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CIENCIAS POLITICAS

"LA REVOLUCION ISLAMICA COMO CAUSA DELA PERDIDA
DE HEGEMONIA ESTADOUNIDENSE EN IRAN"

T E S I S

QUE PARA OBTENER EL TITULO DE LICENCIADO
EN RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES

P R S E N T A :

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INTRODUCCION

He elegido como tema de investigación "La revolución Islámica como causa de la pérdida de hegemonía estadounidense en Irán", siendo mi objetivo el comprender el desarrollo de la política iraní tanto en el aspecto interno como en el externo, entender los elementos que utiliza el gobierno islámico para contener al pueblo de una posible sublevación, así como los factores de importancia que tiene Irán para el gobierno estadounidense.

En el presente trabajo, fue utilizado como método de investigación, el materialismo dialéctico, debido a que el mismo hace referencia al dualismo entre dos opuestos, en este caso la oposición entre el proletariado y la burguesía, así como el desarrollo estadounidense y el subdesarrollo de Irán.

Las hipótesis que planteo son las siguientes:

a). El pueblo iraní, al esperar un cambio que finalizara con la injusticia social, así como la aparición de la democracia, y al encontrarse con una dictadura religiosa, verá que los fines de la revolución no se desarrollaron, por lo que el gobierno para evitar un posible levantamiento, desarrollará medios ideológicos basados en el Islam, así como represivos para contener cualquier movimiento no favorable a los intereses del régimen.

b). La revolución Islámica trae como consecuencia la pérdida de hegemonía estadounidense en Irán, por lo que Estados Unidos de América no estará dispuesto a perder su influencia, tratando de tener un acercamiento al sector moderado iraní, ya que dicho país es importante, no únicamente en cuanto a sus recursos petroleros, sino también por su situación estratégica en el Golfo Pérsico.

c). La Unión Soviética tratará de aprovechar el distanciamiento Estados Unidos de América-Irán para tener un acercamiento por medio de venta de armas y establecimiento de tratados de cooperación y así fortalecer sus relaciones con un país de importancia estratégica como lo es Irán.

En el capítulo primero trataré de explicar los factores que produjeron un cúmulo de injusticias sociales: La libertad de expresión era nula, el poder nacional se había transformado en poder personal; asimismo la sumisión o desaparición de elementos opuestos al régimen había provocado la desaparición del pluripartidismo.

En el segundo capítulo se hace referencia a las consecuencias que trajeron los factores antes mencionados que dan origen a la búsqueda de un nuevo sistema, que permitiese encontrar valores propios, así como una gradual transformación de la sociedad además de encontrar nuevas metas que sacaran al Estado del estancamiento.

miento.

Sin embargo es difícil hablar de una revolución, ya que ésto significa un cambio o transformación de la sociedad, en la que no existiesen niveles de marginación. En la revolución iraní la propiedad pasa de la monarquía al sector religioso shíita, por lo -- que únicamente aparece un cambio de estructuras y no una transformación social, encubriendose bajo preceptos ideológicos del Corán, el cual a su vez, legitima el papel substancial de la burguesía a la propiedad, deteniendo cualquier tipo de manifestación popular--en contra del régimen, debido al fanatismo religioso del pueblo.

En el capítulo tercero "Relaciones Estados Unidos de América-Irán", se refiere a la importancia básica y fundamental de éste país para Estados Unidos de América y viceversa; en lo que para el gobierno de los estadounidenses, Irán es importante abastecedor -de recursos petroleros y sobretodo a su situación estratégica en el Golfo Pérsico, ya que los Proveedores árabes tienen que pasar por la ruta marítima para suministrar a los aliados estadounidenses en Europa Occidental y Japón, así como la importancia que tiene Estados Unidos de América para Irán como distribuidor de recursos bélicos.

"La revolución Islámica como causa de la pérdida de hegemonía estadounidense en Irán", es lo que trata el cuarto capítulo -

donde por medio de la revolución, es eliminada la simisión hacia el imperialismo estadounidense, donde con la destitución de Pahlevi en el poder, se pierde dicha hegemonía en el Golfo Pérsico, provocando un importante vacío del mismo y un cambio radical de la política exterior estadounidense, lo que a su vez provoca el fin de la doctrina Carter, en donde por medio del pluralismo ideológico, se trataba de contener los movimientos de liberación nacional; sin embargo, con la toma de la embajada en 1979, la política exterior estadounidense da un cambio radical, señalando que la política exterior sólo se podrá mantener a base de la fuerza.

Asimismo la Unión Soviética trata de aprovechar el contexto Irán-Estados Unidos de América, para tener un acercamiento al régimen iraní, tratando de encontrar cualquier oportunidad para tener relaciones cercanas con el gobierno islámico iraní, ya que como se verá, al igual que para Estados Unidos de América, Irán tiene importancia estratégica para la Unión Soviética.

Por su parte, los iraníes pretenden mantener una política de no alineación para aislarse del ámbito Este-Oeste, lo que resulta difícil, ya que el mundo se encuentra actualmente dividido entre estos dos polos.

La derrota de Pahlevi tiene como consecuencia la derrota de Estados Unidos de América con lo que surge el cambio de la política

ca estadounidense, ya que no está dispuesto a perder a un aliado de importancia como lo es Irán, sin embargo prefiere Estados Unidos la existencia de un gobierno teocrático no comunista como lo es Irán, ya que de ser éste país un aliado de la Unión Soviética, se vería en dificultades para el suministro del petróleo a través del Golfo Pérsico.

CAPITULO 1
CAUSAS DE LA REVOLUCION

Entre las principales causas que dieron origen a la revolución se pueden encontrar diferentes factores, tanto políticos, como sociales, económicos e ideológicos, factores que en conjunto producen descontento en los diferentes sectores componentes de la sociedad iraní, la cual, anteriormente había pasado a través de largos períodos de dictadura proveniente de la dinastía Pahleví.

