

Furthermore, he suggested that I had to blacken my hands with smoke to look dirty and smoky and not like a capitalist. To go through such a journey with the two ill children that I had with me was very difficult indeed, especially as our fate on the way was entirely unpredictable. So I abandoned that route, apologised to our guide, and began thinking of another route to reach our destination.

At that time it was possible to go to Iran by two other routes, one was the Irvan - Tabriz route, the other, from Georgia to Mashad-ar (now Babulsar). It was not possible for us to go by the first route as there were no facilities for such a journey, and my two children were ill as well. So I decided to choose the second route. By the order of the Iranian consul-general, arrangements were made to hire an automobile with a local driver to take us to Petrovsky at a cost of 40,000 roubles, whence we were to travel by sea to Babul-sar. However, a few hours before our journey the news came that the Communists had occupied the city of Darband in Russian Azerbaijan, so I despaired of this route as well. The lack of security was on the increase in Tiflis itself, and thus we returned to Switzerland by the same route that we had come.

Soon after my return to Switzerland, I received a telegram from Mushir al-Dawleh, the new prime minister, saying that I had been appointed to the ministry of justice. This was the best possible means for me to reach Iran. In order to rest for a while, and also let my children recover from their illness, I asked the prime minister to be allowed to travel to Iran after forty days, which he accepted. Having a ministerial appointment, the British Embassy gave me an entry visa for India without difficulty.

Mohammad Ali Furughi, Zuka' al-Mulk, the president of the supreme court, who, after his appointment by Vusûq's government to be a member of the Iranian delegation to the League of Nations, had gone to Europe, was still staying in Paris (after his approval of the 1919 Agreement to turn Iran into a protectorate) and was working with the minister of foreign affairs. Suspecting that his judgement which had led to my conviction in the trial of the departmental heads of the ministry of finance might make me remove him from the presidency of the supreme court, he invited me to dinner in

the Bois de Boulogne, and then asked me to retain him in office, to which I agreed.

I set out on a ship which would take fifteen days from Marseilles to Bombay. One night after dinner, when we were passing through the Red Sea, Sir Percy Cox<sup>1</sup> came to see me and introduced himself. He was the (acting) minister at the British Embassy in Tehran who had signed the 1919 Agreement, and was then going as British High Commissioner to Baghdad. After introducing himself, he asked me how many days I was going to stay in Bombay, and to which of the Persian Gulf ports I would then sail. I said that I would not stay in Bombay for long, and that I wished to get off in Basra so that I could continue my journey by the Baghdad railway. He promised that he would make investigations in Aden and let me know of the circumstances at the port of Basra and on the Baghdad railway.

Next evening, again after dinner, Sir Percy Cox came up to me and said that upon investigation he had been informed that the Baghdad railway had been destroyed by the Arabs and, thus, it was no longer in use. I replied that in the circumstances I had no choice but to go to one of the Iranian ports, perhaps Bushire. He gave me a look and asked 'Is Bushire an Iranian port?', to which I did not reply and left him.

My stay in Bombay was very short. I sent a telegram to Farmanfarma, the governor-general of the province of Fars, obtained 10,000 rupees on loan, bought a car and employed an Indian chauffeur, and boarded a ferry which ran between Bombay and the Persian Gulf. In Bushire, Mirza Asadullah Khan Isfandiari (Yamin al-Mamalik) who was the commissioner of customs there, received me and later escorted me up to Shiraz.

I received a telegram from my old friend Mohammad Taqi Khan (Mu'ayyid al-Mulk) who invited me to his house in Shiraz. I went there myself, but sent the children to Farmanfarma's house.

