Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani said the disturbances were not the fault of the Revolutionary Guards but were incited by the United States and Iraq in an attempt to disrupt Iran. Mahdavi-Kani banned all further demonstrations and marches unless the groups had permission from the Interior Ministry.

Iraq claimed its ships sank an Iranian ship in the Shatt al-Arab. Iranian planes attacked Iraqi positions near al-Sulaymaniyah. There was more fighting at Ahwaz, Dezful, Abadan, Sumar, Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, and Qasr-e Shirin. Iranian sources reported Iranian army attacks against Kurdish strongholds in northern Iran, blaming Iraq for arming the Kurds and inciting them to attack Iranian forces.

DECEMBER 26, 1980 -- FRIDAY

Algeria's ambassador to Tehran, Abd al-Karim Ghraib, and Ben Husayn of the Algerian Foreign Ministry met with all the American hostages during the Christmas ceremonies. The Algerians said the hostages were all in one place but did not say where. (Other reports from Iran said the hostages were in Tehran. Papal envoy Bugnini said he did not leave the city to conduct the Christmas ceremonies.) Ghraib said he was asked by both the United States and Iran to visit the hostages, and was the first foreigner to see all 52. Ghraib left for Washington carrying letters from the hostages to their families and photographs and films taken during the Christmas ceremonies. Ghraib said that the hostages were being guarded by the "students." Behzad Wabavi, interviewed over Tehran radio, said that the Iranian government controlled the hostages, not the "students."

In the interview, Wabavi also said that there was no difference between Carter and Reagan, that any President implemented the policies dictated to

them by the "imperialists." Nabavi referred to Ronald Reagan as a "gunslinger." Iran needed more than "100 peices of paper" as a guarantee from the United States, Nabavi said, referring to the Presidential orders President Carter offered to the Algerians as guarantees that the United States would meet Iran's conditions for the release of the hostages.

Moscow radio quoted Ayatollah Beheshti as saying that Iran was forming a special tribunal to try the hostages.

Qatar News Agency quoted Beheshti as saying that Iran had not received a reply from the United States and did not need it because Iran made its own decisions on the future of the hostages.

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei told the Friday prayer gathering in Tehran that Iran would release the hostages in return for "compensation for losses caused by the United States." It was the first mention in a long time of "compensation" to be paid by the United States. Most Iranian officials stopped referring to "compensation" in early September when Ayatollah Khomeini issued his first list of demands.

A Tehran radio commentary ridiculed Secretary of State Muskie for saying that President Carter did not have the authority to release the frozen assets (presumably the Muskie statement of Dec. 21). The commentator asked how President Carter could have the authority to freeze the assets but not the authority to release them. The Tehran radio commentator also asked: "How is it possible for a country's central bank to be unaware of the amount of deposits of a prominent person like the Shah?" The commentary demonstrated, first, that Iranian authorities may not understand the separation of powers in the United States between the President's authority to freeze the assets but not to overrule the courts, and, second, that the Iranians may not realize that the United States does not have a central bank. Even if the United States had a central bank, the commentator presumed that the Shah would have placed all of his assets on deposit in that single bank. It is possible that the Iranian authorities do understand the American Government system and the banking system, but that Tehran radio is posing these questions as part of a propaganda campaign.

Moscow radio criticized Behzad Nabavi for rejecting Brezhnev's proposal on the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

A Turkish-Iraqi joint economic commission signed a protocol calling for an increase in oil shipments through the Iraq-Turkey pipeline from 35 million tons per year up to 45 or 50 million tons per year, and to cooperate on the construction of a refinery and petrochemical complex at the Turkish end of the pipeline.

Iranian army elements clashed with Kurds near Saggez. Kurdish soldiers surrounded an Iranian army post at Divandareh.

In Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, a spokesman for the Islamic Conference said that Secretary-General Habib Shatti would try again to arrange a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war.

Iraqi artillery shelled Ahwaz, Abadan, and Susangerd in the south, and Iraqi forces attacked Iranian positions at Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and Gilan-e Gharb. Iranian artillery shelled Iraqi positions along the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road. Iraq claimed its forces sunk two Iranian boats.

DECEMBER 27, 1980 -- SATURDAY

Iran's Prime Minister Rajai told a gathering of foreign journalists and some 60 diplomats that if the United States did not deposit the guarantees in Algeria Iran would hold the hostages until all the legal claims were settled. Rajai said the United States can release some of the Iranian funds held in the United States and the two countries can negotiate over the remainder, but that Iran would not release the hostages until the negotiations were complete. The United States has three choices, according to the Prime Minister: (1) deposit the guarantees with Algeria, (2) pay Iran the amount of money Iran claims it is due before the hostages are released, or (3) "wake conspiracies" against Iran. Rajai said the United States had chosen the third option and was intervening in Iranian affairs. The United States does not want the hostages returned, said the Prime Minister.