Entre los elementos que produjeron la sublevación popular se encuentra:

A) El campesinado y el proletariado en general se ven marginados del crecimiento económico, siendo los primeros expulsados de la pequeña porción de tierra que había adquirido durante la Reforma Agraria o "Revolución Blanca" (la tierra adquirida en la década de los sesentas, la perdieron en los setentas por endeudamiento hacia el Estado y otras causas) por lo que tomamos en cuenta que al verse carentes de recursos marchan a las ciudades a ofrecer su mano de obra no calificada en la industria, aumentando el círculo de marginación y desempleo en las áreas urbanas.

Causa descontento el observar que la Reforma Agraria conservaba características de explotación, en el sentido de imposición-

burguesa en el campo Irani, con la característica común de la distribución desigual de la tierra, con un creciente control estatal.

Pienso que el descontento aumentó en 1978, al darse cuenta - que el fin primordial era tener un aumento en la producción resultó ser un fracaso, dado que el país después de haber sido exportador de granos se transformó en importador a un alto costo económico.

Antes de la Reforma Agraria de 1962, el setenta por ciento - de la tierra estaba en manos de terratenientes; los aldeanos, aún sin ser propietarios de tierras, podían cultivar de terminada extensión y hacer uso del producto obtenido; sin embargo, con la Reforma Agraria, el Estado logró eliminar la influencia feudalista-terreniente, dirigiendo inversiones (productos del petróleo) al proyecto nacional de industrialización.

B) Industria.-La política de modernización industrial fue un éxito limitado, ya que en 1977 "la industria Irani aparecía desigualmente desarrollada. Mientras los bienes de consumo conseguían cubrir parte de la demanda interna, incluso se producían excedentes exportables, el sector de bienes intermedios y de equipamiento (que cubrían una reducida parte de la demanda interna)" - (1), tuvo que recurrir a las importaciones.

La industria tradicional Iraní era la alimentaria, textil y alfombras. Posterior a la reforma de 1962, vino una etapa de industrialización centrada en la sustitución de importaciones, incrementando la protección aduanera y dando facilidades de crédito a los industriales.

Sin embargo, la burguesía no llevó a cabo una inversión productiva, haciendo que la tasa de rentabilidad produjera excedentes que se destinaron a la especulación financiera, así como a la exportación de capital.

No se pudo hacer competitiva la industria, debido al alto costo de los productos, los cuales no resultaban atractivos en el mercado internacional.

La Industria era de tipo dependiente (se importaba del extranjero su tecnología).

Considero que no se lograron los objetivos programados, a pesar de la no carencia de capital para la inversión industrial, (toda ella provenía de la explotación petrolera para lograr fondos necesarios dirigidos al desarrollo de la industria), en virtud que los otros sectores de producción no estaban desarrollados como para proveer al país de las divisas necesarias.

C) La vieja burguesía Irani se sentía amenazada debido a la transformación capitalista que pretendía el Estado; sin embargo, a pesar del desarrollo de los centros de préstamos financieros -- (como los bancos), así como la aparición de tiendas, los bazares no desaparecieron, ni se vio que hayan experimentado algún deterioro.

En cuanto a la clase media que tenía un limitado poder de -- participación en la política gubernamental, nunca vio coronados sus esfuerzos de establecer un régimen constitucionalista que le garantizara seguridad y mayor participación política, debido a -- que el poder se encontraba centrado en la persona de Pahlevi ya - que su régimen era una monarquía dictatorial. (ver anexo No. 1).

D) Los valores tradicionales islámicos son transformados hacia un tipo de cultura Occidental, contradiciendo las costumbres autóctonas de la comunidad Shista.

Los religiosos percibían el sistema como contradictorio a -- las Normas del Corán y calificaban como "inmoral a la especulación de bienes inmuebles" (2), así como a las condiciones imperiales que fomentaba el régimen de Pahlevi.

Si tomamos en cuenta que el 80% de la población se declaraba shista y que la religión se percibía como algo independiente al -

Estado, los líderes religiosos obtienen especial apoyo del pueblo.

Jomeini señalaba a Pahleví como "violador del Islam y enemigo del pueblo" (3).

Considero que la represión fue otro de los factores que influ yó en la revolución, donde el régimen mantenía fuerzas de contención tanto en áreas urbanas como en rurales, volviendo difícil cualquier iniciativa de movimientos populares en su contra.

El régimen basaba su seguridad y estabilidad en las fuerzas armadas y la policía secreta (SAVAK) como órganos de represión interna, impidiendo el desarrollo de sindicatos o agrupaciones obreras de cualquier tipo (ver Anexos No. 2 y 3).

Los líderes religiosos eran restringidos y controlados por medio de supervisión estatal, siendo vigilados en los sermones que pronunciaban en las mezquitas; asimismo, se les destituyó de áreas de actividad dentro de la educación y el derecho, pasando éstas a formar parte de las actividades del Estado; además perdieron sus tierras o waqfs que constitufan el 12% del total de tierra de la Reforma (ver Anexo No. 2).

El régimen "aplastaba" a sus oponentes, negándoles cualquier forma de expresión legal, por lo que los mismos criticaban al régimen como ilegal.

E) Los planes hechos por el Estado para sacar al país de la dependencia y crisis económica eran ineficientes, caracterizando al gobierno por la corrupción e incapacidad para realizar reformas - sociales y económicas. (ver Anexo No. 2).

F) Existe una marcada desigualdad económica creciente entre los ingresos de los habitantes de áreas urbanas y rurales.

"no existía una aplicación parcial de medidas de integración del sector obrero en el aparato de producción" (4).

Tampoco hubo un aumento sustancial en el empleo, ya que el principal medio de sostén económico Irán es el petróleo, lo que impidió que se abrieran nuevas fuentes de trabajo y todo se basara en la contratación de tecnología importada y, por ende, de técnicos especializados extranjeros.

G) La expansión económica provocada por el auge petrolero empeoró la situación de la población. El ingreso aumentó pero su distribución fue marcadamente desigual, derivándose el capital obtenido por la venta del petróleo al desarrollo industrial y exportación de capital (el incremento de la venta del petróleo no era dirigido a un aumento del salario del sector popular).

H) En los últimos años de gobierno, aumentó la inflación cul-

pando de la misma a comerciantes e intermediarios. Se mermó el poder de compra, teniéndose que comprar alimentos importados, aumentando considerablemente los precios.