## FOOTNOTE TO CHAPTER 19

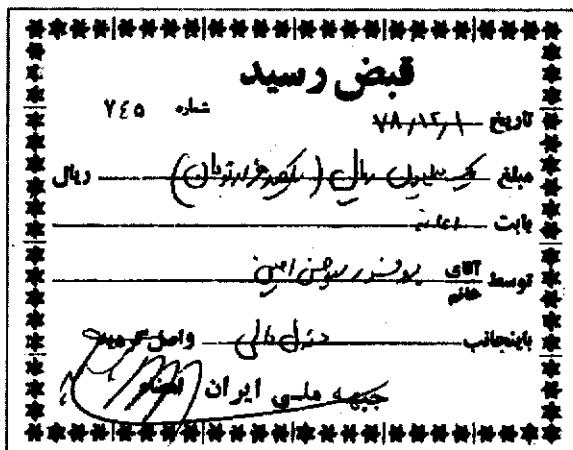
1. Tr. British consul-general in Bushire (Iran) in 1904, and political resident in the Persian Gulf in 1909. After the First World War, he was made acting minister at the British Embassy in Tehran from 1918 to 1920, and high commissioner for Mesopotamia from 1920 to 1923.

practice in Switzerland. But I could only practise there if I became a Swiss national, and so - as mentioned in chapter 13 - I had made an application for it. However, my stay in Iran during the war had stopped me from completing my application, and, in the meantime, the large number of applications for Swiss citizenship after the war had led the Swiss government to extend the resid

I had always thought that if, one day, I could not serve my country while living there, I would take up residence in Switzerland. Indeed, this was the very reason why I did my legal training in Neuchatel and obtained the certificate for legal practice in Switzerland. But I could only practise there if I became a Swiss national, and so - as mentioned in chapter 13 - I had made an application for it. However, my stay in Iran during the war had stopped me from completing my application, and, in the meantime, the large number of applications for Swiss citizenship after the war had led the Swiss government to extend the residence requirement from three years, under the previous law, to ten. Therefore, because the total period of my stay in Switzerland was only four years, I did not qualify to become a Swiss citizen under the new regulation.

I was in Switzerland when the Anglo- Iranian Agreement of August 1919, known as the Vusuq al-Dawleh Agreement, was concluded. In the circumstances, I decided to live in Switzerland and go into business [for which Swiss citizenship was not a requirement]. I started by buying a small quantity of various goods in short supply in Iran, and exported them to Iran. Determined to settle in Switzerland, I decided to take my older son and daughter (who had not seen Iran for almost ten years) to Iran, settle my affairs there and emigrate from Iran for good. So I travelled back using the same route that I had followed in going to Switzerland.

My arrival in Milan (Italy) coincided with the news that Baku had fallen to the Bolsheviks. This meant that I could not travel to Iran via the Communist-held Russian territories. So I went to Rome hoping that I could obtain a transit visa for India and go to Iran via British India. Mufakhkham al-Dawleh, the Iranian ambassador in Rome who was an old friend of mine, did not manage to obtain a visa for us from the British Embassy. However, because I had already come part of the way I continued my journey towards Iran via the Turkish - Russian route. The Iranian ambassador in Istanbul was



Mushavir al-Mulk. He came to the ship to see me, and said that, even though this type of journey was not free from hazard, now that I had come so far I had better continue in the hope that I would overcome the difficulties.

In Batumi I telegraphed Nabavi (Mu'azziz al-Dawleh), who was the consul-general of Iran in Tiflis, asking what he thought of my chances of travelling safely to Iran. He gave a similar opinion to that which I had received in Istanbul, but Nabavi also introduced me to someone in Tiflis to take me to Iran. All I knew about the man's identity was that he had previously murdered someone in front of the Iranian consulate in Tiflis. However, nothing concerned me except my objective of reaching Iran as soon as possible and seeing to my children who had both fallen ill during the journey. So I decided to travel with that dangerous man, and went to meet him. He took me to a place where he obtained a few recommendations from some people to facilitate our passage throughout the journey. There were a number of individuals there and it was evident that they all belonged to a secret society. One of the men present asked about my attitude towards Haidar Amu'Uqli. I said that when he was engaged in politics in Iran I was a student in Europe. Since they realised that I was being honest, they did not refuse to issue the recommendations which we were seeking. We went to the hotel together with our guide to prepare for our journey to Iran. After examining my luggage, he said that it would be impossible to take these with us because a bridge over a local river called Kora had been blown up, and so, before reaching that river, the passengers had to get off the train, walk for a while on foot, cross the river by boat, walk on foot again until they got another train to continue their journey.