Tehran radio denied rumors that it said had been circulating for the past few days that the hostages would be released "imminently." Tehran radio said the rumors were started by "fifth columnists" in Iran who were working for the United States.

Ayatollah Muhammad Musavi Khoini, Deputy Speaker of the Majlis, said the Revolutionary Guards were purchasing 2 billion Rials worth of arms, including Soviet-made AK-47 rifles, on the open international arms market. Khoini said Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani was handling the funds for the Revolutionary Guards. (Rafsanjani explained the arms purchase deal on Dec. 22. Apparently, suspicions that Rafsanjani was involved in some shady dealings persist in Iran and Khoini felt obliged to defend the Speaker.)

The Islamic Revolutionary newspaper printed an economic report by President Bani Sadr that accused Prime Minister Rajai of "mismanaging" the economy.

Bani Sadr visited former Defense Minister and current military advisor to Khomeini Mustafa Shahrin in the hospital where he is recovering from "injuries." The reports from Tehran did not say how Shahrin, who is an associate of Bani Sadr, was injured.

Iranian troops "recaptured" a Kurdish position near Lake Marivan.

Afghans staged an anti-Soviet march through the streets of Zahedan, the southeastern city near the Pakistan-Afghanistan borders. Later, another group of Afghans demonstrated in front of the Soviet embassy in Tehran. Some of the demonstrators entered the Soviet embassy and damaged the ground floor rooms. Revolutionary Guards and Iranian police dispersed the Afghans. Today is the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Sporadic fighting continued along the northern Iraq-Iran border. In the south, Iran and Iraq exchanged artillery fire at Susangerd, Abadan, Dezful, and along the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road.

DECEMBER 28, 1980 -- SUNDAY

Pars, the government news agency, published what it said was the American reply to the Iranian conditions. Pars said President Carter gave his word to meet the conditions after the hostages were released, but that Iran could not trust the President's word and asked for the Algerian guarantees before the hostages would be released. Pars said the "United States accepts in principle the Majlis resolution," and that the United States offered to make public Presidential orders after the hostages were released that would include the following: (1) the United States will refrain from direct or indirect, political or military, interference in Iranian affairs, (2) unfreeze Iran's assets, (3) release \$2.5 billion held by the Federal Reserve Bank, (4) release \$3 billion held in U.S. banks overseas, (5) establish a claims settlement procedure that will resolve legal claims, (6) end the economic sanctions, (7) withdraw American claims from the International Court of Justice and refrain from filing claims for injuries suffered during the embassy seizure, (8) establish a claims settlement procedure for U.S. companies' and nationals' claims against Iran, (9) ban the Shah's assets from being transferred out of the United States, (10) compile a list of the Shah's assets in the United States, and (11) compel U.S. courts to honor Iranian claims on the Shah's wealth.

Nabavi said the United States was mounting a propaganda campaign on the treatment of the hostages. The hostages were not being mistreated, said Nabavi.

A religious gathering in Tehran approved a resolution asking the Iranian government to set a deadline for U.S. compliance with the Majlis conditions.

The Soviet Union filed a formal complaint with the Iranian government over the attack yesterday on the Soviet embassy in Tehran. The Soviet complaint said the Iranian authorities did not respond to the Soviet ambassador's appeals for help until after the mob had stormed the embassy. The Soviet note said the Soviet Union would claim compensation for damages to the embassy.

The director of Evin prison confirmed that "leftists and Kurds" has staged a hunger strike in an attempt to be designated as political prisoners rather than as criminals. The director said the hunger strike ended in failure after 12 days.

Iranian helicopters hit Iraqi positions at Mehran and Abadan. Both sides exchanged artillery fire at Abadan, Ahwaz, and in the Mehran area. Iraq claimed it stopped an Iranian attack at Susangerd. Iraqi planes hit Dezful.