I) La marcada alineación de Pahleví al imperialismo norteamericano generó que su administración controlara casi la totalidad de las importaciones iraníes (especialmente en materia eléctrica y electrónicas, material militar y productos farmacéuticos), lo que provocó una aguda dependencia al exterior, sobre todo hacia Estados Unidos, causando al mismo tiempo el desarrollo de la corrupción tanto en el sector estatal como en el empresarial (sobre todo las especializadas en equipo militar).

Debido a la represión, aunada a la crisis económica, aparece el descontento popular: se desarrollan una serie de huelgas en las principales ciudades, exigiendo: reivindicación del derecho sindical, aumento salarial, mayor libertad y democratización del sistema, etc.

En respuesta, el gobierno reprime las manifestaciones, enfrentamiento con la SAVAK, siendo los más importantes los de Tabriz y Moshad, lo que, gradualmente condujo, a la administración de Pahleví, hacia su hundimiento.

1.1. LA REVOLUCION ISLAMICA (BREVES FUNDAMENTOS)

La revolución Islámica es única en los anales de la época contemporánea, pues llevó al poder a un grupo social conformado por sectores ideológicos seculares (el clero shíita reacciona a la tiranía del dictador Mohamed Reza Pahlevi, siendo las mezquitas el lugar donde se proclaman los derechos de libertad).

"El poder absoluto y arbitrario de Pahlevi, así como la dependencia al extranjero, provocó la reacción de cuatro fuerzas opositoras al gobierno: los religiosos, el bazar, intelectuales-progresistas y trabajadores" (5), así como de diversos sectores de izquierda.

De esta forma deduzco que el factor primordial de la revolución fue:

- a) La actividad del sector religioso, quién contó con el apoyo de los estratos sociales básicos de la población iraní.
- b) Descontento del pueblo por la corrupción, ineptitud y presión del gobierno.
- c) Los grupos carentes de alternativas políticas optan en -

Última instancia por un cambio radical de la sociedad, pronuncián dose por: la eliminación del imperialismo, defensa del derecho - laboral, libertad de expresión y reforma agraria, lo que en con- junto da la idea de una total transformación social (o revolu---- ción), cuya base serfa sustentada por valores ideológicos propios, basados en el fundamentalismo islámico, "la revolución iraní pre- tiene ser al mismo tiempo, un esfuerzo de renovación espiritual - con la búsqueda de una identidad religiosa basada en valores del- islam shíta, así como una lucha de liberación donde lo político, social y económico, se funda en una sola unidad con la religión" (6).

Sin embargo no podemos hablar de una transformación dentro - del término "revolución", ya que una revolución significa trans- formación total de la sociedad, no únicamente un cambio de estruc- turas donde siga predominando la explotación y la injusticia so- cial; por esto el término "revolución islámica" significa más -- bien la preservación de un sistema conservador semifeudal basado en normas coránicas, es "una máscara ideológica ante el movimien- to de los distintos sectores de oposición ... para legitimar el papel sustancial (de los revolucionarios)", dice el escritor Fre Halliday (7). Jomeini hizo uso de ideas de reformadores iraníes completándolas con ideas propias de interpretación de las tradi- ciones y doctrinas shíitas. En los mensajes dirigidos a las ma- sas, hacía énfasis en la opresión que promovía el régimen de Pah-

levi "instando al pueblo a obtener la libertad e independencia en nombre del Islam" (8).

Esta revolución tiene la característica de mantener una ideología propia a diferencia de otras revoluciones que, para mantenerse vigentes, buscan apoyo de algún sector ideológico proveniente principalmente de la Unión Soviética o de Estados Unidos de -- América.

1.2 GRUPOS REVOLUCIONARIOS

Es obvio que el sector fundamental en la lucha contra el gobierno de Pahleví se encontró en el clero, quien influyó en la población en forma notable y decisiva.

La religión no únicamente era independiente al Estado, sino también antagónica. El contacto directo entre los creyentes y líderes religiosos era al grado de que los primeros elegían a los segundos, quienes luchaban a favor de los oprimidos, creyendo éstos ciegamente en ellos. Las masas se encontraban desposeídas, no únicamente de valores materiales sino también de valores propios culturales, al ser promovida la Occidentalización por parte de la monarquía.

Durante el régimen, se procede a la limitación de escuelas de teología, cierre de mezquitas y eliminación de la enseñanza del derecho por parte de los clérigos. Considero que ésto, aunado a la Reforma Agraria, que también había perjudicado a los religiosos, aumentó el descontento de dicho sector, promoviendo manifestaciones pacíficas contra la monarquía (ver Anexo No. 4), y exigiendo la instauración de una constitución basada en la de 1906, en donde se proclamaba la formación de un gobierno parlamentario.

Los religiosos transformaron las mezquitas en centros de coordinación de levantamiento contra el poder, atrayendo creyentes de diferentes estratos sociales para combatir la injusticia.

Por su parte, los intelectuales, cuya asociación había sido destituida por la SAVAK, se organizaron y pidieron respeto a la libertad de prensa. Haciendo énfasis en el fracaso de las reformas gubernamentales y desigualdad imperante, fundaron el Comité Iraní para defensa de la libertad y derechos humanos (ver Anexo No. 5).

Los bazares (pequeñas tiendas que controlan el comercio y finanzas), se sintieron amenazados con el surgimiento de supermercados y bancos, así como el esfuerzo del gobierno para controlarlos.

Los bazarfs, en un intento de fortalecimiento, fundan la Sociedad de Comerciantes y Artesanos, denunciando, lo mismo que los escritores, la opresión por parte del gobierno. Por otro lado, -- hay una evidente unión entre éste sector y el clerical, ya que parte del sostén de los religiosos provenía del impuesto recogido a los comerciantes, por lo que encuentran entre sí mismos un apoyo -- contra el régimen.

Los grupos practicantes de la guerrilla son los fedafes y mudjahidfs (éstos últimos utilizan la influencia del clero en el levantamiento popular). (ver Anexo No. 6).

