Farhad were included in the delegation as journalists and a secretary. The same day, a military delegation made of General Hedayet and Colonel Alavi arrived in Tabriz. After two days of talks of an "Agreement between the State and Azerbaijani Representatives" was signed on 13 June, 7:30 P.M. The agreement stated the following:

As a result of talks between the government of Iran and Azerbaijani representatives and in consideration of the 7-clause statement dated 22 April 1946 as adopted by the above-stated representatives of the government of Iran, the below-cited clauses supplement the said statement to be executed in due time:

- 1. It was agreed to add a below-shown sentence to Clause 1 of the statement: "The head of the financial department will be nominated by a provincial council and approved by the government."
- 2. In consideration of the appointment of an ostandar (governor of province) by the government on the consent of a provincial council to comply with Clause 2, it was agreed that with the purpose of accomplishing this Clause, the Minister of Internal Affairs will choose one of the candidates, nominated by the provincial council, to the government for approval.
- 3. In consideration of the latest developments in Azerbaijan, the government will regard the Majlis, having been elected as the Milli Majlis of Azerbaijan, as the provincial council of Azerbaijan. After the law on provincial and regional councils will have been approved by the government following the 15th convocation of the Majlis, elections to the provincial council shall immediately be launched to comply with the said law.
- 4. A commission composed of representatives of the Iranian government and the Azerbaijan provincial council will be set up to solve the problem of local soldiers—part of the Iranian Army—and the problem of the commanders of these units. This involves the expansion of the national movement in Azerbaijan and the involvement of some top officers in the process after the signing of the present agreement. The commission will submit its proposals at the earliest possible date for approval.
- 5. As for financing Azerbaijan, it was agreed that 75 percent of Azerbaijan earnings will be spent for local needs, 25 percent for nationwide purposes.

Note 1: Exceptions are expenditures and profits of post and telegraph and customs and railway departments, including navigation in Urmiyeh Lake. All these expenditures fall on the government with profits being transferred to its budget.

Telegrams of provincial councils and state organizations of Azerbaijan will be sent free of charge.

Note 2: The government will be responsible for laying and repairing highways, and the provincial council for laying and repairing roads of local significance.

Note 3: Guided by the Iranian Constitution, the government gave its consent to allot 25 percent of customs duties to the families of prominent men and heroic sons of Azerbaijan who died in the struggle for democracy and freedom.

6. In the nearest future, the government will give its consent to start laying a railway from Miyaneh to Tabriz. While laying the railway, Azerbaijani workers and engineers will be used in the first turn.

7. Voluntary Fedai groups will be transformed into gendarme. A commission will be set up, made of governmental and Azerbaijan provincial representatives, to be responsible for the appointment of commanders in charge of these groups. The commission will submit, at the nearest possible term, its

proposals on the subject.

8. As for lands being distributed between peasants as a result of the democratic movement in Azerbaijan, the government will give its consent to the distribution of the state lands of Iran among peasants and undertake not to put obstacles on this track. An appropriate draft law will be submitted to the Majlis for approval. As for other lands being distributed between peasants as a consequence of the latest developments in Azerbaijan, it was agreed to set up a commission made of governmental and provincial council representatives in charge of proposals aimed at repaying damages incurred by landowners, working out regulations for land allotment.

9. The government will draw up a nationwide, independent, secret, and equal draft law on elections, based on principles of freedom and democracy, to be urgently submitted for the Majlis of the 15th convocation. The government will give its consent to urgently submit a draft law on the increase of the number of deputies being elected from Azerbaijan and other regions of the country depending upon the number of a specific population. After the draft law has approved, additional elections will be held and elected deputies will be sent to Majlis.

10. The third and fourth ostans (provinces) of Iran will be included in the Azerbaijan province (Tabriz and Ardebil are a part of the third ostan; Khoy, Reza-

yeh, Mahabad, Maragha, and Bijar are a part of the fourth ostan).

11. The government will give its consent to the establishment of the board made of the chief vali, heads of the provincial department, and the council to remedy the situation in Azerbaijan; the board will perform its duties under the

supervision of the provincial board.

12. In considering that provisions of Clause 3, dated 22 April 1946, conforming to the secondary and higher level schools remains obscure, the below-shown supplements are made herewith: "Lessons in secondary and higher level schools will be carried on in two languages—Persian and Azeri—to comply with the instructions of the Ministry of Education. These regulations will be adjusted in line with local conditions, principles of democracy and progress."

13. The government will give its consent to assign some privileges, as set forth in the agreement, to Azerbaijanis and to Kurds as well. In accordance with Clause 3 of the government statement, lessons will be conducted in the mother tongue till the fifth form of elementary school.

Note: Ethnic minorities, including Assyrians and Armenians, residing in Azerbaijan will also be entitled to learn their mother tongue till the fifth form of elementary school.

- 14. The government is planning to submit the new law on elections to municipalities for consideration of the Majlis of the 15th convocation. The law extends to all of Iran and is based on national, secret, independent, and equal suffrage, and democratic principles. After the approval of the law, elections to municipal bodies in all the regions of Iran, including Azerbaijan, will be held. Prior to the approval of the law and the conduct of new elections, to-day's municipal boards will perform their duties.
- 15. There has been an exchange of the agreement in 2 copies to enter into force after its approval by the government and Azerbaijan provincial council.

Signed by: Mozaffar Firuz and Seyid Jafar Pishavari Tabriz, 13 June 1946.⁵⁸

In connection with the agreement, some historians pointed out that it was signed by Pishavari and Firuz as a result of strong Soviet pressure. The agreement was made up of fifteen clauses and suited the Soviets. Qavam always sought to link talks with elections to the Majlis. Of interest are two aspects of the matter. First, Qavam meant to demonstrate to the Soviet Ambassador that if he wanted the 15th Majlis to consider the oil issue, he needed to pressure the Azerbaijanis during the talks. Second, the central government would, beyond any doubts, supervise the course of elections in Azerbaijan, as it did in other regions of the country.⁵⁹

On 14 June, the Milli Majlis of Azerbaijan, and on 17 June, the Iranian government approved the previously signed agreement. In addition to the said agreement, the deputy of Prime Minister Qavam for political affairs, M. Firuz, gave a written guarantee to Pishavari regarding an enclosure to the Zanjan (Khamsa) province agreement. M. Firuz undertook to bring back Fedais engaged in the Khamsa province and, in accordance with Clause 7, join them to the gendarme on the basis of the commission's opinion. Residents of Khamsa, the Fedais, and participants of the democratic movement in Azerbaijan should have stood aside from any arrangements, except concerning their employment in the Khamsa gendarme. The government instructed local authorities to ban the entry of such persons as Zulfugari, Yeminlashgari, and Aslahadarbashi into Zanjan, until the situation in Zanjan cleared up because of their provocative actions, including stirring up armed clashes on the inside of the democratic movement in Azerbaijan.⁶⁰

After signing the agreement, the head of the Iranian delegation, M. Firuz, made a radio statement on 13 June. He harshly criticized the former government, as well as the Iranian Majlis, by saying that it was their worthless policy that brought the country to the brink of civil war. He termed Qavam a symbol of Iranian nationalism and stressed that the political line of reactionary circles aimed at transforming the Azerbaijan problem into an international conflict was a failure. Those willing to solve the Azerbaijan problem through using violence or fratricide disgraced themselves. Reactionaries needed to realize that the