DECEMBER 29, 1980 — MONDAY

The State Department released the U.S. reply to Iran of Nov. 11 and the clarification sent to Iran on Dec. 3. As printed in the New York Times, the Nov. 11 U.S. reply offered Iran (1) a pledge of non-interference in Iranian affairs, (2) a Presidential order unfreezing Iranian assets in the United States, including \$2.5 billion held by the Federal Reserve and \$3 billion held in U.S. banks overseas, (3) a U.S. commitment to a claims settlement procedure which will lead to resolving pending court cases claiming Iranian assets, (4) a withdrawal of claims against Iran pending in the International Court of Justice and an agreement not to enter new claims over the embassy seizure, (5) an end to the economic sanctions, (6) a claims settlement

procedure to annul any other claims arising from the embassy seizure, (7) a prohibition against the transfer of the Shah's wealth out of the United States, (8) to compile a list of the Shah's assets in the United States, and (9) Iranian access to U.S. courts to claim the Shah's wealth. The U.S. proposal offered to place in Algeria signed Presidential orders to accomplish these promises, but that the actual implementation of the orders would be done after the hostages were released.

In Iran, Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani said that the United States did not want to resolve the hostage issue, but was using the hostages as a propaganda weapon. Rafsanjani said it was up to the Iranian courts to try the hostages and decide their punishment. It was up to the Iranian government to ensure that the United States met the conditions set by the Majlis, the Speaker said. Rafsanjani added that there was no need for a deadline and that the United States could "study" the problem at its "normal pace." Rafsanjani said the conditions for the release of the hostages would not be modified by the Majlis or the Government. Iran did not ask the United States for compensation for damages to Iran suffered under the Shah, Rafsanjani said, but if it had, the compensation would "empty the U.S. Treasury."

A Baghdad radio commentary said both Iran and the United States were exploiting the hostage issue for other interests -- Iran for internal political reasons and the United States to establish military bases close to the oil resources of the Persian Gulf. Baghdad radio said the United States was waiting for the imminent collapse of the Iranian government in order to use "Americanized Generals" and "Washington's loyal men," such as Ghotbzadeh, Bani Sadr, and Yazdi, to launch a coup that would place Iran back in the "American camp." The threat of a war under a Reagan Administration was unlikely, according to the Iraqi radio, but the threats were part of an American psychological war against Iran.

An aide to Ronald Reagan said the President-elect's comment made yesterday that the Iranians were "barbarians" was not an off-the-cuff remark but a carefully chosen phrase. Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani criticized Reagan for calling Iranians "barbarians," adding that the United States treated other nations like "savages" in exploiting them.

Rafsanjani blamed the Soviet Union for the Afghan attack on the Soviet embassy on Dec. 27, and rejected the Soviet complaint that the Revolutionary Guards did not respond quickly to the Soviet appeal for protection against the rock-throwing mob.

The Islamic Republic newspaper, which supports the religious faction, reported that "leftists" and "Shah supporters" under the urging of the "Office for Cooperation Between the People and the President" demonstrated against Khomeini in the southern town of Fasa, burning pictures of the Ayatollah and waving pictures of Bani Sadr. The newspaper said there had been similar incidents earlier in the month when pictures of Khomeini were defaced in Isfahan and Mashhad, and implied that such incidents were supported by Bani Sadr.

Prime Minister Rajai said that the damage to the Isfahan refinery suffered during an "accidental fire" on Dec. 1 had been repaired and that the refinery was operating again.

Islamic Conference Secretary-General Habib Shatti said that next month's Islamic Conference summit in Saudi Arabia would seek a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war.

Iraqi planes attacked Hamadan, Abadan, Dezful, Ilam, and Ahwaz. Iranian military authorities said Iranian troops recaptured Kurdish positions near Sardasht.

DECEMBER 30, 1980 -- TUESDAY

Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that the United States was offering a "reformulation" of its earlier proposals, but would not disclose the contents of the new message to the Iranians. The Algerian diplomats left Washington, after four days of intensive consultations with State Department officials, for Tehran. The New York Times reported that the new "reformulation" offered Iran \$5 or \$6 billion to be placed in the escrow account in Algeria to be transferred to Iran after the hostages were released.

In Tehran, Executive Affairs Minister Nabavi, who is handling the Iranian negotiations over the hostages, said that Iran would accept whatever agreement the Algerians worked out with the United States on the financial guarantees to be placed in the escrow accounts in Algeria's Central Bank. (It was not immediately apparent if the Nabavi statement was an "official" position, if Iran would accept the Algerians' judgement on the negotiations, or if Nabavi was making a personal comment.) Nabavi added that the threats of an American invasion of the three Persian Gulf islands were part of a larger propaganda campaign against Iran that also included the Iranian women's demonstrations against the veil and other anti-government incidents in Iran in the past year. The propaganda campaign, Nabavi said, was aimed at strengthening the morale of pro-Shah forces in Iran.