Las dos organizaciones combaten unidas para derrotar a la monarquía, no obstante que los fedafes poseen una ideología-leninista, atacando principalmente a la dictadura, y los mudjahidines se remitían al Islam revolucionario, atacando ante todo al imperialismo (ver Anexo No. 7).

En el seno de los Mudjaifes apareció una divergencia de tipo ideológico, la cual consistió en la fiel permanencia al Islam-prosiguiendo con la lucha armada, al contrario de los fedahes, - cuya lucha se basaba en la provocación de levantamientos.

Las principales intervenciones de los fedafes fueron realizadas en las ciudades de Quom y Teherán, donde con motivo de la visita del presidente Carter, es producida una explosión en el Centro Cultural Estadounidense.

Dicho grupo, al mismo tiempo que efectúa éste tipo de intervenciones, distribuye textos explicativos, los cuales hacen referencia a problemas económicos, políticos y sociales a los que se enfrenta el pueblo, tratando de introducir teóricamente una alternativa revolucionaria, así como la movilización de masas a fin de transformar su oposición al régimen de lucha antimonárquica.

El Frente Nacional fue una coalición de facciones diversas - dentro del parlamento, fundado en 1944 e integrado por 4 parti--

dos; el Partido Iraní, el Partido Parinamio, el Partido de los -- Trabajadores y el Mudjahidín-Islam, siendo líder Mossadeq.

El Frente Nacional no desempeñó ningún papel primordial y -- fue dispersándose gradualmente, pero en 1977 se anunció que el -- Frente había sido restaurado para combatir la monarquía y para -- exigir el retorno a la Constitución de 1906 (ver Anexo No. 7).

Al proseguir las huelgas y manifestaciones contra el sistema y al no poder contener el descontento general, Pahlevi instaura -- como primer Ministro al General Azhari, ofreciendo, una vez restablecido el orden, convocar elecciones para instaurar un gobierno-civil (ver Anexo No. 8); sin embargo, Jomeini se había comprometido a luchar hasta el final, por lo que Azhari trató de establecer la autoridad por medios represivos.

Los movimientos prosiguieron, así como los enfrentamientos -- en varias ciudades iraníes y proliferaron las huelgas y movimientos antipahlevistas.

Considero que lo anterior en conjunto, ayudó a derrotar al -- primer ministro, imposibilitado de controlar tales movimientos.

Entre las formas de lucha contra la dictadura, se tuvieron -- las concentraciones en mezquitas y universidades, así como mar--.

chas pacfficas que promovfan un cambio de gobierno, marchas que se transformaron en manifestaciones violentas, arrasando, a su paso, sfmbolos de la Sociedad Occidental (bares, cines, casinos, etc.).

Aparecieron, además, enfrentamientos directos entre los manifestantes y las fuerzas armadas de seguridad.

Jomeini se encontraba exiliado en Parfs, en donde enviaba mensajes al pueblo, trabajando junto con otros activistas exiliados pertenecientes al movimiento de liberación, figurando entre los principales Medhi Bazargan y Bani Sadr, futuros ministros -- iranies.

1.3 GOBIERNOS POSTREVOLUCIONARIOS

Jomeini había declarado la ilegitimidad de la corona, exigiendo, al igual que los grupos opositores, la eliminación de la monarquía y el retorno a la Constitución de 1906, así como un régimen basado en las normas coránicas.

Con la caída del gobierno de Azhari, Pahleví elige a un nuevo primer ministro, miembro del Frente Nacional: Shaptur Bakhtiar, cuya estrategia fue la creación de una transición pacífica hacia un régimen democrático, sin embargo, al ser elegido por -- Pahleví, pierde credibilidad ante el pueblo, estando condenado al fracaso (ver Anexo No. 8).

1.3.1. GOBIERNO DE BAKHTIAR

Este gobernante trató de formar un nuevo gabinete con miembros del Frente Nacional, a lo cual éstos se negaron; prometió - crear un gobierno libre de personas provenientes del anterior, y envió a los Mahlis un proyecto de ley en el que les planteó la desaparición de la SAVAK.

Asimismo hizo referencia a la entrega del poder a un gobierno electo por medio de procedimientos constitucionales y llegó a persuadir a Pahleví a salir de Irán.

A pesar de lo anterior, prosigue el descontento popular: Jomeini se niega a hablar con el gobierno, argumentando que fue elegido por Pahlevi (ver Anexo Nos. 8, 9 y 10), y llega a Irán Presidente de su exilio en París, creando el Consejo de la Revolución (ver Anexos Nos. 11 y 12), formado por líderes religiosos.

1.3.2. GOBIERNO DE BAZARGAN

Jomeini nominó a Mehdi Bazargan como nuevo primer ministro del gobierno, creándose dualidad en el poder, al prevalecer también Bakhtiar.

En la base Dosh-Tappeh, oficiales menores y técnicos de la --Fuerza Aérea iraní, al ver por televisión un discurso de Jomeini, contraen conflictos con oficiales de rango mayor, al grado en que la base es atacada por elementos de la Guardia Imperial, lo que provocó un levantamiento general en Teherán formado por los sectores opositores antes descritos, trayendo en consecuencia la renuncia de Bakhtiar y, posteriormente la caída de Pahlevi.

Después de haber erradicado a la monarquía, el siguiente paso fue la redacción de la Constitución, la cual estaría basada en lineamientos coránicos y constitucionales de 1906.

Al instaurarse el orden social y la introducción de refor-

mas socioeconómicas, la República Islámica, manifiesta: "Todos-los partidos existentes serán autorizados" (9).

La nueva Constitución autorizó a los partidos a presentarse a elecciones legislativas, proveniendo el primer ministro de votación parlamentaria, donde existiría, según la Constitución, -- una sola Cámara.

Bazargán se proponía llevar reformas, entre ellas: relaciones con Occidente, desarrollo de cierta igualdad social, fomento de la libertad de expresión, tratar de encontrar un puente que - eliminara la distancia existente entre los reformadores seculares, bazar y pueblo; trató de romper el monopolio clerical, fusionar ideas nacionalistas europeas con ideas del Islam Shista, y trató de obtener un desarrollo industrial, respetando al mismo tiempo los valores tradicionales de la Sociedad Islámica.