by his brother's reckoning should have been 20,000 rials more valuable than in Tehran. He took them without comment, and since he looked as if he was not pleased, I asked him the reason. He replied that when Baqa al-Mulk had asked me in Tehran to take the Russian roubles to Istanbul, the price of the rouble there was three times more than in Tehran, but since that time the price had declined to the rate in Tehran. Therefore, he was very sorry that he and his brother had put me to this trouble. What he said was indeed correct because later no one was prepared to buy my own Russian currency at a higher price than I had paid in Tehran.

Shu'a' al-Saltaneh and Azud al-Sultan went to see their brother Mohammad Ali Mirza [the former shah]. There was also a party to celebrate the wedding which was taking place between Mohammad Ali Mirza's family and Shu'a al-Saltaneh, but I did not visit the deposed monarch. One day Ihtisham al-Saltaneh, the Iranian ambassador to Turkey, told me that it might be wise for me to visit the ex-shah. So I made an appointment and visited him. Our discussion was mainly about his erstwhile opposition to freedom-lovers and constitutionalists.

Our stay in Istanbul lasted for a few days until a French ship which had been damaged in the war arrived in Istanbul. The passengers were taken to Rumania by that ship, whence we continued our journey by the international railway system. As we were the first group of travellers who had arrived in Konstanzia from Turkey since the armistice, our ship was detained there for a few hours, until a telegram sent from Istanbul about our authorised departure reached Konstanzia, and we were allowed to disembark from the ship.

The Konstanzia - Bucharest train did not have adequate seating for all the passengers, so that a number of us had to climb up the ladder of the wagon, and stay on the roof for quite some time. Shu'a' al-Saltaneh, who was the shah's uncle, maintained that he should be assisted by the government officials in his travel arrangements. His insistence on special treatment would have delayed us for a few more days in Bucharest, but he gave up on my request. He gave me his own passport and that of his daughter so that they could go through the normal process like all ordinary passengers, and that was done.

The Iranian consul in Bucharest was a Jew, and was holding his honorary office because of its various privileges. He

refused to help us obtain an entry visa for Switzerland, saying that his own son who wanted to go to Switzerland for education had had to wait for forty days before his entry visa arrived. I told him we could not stay in Bucharest for up to forty days to obtain a Swiss entry visa. Instead, I asked if he could make our passport valid for Paris like all the others. This he did, and hence our stay in Bucharest did not last for more than two days. We got on the train and left for France. On our way we passed through a number of countries which did not exist before the war, and had new political identities. We were still some distance from Switzerland when a number of Swiss inspectors entered the train. After examining our passports they gave each traveller a ration-card to buy rationed foodstuff in that country. They did not give Azud and myself a ration-card because we did not have entry visas for Switzerland. When I asked the inspector what punishment we should expect if we were to get off at Lausanne station, he said we would be deported by the police. That was hardly a punishment, I said, and we would get off.

One of the inspectors then kept watching us to see what we were going to do. As soon as the train arrived in Lausanne station, and seeing that we were about to get off, he asked us to give him our passports and then get off. I said, 'This will make our task even easier. Here they are.' He then said: 'What are you going to do without a ration-card?' I replied: 'Our biggest problem was solved by giving our passports to you, and this one will also be solved by paying some money.' On hearing this, the inspector said, 'This shows that you have been in Switzerland before', and I replied: 'Yes, Switzerland is my second country'. He was rather amused by this comment, shook my hand, and we got off. There was a notice in Swiss hotels which required each guest to present his passport after twenty-three hours. As we did not have entry visas we used to change our hotel every day before the twenty-three hours expired. Eventually, through the good offices of Amir Saham al-Din Ghaffari (Zuka al-Dawleh), the Iranian ambassador to Switzerland, the Swiss immigration department issued entry visas for us, thus making our stay in Switzerland legal.