Tehran radio broadcast a commentary on the Reagan remark of Dec. 27 in which the President-elect called the Iranians "barbarians," saying that Reagan made the remark because of "effects left on him from acting in Westerns." The Tehran radio also said Reagan was "stupid" and that such remarks were common to the President-elect. (Most Iranian comments about Reagan include some reference to his having acted in Western movies in the role of a "cowboy" or "gunslinger." Recent references to President Carter portray him as "smiling" and "weak" and suggest that he disguises his true nature behind a "smiling face." Many Iranian leaders continue to say that there is no difference between Reagan and Carter and that all U.S. Presidents obey the orders issued by some vague "imperialist" cabal. Despite the denial of differences, however, the differences between a "weak" Carter and "gunslinger" Reagan imply that they fear Reagan more than Carter. The rumors circulating in Iran over the past two weeks of an impending U.S. invasion appear to be based on the Iranian uncertainty, perhaps fear, of a Reagan Administration taking military action against Iran.)

Baghdad radio reported that 15 Revolutionary Guards were executed in Dezful for an assassination attempt on Bani Sadr. Baghdad radio said Bani Sadr was wounded in the head and hand and spent two days in the hospital.

The Islamic Revolution newspaper quoted Bani Sadr as saying that Iran needed competent economists and diplomats to operate its foreign policy and to meet its economic problems. (The report appeared to be part of the continuing argument between Bani Sadr and Rajai over the best qualifications for public office in Iran; the President selecting government officials for

their competence and the Prime Minister selecting members of his government for their religious fervor.)

The supreme Defense Council met with Bani Sadr in the chair. Ayatollah Khomeini met with Mehdi Barzargan, former Prime Minister, Sadiq Tabatabai, former supervisor of the Prime Minister's office after Barzargan resigned, and Yadollah Sahabi, an aide to Bani Sadr. Bani Sadr left Tehran for Khuzistan province to inspect the Iranian forces.

Tehran radio said "counterrevolutionary" Kurds surrendered to government forces near Paveh.

Iraqi planes attacked Iranian positions near Bandar Mah Shah and Ahwaz. Iraq said it stopped Iranian attacks near Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and Gilan-e Gharb. Iran shelled Iraqi positions along the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road and both sides exchanged artillery fire at Susangerd and Ahwaz.

DECEMBER 31, 1980 -- WEDNESDAY

A Tehran radio commentator said the Iranian people were demanding that the Iranian government set a deadline for American compliance with the Majlis conditions and that the hostages should be placed on trial if the United States missed the deadline. The commentator also said that according to Islamic law, the hostages "might" be executed if found guilty of spying. The trial would expose the United States to the world as interfering in the internal affairs of other nations. After the trial, United States embassies would have "problems." The implication was that all or most U.S. embassies would be attacked or seized. (It was not clear if the commentary was intended to frighten the United States into meeting the Iranian demands or if it reflected a genuine impatience in Iran for an end to the hostage issue.)

Ayatollah Beheshti, head of the supreme court and a leader of the Islamic Republic Party, told a press conference that the actual release of the hostages would be discussed after the United States deposited the guarantees in Algeria. Beheshti said the hostages would not be released in groups if the United States met only some of the Iranian conditions. The Ayatollah said it was up to the Iranian government to decide when the United States fulfilled the conditions. Beheshti also said the current Middle Eastern tour of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was part of a plot against Iran. Tehran radio said the Kissinger trip to Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia was a prelude to re-establishing the "step-by-step" diplomacy which was aimed at destroying the Iranian Islamic revolution.

Tass, the Soviet news agency, said a group of "ultra right wingers" in the United States were demanding that the United States launch a military intervention against Iran to free the hostages. The National Voice of Iran (clandestine, Soviet) said the attack on the Soviet embassy in Tehran on Dec. 27 was planned by the CIA.

During the open debate in the Majlis, one deputy asked why the Iranian army was not able to defeat the Iraqi army and implied that the failure was the fault of President Bani Sadr. Another deputy said that if the United States attacked Iran, the whole Islamic world would come to Iran's defense.

Iran and Iraq exchanged artillery fire along the Abadan-Bandar Mah Shah road and Iranian planes hit Iraqi positions north of Abadan. There were also artillery battles at Khorramshahr, Ahwaz, al-Sulaymaniyah, and Gilan-e Gharb.

Tehran radio said Iranian troops cleared two Kurdish strongholds near Saggez of "counterrevolutionaries."

Iran's Justice Minister, Ibrahim Ahadi, resigned. No reason was offered.

**END**