Bazargán como primer ministro estaba influido por las ideas del Doctor Shirarti, cuyos textos eran vistos por el clero como antiislámicos (en uno de los textos acusa al clero de fallar al pueblo utilizando la revolución para fines convencionales).

A pesar de los esfuerzos de Bazargán hacia el establecimiento de un nuevo gobierno, la mayor parte del poder se encontraba en manos del Comité Revolucionario Islámico, instituido -- por Jomeini.

"El gobierno de Bazargán, como primer ministro, fue una maniobra táctica, encaminada a llevar al mínimo la oposición de algunos comerciantes, liberales (intelectuales) y guerrillas" (10).

Considero que el Consejo Revolucionario Islámico trató de manejar al gobierno provisional de Bazargán, sin embargo éste, al tratar de evitarlo, se convierte en rival político.

Las críticas del clero al gobierno aumentaron al oponerse a la Constitución Islámica "refiriéndola como no democrática, así como tratar de normalizar relaciones con Estados Unidos de América - (ver Anexos Nos. 13, 14 y 15).

La ira clerical aumenta en forma gradual, al ser tomada la embajada de Estados Unidos de América, y al proclamar Bazargán su oposición a la detención de rehenes estadounidenses, criticándosele de proestadounidense, trayendo en consecuencia la renuncia de su gobierno.

El gobierno de Bazargán tuvo muchos aspectos de conservadurismo, perteneciendo sus ministros al conjunto moderado del Frente Nacional.

Bazargán, favorecedor del bazar, además de no modificar las bases de la economía que sacaran a las masas de la situación en --

que se se encontraban, intentó resistir la ocupación de tierras -- por los campesinos.

Deduzco que dos elementos fueron los que provocaron su caída: su oposición a la Constitución Islámica y su esfuerzo por la normalización de relaciones con Estados Unidos de América.

Todo parece indicar que la elección de Bazargán fue debidamente planeada por Jomeini. Cuando éste regresó de su exilio de París, los partidarios Marxistas (fedahes y mudjahidés) se encontraban armados y trataban de desbordar el movimiento Islámico. -- Las clases medias influyentes en la economía amenazaron con hundirse en una peligrosa pasividad. Solo Bazargán parecía ser capaz de vencer dichos obstáculos.

El bazar le fue devoto y las formaciones de izquierda pensaban que podía obtener verdaderos derechos con él.

Algunos elementos del ejército habían negociado, y le aseguraban una pacífica transición hacia la República; sin embargo, quien en realidad tomaba las decisiones era el clero.

La dimisión de Bazargán se hizo cuando el ejército fue depurado por los comités islámicos, y ya no representaban un peligro para la República.

Solo quedaba eliminar a nacionalistas moderados dispuestos a pactar con el imperialismo, y fueron los estudiantes los que se encargaron de ellos, ya que éstos eran considerados como la conciencia e instrumento del movimiento islámico, además de ser auspiciados por Jomeini. Ellos procedieron también a eliminar a opositores del régimen por medio del arresto o desacreditación de políticos o elementos de partidos considerados como "prooccidentales".

1.3.3. GOBIERNO DE BANI SADR

Posterior a la renuncia de Bazargán, Bani Sadr obtiene la victoria como presidente, con más del 70% de la votación de enero de 1980. Sin embargo, su victoria constituyó una amenaza para el Partido Republicano Islámico (P.R.I.).

El objetivo de este partido fue el de asegurar en el parlamento un determinado porcentaje de representación para evitar que el Presidente Sadr dispusiera de poderes, por lo que en los resultados de la primera vuelta, ganó el P.R.I.

De esta forma, el Parlamento, liberado de elementos laicos - liberales de ideología Marxista (Partido Tudeh, fedahfes, etc.) - iba a ser manejado por el P.R.I.

Una vez como Presidente, Sadr anuncia la disolución de los Comités Islámicos y los grupos de guardia de la revolución para reorganizar las fuerzas armadas, gendarmería y policía. Se pronunció a favor de la separación de poderes y la no injerencia del clero en asuntos estatales.

No obstante se acusó a su gobierno de ser prooccidental, al proclamarse en desacuerdo con la retención de rehenes en la embajada de Estados Unidos de América.

Jomeini, aconsejado por los enemigos de Sadr en lo referente al peligro que podía correr la República Islámica con su gobierno, destituye a Sadr antes de que cumpliera un año en el poder.

CAPITULO 2

BASES SUSTENTADORAS DEL REGIMEN JOMEINISTA

El régimen proveniente de la revolución iraní está basada en el fundamentalismo islámico, planteado como elemento primordial de la sociedad musulmana-shifta, negándose a cualquier transformación de valores para establecer de ésta manera una identidad propia, lo que es aprovechado por Jomeini para fomentar el naciona--lismo Iraní, haciendo conjunción entre religión y Estado, expo--niendo las enseñanzas provenientes de Mahoma por medio del Corán y la Sunna (12); asimismo, el gobierno tiene cimentadas sus bases en estructuras políticas de tipo europeo (como es el caso del Sis--tema Parlamentario Iraní).

En el presente capítulo, se expondrán los elementos sobre --los que se desarrolla el régimen Jomeinista y la forma en que ac--túan sus sistemas de preservación para mantener a las masas subor--dinadas al Estado, apareciendo como elemento primordial el Islam, sobre el cual haré una breve referencia, ya que al ser un tema --tan vasto necesitaría hacer un trabajo de investigación especial--mente sobre este concepto.

2.1. EL ISLAM

Islam es una palabra derivada del verbo "salama", cuyo signi--

nificado es "sumisión a la voluntad de Dios", adoptada por Mahoma (Mahomed) como un nombre distintivo para la religión que prediccó.

El Islam aparece en la Península Arábiga en el siglo VII, extendiéndose en el Cercano y Medio Oriente después de la muerte de Mahoma hacia los confines de los países conquistados por los árabes, siendo acogida por la mayoría de la población de esos pueblos. Las divisiones en el Islam aparecen posterior a la muerte del Profeta entre sunnitas y shíitas (13).