I had always thought that if, one day, I could not serve my country while living there, I would take up residence in Switzerland. Indeed, this was the very reason why I did my legal training in Neuchatel and obtained the certificate for legal

# MUSADDIQ 'S MEMOIRS

*By: Dr. Mohammad Mosaddiq, Champion of the Popular Movement of Iran and Former Prime Minister*

*Translated by: Hassan Amin, Advocate (Edinburgh) and Former Professor of Law at Glasgow Caledonian University*

## CHAPTER 19 MY THIRD JOURNEY TO EUROPE, AND RETURN TO IRAN VIA BUSHIRE

My decision to travel to Europe made my brother-in-law, Abulfazi Mirza Azud al-Sultan (now Senator Azud) decide to accompany me to visit his children, whom I myself had taken to Europe before the First World War. Later, Shu'a al-Saltaneh [the shah's uncle] also telephoned to suggest that we should go together, and this made us five in number because he was bringing his daughter with him, and I was accompanied by my brother Abulhasan Diba.

At that time foreign powers [i.e. Britain] were assisting Vusuq's government. They were giving regular loans to the government, totalling 3,600,000 rials, so that the payment of civil servants' salaries would not be postponed and lead to discontent, and they would be able to prepare the ground for the implementation of foreign dictates. Also, in order to satisfy another group of people, the government decided to purchase the right of anyone who was entitled to an official stipend for four times the full amount of the stipend paid in cash. These were the traditional privileged payments which had been confirmed fully or in part by the First Majlis. In practice however - because of the unsatisfactory finances of the country - the government would never pay more than 50 per cent of the original sums approved by the First Majlis. It was also probable that the payments would be further reduced or abolished altogether. My own stipend was 12,000 rials, but I used to receive only 6,000. Hence I, too, decided to sell my right to it for 48,000 rials. I spent 28,000 rials of it in settlement of various debts, and used the remaining 20,000 rials - which at that time was equal to 20,000 Swiss francs - for my journey to Europe.

Baqa'al-Mulk, the brother of Husain Sami'i, Adib al-Saltaneh, who had left Iran in the first year of the war and had since been living in Istanbul, asked me to take the equivalent of

10,000 rials in Russian roubles to his brother in Istanbul. At that time the old Russian rouble was out of circulation, and I wondered why he did not buy a viable foreign exchange instead. He explained that every 100 Russian roubles in Tehran was worth 30 rials, whereas in Istanbul it was exchanged for 100 rials. Therefore, if I took 10,000 rials' worth of roubles to his brother, it would be worth 30,000 rials to him in Istanbul. I asked him what he would expect of me if the money was stolen from me on the way. If I reported its theft, he replied, he would believe me and I would not be held liable. After confirming his pledge in writing, he gave the money to me. Having found out about the higher value of the Russian rouble in Turkey, I too bought 20,000 rials worth of Russian roubles in order to exchange them profitably into Swiss francs in Istanbul. I was lucky, and neither his money nor mine was stolen on the way, both arriving safe with me in Istanbul.

In the city of Qazvin I managed hook or by crook to visit my friends Binish and Saba in the house where they were being held in detention. When I was on board the ship going from Anzali to Baku I met Nava'i, [Nayyer al-Sultan] who was another of those sent into exile to Qazvin. He was a patriot and used to publish a newspaper called Siday-i Iran (The Voice of Iran). Being a loyal friend of one of the officials of the ministry of finance whom I had brought to trial for misconduct, Nava'i had broken contact with me while that trial was in progress. However, after the government of Vusuq was formed we resumed our contacts, and continued to cooperate both in Tehran and Europe. He in Paris and I in Switzerland were amongst the staunch opponents of the 1919 Agreement, and submitted our objections to it to the League of Nations.

Owing to the many difficulties involved in travelling during the great war, we had to stay in Baku, Tiflis and Batumi for almost ten days in order to find seats on the train and ship. During that period, the price of the rouble, the old Russian currency, dropped in Istanbul. When I gave the roubles to Adib al-Saltaneh I expected him to be very pleased because their price



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