El Islam se desarrolló hasta convertirse en una civilización con una diversidad de ideas y prácticas religosas.

Posteriormente, durante el siglo XIX, las misiones militares europeas comienzan a llegar al imperio musulmán, colonizándolo, - siendo insertados los pueblos colonizados en el mercado internacional capitalista, dando origen a la erosión de instituciones y valores tradicionales en los que sustentaba el imperio. Consejeros europeos, administradores, políticos, etc., reemplazan lo que consideraban el retrasado carácter de la cultura Oriental a través de la introducción de ideas nacionalistas europeas, instituciones políticas tomadas de modelos europeos.

Con la independencia, la mayoría de los pueblos musulmanes -

existió para la obtención de medios materiales. El Islam, por su parte, trata de liberar la conciencia del hombre, sin muerte ni agresiones.

Pero esto no se cumple así en Irán. Cuando llega al poder - el Ayatola Jomeini no sólo se demuestra la importancia del Islam - en el aspecto teológico, sino también el político, debido a todos los acontecimientos que se fueron sucediendo desde 1980 hasta la actualidad.

2.2 EL NACIONALISMO

Nacionalismo significa solidaridad social de una nación con la identidad que la misma da, donde Jomeini utiliza el nacionalismo como identificación basada en valores islámicos, orientados a fortalecer su identidad propia, siendo las masas una identificación Jomeini-Imam (14) y el Islam.

De esta forma el nacionalismo es entendido como una reacción por parte de las masas cuando configuran ante un enemigo externo o aún interno (como ocurrió en el derrocamiento de Pahleví acusado de dañar al Estado). Jomeini es identificado como el libertador de Irán, al propiciar la caída de la monarquía y la recuperación de la soberanía (15) iraní, ofreciendo el regreso a un sistema simbolizado por Mahoma y sucesores, desarrollando al mismo --

no experimentan cambios significativos, debido a la fuerte influencia durante la colonia.

El uso de símbolos y frases propias del Islam traen para el pueblo iraní, sometido durante largos períodos a occidente y otros Estados, el poder realizar el regreso a la reminiscencia islámica, siendo la revolución iraní el movimiento Islámico más importante del presente período.

Considero que el Islam, a diferencia del cristianismo, no únicamente se refiere a una religión, sino a todo un ordenamiento social de tipo ideológico, jurídico y político, sirviendo como importante cohesionador social por parte del Estado.

Para el Islam, el estado original del hombre es la libertad, pero la exigencia de la vida social obligan a la disminución de la misma. La Ley coránica es el complemento de la fe, y regula de una forma primordial las acciones de la sociedad, por lo que el Islam concluye que la libertad ilimitada equivaldría a la auto-destrucción.

La misión del pueblo musulmán es la de promover una ideología "revolucionaria" que libere a la sociedad de la esclavitud de sistemas ya conocidos; ante ello los iraníes no vieron con buenos ojos a la revolución rusa, por el derramamiento de sangre que ---

tiempo un sentimiento antiimperialista.

2.3 SISTEMA POLITICO

El sistema político de Irán, aparte de basarse en la Constitución, la cual está fundamentada en normas provenientes del Corán, contiene principios políticos europeos, cimentados en el sistema parlamentario (16) con división de poderes (ejecutivo, legislativo, judicial).

La forma del gobierno es la siguiente:

Velayat e Faquih.- Baja el Título de Imam, le corresponde supervisar al gobierno para garantizar que sus métodos y funciones vayan de acuerdo con los principios islámicos. Así mismo, es el jefe máximo del Estado, al ser uno de los sucesores de Ali (yerno del profeta Mahoma). En el caso actual, el Título de Imam recae sobre Jomeini.

Majlis.- Son los miembros del parlamento. Su función consiste en la aprobación de leyes, siempre y cuando no exista contradicción de éstas con las leyes coránicas; sin embargo, éstas, a su vez, se encuentran sujetas a la supervisión del Consejo de Vigilancia de la Constitución. Los Majlis son elegidos por medio del voto popular.

Mullahs.- Forman una base importante del gobierno ya que son los predicadores, dedicándose al mismo tiempo al estudio de las - leyes coránicas, cobran impuestos y escriben textos escolares.

Tribunales Islámicos.- Su función consiste en juzgar a personas que no acaten las leyes del Islam (infieles) o que comentan - actos en contra del gobierno. El resultado de los tribunales islámicos ha sido una continua ola de ejecuciones.

Guardias Revolucionarios.- Son los responsables de mantener el orden y proporcionar la seguridad interna. Cuentan con sus propios servicios de inteligencia para la preservación de la revolución. Asimismo combaten a los contrarrevolucionarios y espían a los extranjeros.

Primer Ministro.- Elegido por voto aprobatorio del Parlamento (majlis), o sea voto indirecto del pueblo.

Consejo de Vigilancia de la Constitución.- Supervisa a los - mahlis así como a la elección de los mismos.

Partido revolucionario Islámico (P.R.I.).- Este Partido tuvo un papel muy importante en las elecciones a favor de los religiosos (mahlis). Utilizando la manipulación fraudulenta y presión,- obtuvo el voto de las mayorías, con lo que ni los mudjahidnes, fe

dades o minorías étnicas quedaron representadas en el Parlamento, - ganando el P.R.I. por amplia mayoría.

2.3.1 LA CONSTITUCION IRANI

La Constitución de la República Islámica está basada en el Corán, cuyo texto es un conjunto de normas morales, jurídicas y religiosas, las cuales por sí mismas son frases y discursos que Mahoma y sus partidarios aceptaron como provenientes de Dios ---- (Allah), por lo que, 1300 años después de su muerte, el clero desarrolla su gobierno sobre los lineamientos provenientes del profeta, surgiendo la Constitución actual en 1980.

En términos generales, la Constitución hace referencia al gobierno Islámico, el cual no es producto de la distinción de clases, ni representa la victoria de los opresores sobre los desposeídos (como es el caso de anteriores revoluciones). Su ideal es el de llevar a la sociedad a una estructura más justa.

En total de los 175 artículos de la Constitución, 10 enumérican los derechos de Jomeini, subrayando que Dios tiene el poder político, siendo administrado a través de sus "enviados", por lo que la separación entre la religión y Estado es inexistente en el Islam. Así que, el poder que se ha adjudicado a Jomeini es notable, al aparecer como Imam.

El artículo 50. hace referencia al poder absoluto del "velayat Faquih", por lo que el Primer Ministro y el Parlamento (electos por el pueblo) quedan subordinados a Jomeini. El artículo 87 se refiere a que el Imam tendrá la facultad de rechazo a cualquier forma que considere que va en contra del Islam. En caso de inexistencia del Imam, el liderazgo será ejercido por un consejo de clérigos.

En otro artículo, se señala que debido a la experiencia obtenida bajo la SAVAK, queda prohibido todo tipo de detención o juicio ilegal o tortura.

En conjunto, los derechos del Imam son: selección de los miembros del Consejo, nombramiento de la autoridad judicial, fungir como comandante supremo de las fuerzas armadas, derecho a formalizar declaraciones en cuanto a guerra o paz y cese o aprobación del Presidente.

Con todo esto, Jomeini se convierte en líder absoluto, transformando la forma de gobierno republicana en una dictadura Teocrática.

La dominación política del clero queda firmemente establecida, lo que ha sido criticada por algunos sectores de la sociedad Iraní (intelectuales, mudjahidines y fedafes).

En cuanto a política exterior, el capítulo 152 expresa la negación a toda dominación de sectores externos del país y rechazo a todo compromiso con potencias que limitan la soberanía, integridad territorial e independencia.

Queda prohibido cualquier tratado que entrañe dominación en cuanto a recursos naturales, economía o ejército, o dañen a la cultura islámica.

Además, critica al capitalismo, debido a la explotación que ejerce el hombre sobre el hombre, y al socialismo, que se basa en la explotación del pueblo por parte del Estado. La República Islámica respeta la propiedad privada, exponiendo ciertos límites para que no se transformen en capitalismo.

CAPITULO 3

RELACIONES ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA-IRAN

Las relaciones Estados Unidos de América-Irán, provienen -- desde 1883, época en la que eran enviadas las misiones evangélicas y apostólicas a Irán. Posteriormente se desarrolló cierto - intercambio comercial. Las relaciones vitales comienzan a partir de 1953, año en que Mossadeq, líder del movimiento a favor - de la nacionalización del petróleo y primer ministro iraní, lo - nacionaliza, con lo que surge el temor estadounidense a la aparición de alguna influencia ajena a los intereses de Estados Unidos de América. Ante ello dicho país, apoyado en la CIA, derroca a Mossadeq y reinstala al Sha Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, con lo - que da principio una relación de alianza. En 1955 Irán se une - al Pacto de Bagdad (17), lo que le permite el aprovisionamiento - de armas estadounidenses necesarias para la represión interna, - justificándose como una forma de protección contra la Unión Soviética.

En 1958, debido al derrocamiento del monarca iraquí, Pahlevi, alarmado ante la posibilidad de que algo similar sucediese a su gobierno, fortalece su alianza con Estados Unidos de América. Kennedy, ante una posible sublevación contra Pahlevi, le propone llevar a cabo una serie de reformas que dan origen a la revolución Blanca.

Las relaciones más estrechas entre los dos Estados fue durante el periodo de Richard Nixon (1969-1975), época en la que Gran Bretaña se retira de la región y que Irán aparece, debido al aumento de los precios del petróleo y apoyo de Estados Unidos de América, como potencia regional del Golfo Pérsico.

En dicha etapa, Estados Unidos había sido derrotado en Vietnam, y desde ese entonces trata de no inmiscuirse directamente, - en conflictos armados; a cambio de ello proporciona ayuda económica, política y militar a gobiernos amigos que salvaguardan los intereses estadounidenses en la zona. "Proporcionaremos, bajo demanda de los interesados, asistencia militar y económica, cuya forma será adaptada a las circunstancias, esperando que la nación cargue directamente con la responsabilidad de sus propias necesidades en lo que concierne a sus efectivos" (18) (ver Anexo No. 1).

3.1 IRAN COMO PAIS ESTRATEGICO ESTADOUNIDENSE

Estados Unidos, dentro de la política de dominación en distintas regiones, ha promovido una serie de alianzas respaldando a gobiernos que le son afines a sus intereses: tal es el caso de Irán, país considerado como elemento clave de la política exterior estadounidense en el Medio Oriente (ver Anexo No. 1)

La ubicación de Irán le permite compartir una frontera de dos mil kilómetros con la Unión Soviética. Tiene costas que limitan con el Golfo Pérsico, el cual es considerado elemento clave como vía de transporte marítimo petrolero de la región. Irán también viene siendo uno de los más importantes productores de petróleo para Estados Unidos de América, Europa Occidental y Japón, además de ser uno de los principales importadores de armamento bélico estadounidense. "El control norteamericano en el Golfo y la inserción de ésta región en el sistema capitalista mundial, es una condición necesaria para la estabilidad del mundo Occidental" (19) (ver Anexos Nos. 1 y 5).

Las relaciones de Estados Unidos con Irán fueron teniendo un gradual transformación. Al principio, los recursos naturales y el aumento de los precios del crudo (en los años setentas) fue el eje donde giraron las relaciones de ambos países. Posteriormente, Irán fue dependiendo cada vez menos económicamente de Estados

Unidos de América, pero se incrementó la dependencia militar y armamentista conforme pasó el tiempo.

Pahleví trató de no tener una dependencia total hacia Estados Unidos, pero estaba consciente de que la perdurabilidad de su régimen le sería difícil sin el respaldo estadounidense. Ante ello, trató de manejar la política (sobre todo en asuntos relacionados al petróleo) con un determinado margen de maniobra propia, - haciendo todo lo posible por transformar a Irán en una potencia - Regional (ver Anexo No. 1).

En el siguiente punto vamos a analizar cuáles eran los intereses estadounidenses en Irán.

3.1.1 IRAN COMO PROVEEDOR DE RECURSOS PETROLEROS

Haré referencia de una forma general sobre la importancia -- que representaba Irán como uno de los principales exportadores -- de petróleo y aclaro que lo será en forma general ya que, debido a lo extenso del tema sería necesario hacer un trabajo de investigación específicamente dedicada al mismo.

La explotación del petróleo se otorgó en concesión a la Compañía Británica Anglo Iranian Co. En el año de 1953 fue nacionalizado por Mossadeq, trayendo en consecuencia un boicot de la Bri

tish Petroleum a nivel internacional; sin embargo, la nacionalización fue parcial, ya que el precio y nivel de producción quedó bajo consorcio internacional estadounidense y francés.

Las compañías estadounidenses se habían declarado por la política de "puertas abiertas" a fin de poderse introducir, con mayor peso, al mercado petrolero.

En los años sesentas, se crea la O.P.E.P., convirtiéndose - Irán en uno de sus principales miembros, debido a la importancia de su producción. En los setentas, la O.P.E.P. reduce la explotación petrolera aumentando el costo de la misma, saliendo Irán altamente beneficiado. En 1973 un arreglo con la National Iranian Co. otorga a ésta el control completo del crudo, limitando a las compañías extranjeras integrantes del consorcio el papel - de compradores y proveedores de tecnología.

La importancia estratégica Irán, respecto a petróleo, se - debe a que Irán es el segundo productor en el Medio Oriente y = cuarto a nivel mundial, proveyendo en 1976 el 26% de exportaciones al Japón y 21% a Europa, así como el 10% hacia América del - Norte.

Considero que otros aspectos estratégicos para Estados Unidos de América cuando al petróleo Irán eran:

- a) Al irse reduciendo sus reservas petroleras debía aprovisionarse con reservas de otros países.
- b) El petróleo es de vital importancia en la seguridad militar de los aliados estadounidenses de Europa Occidental y Japón - (ver Anexo No. 1).
- c) El imperialismo prefiere aprovisionarse en zonas de bajo-costo de extracción petrolera (como Irán), prolongando de ésta -- forma sus propias reservas.

Pahleví, conociendo la importancia del petróleo en el manejo de su política exterior quiso sacar provecho del mismo y obtuvo - algún margen para llevar a cabo ciertas políticas en cuanto a precio, además de que le sirvió para manejar sus relaciones con Estados Unidos de América (ver Anexo Nos. 1 y 16).

3.1.2 IRAN COMO "GENDARME" DEL GOLFO

Para Estados Unidos de América es muy importante el control del Golfo Pérsico, ya que por medio de ésta vía marítima se transporta el petróleo que abastace a algunos países de Europa Occidental así como a Japón, proveyendo cerca del 73% del crudo de la zona comprendida del golfo arabe-pérsico. Por ello, Estados Unidos de América derrocó al gobierno de Mossadeq y reinstala a Pahleví-

en el mismo, encontrando de ésta forma un aliado. Estados Unidos habfa llegado a la conclusión de que la mejor forma de proteger sus intereses en zonas periféricas no era a través de acciones directas, sino con el apoyo de elementos locales que se encargase de proteger los intereses estadounidenses, recibiendo a cambio -- ayuda y respaldo político de éstos.

Pahlevi, al mismo tiempo trata de transformar a Irán en una-potencia que pudiese rivalizar a fines del siglo con potencias -- europeas.

Irán, al considerarse el "guardfan" del Golfo, trata de controlar el estrecho de Ormuz, por lo que ocupa las islas de Tumb y Abu Musu, y apoya al sultán Qabus de Omán (quien habfa llegado al poder con ayuda de Gran Bretaña). Omán promovió el cambio de gobierno aplicando uno de los principios de la Doctrina Nixon (20)- en donde hacfa referencia que Estados Unidos de América apoyaba a los pueblos del Tercer Mundo que se levantaban en contra de sus -gobernantes, por el abandono y atraso en que tenfan a sus pueblos y por impedir el crecimiento, desarrollo y modernización de los -mismos.

Por otro lado, los elementos del Frente Popular de Libera--- ción de Dhofar se opusieron al nuevo gobierno, obteniendo casi - el control del sultanato. Pahlevi, ante esto, envía dos bri----

gadas para combatir al Fente, evitando al mismo tiempo que se apoderaran del Estrecho de Ormuz considerado por los estadounidenses "como nuestra vena yugular" (21). (ver Anexo No. 1).

En 1971, al retirarse militarmente Gran Bretaña de los Emiratos Arabes del Golfo Pérsico (al concederles su independencia), - se crea un vacío de poder regional. Estados Unidos de América -- por su parte, trata de evitar por todos los medios la influencia soviética en la región, y se propone mantener la seguridad de la fluidez de los embarques petroleros de la misma hacia Occidente, - llenando ese "vacío" con un estado de régimen fuerte y represivo, que evitase cualquier movimiento izquierdista o de sublevación nacional, convirtiéndose Irán en el instrumento ideal para jugar éste papel en la región. Pahlevi, sobre esto, dijo que: "Europa - Occidental, Estados Unidos y Japón consideran al Golfo como parte de su seguridad, sin embargo ellos no están en medida de garantizar ésta, siendo la razón por la cual nosotros lo hacemos por --- ellos". (22). (ver Anexos Nos. 1, 17 y 18).

3.1.3 ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA COMO PROVEEDOR DE RECURSOS BELICOS

En la Segunda Guerra Mundial, es convenido por medio de la - Conferencia de Teherán de 1943, la evacuación de territorio iraní de tropas tanto Británicas como Soviéticas, las cuales habían ocu-

pado dicho territorio debido a la política pro-nazi de Reza -- -- Pahleví padre. Llegado el tiempo de formalizar la retirada, los soviéticos se niegan a hacerlo, promoviendo movimientos independentistas en Kurdistán y Azerbaiyán. Ante ello, el gobierno de Estados Unidos envía tropas para fortalecer al ejército Irán -- (que se encontraba debilitado por la guerra), y los brotes son -- controlados, con lo que el gobierno estadounidense evita que los mismos sirvieran a intereses soviéticos.

Se inicia el período de guerra fría y Estados Unidos proveé de material militar sobrante a Irán. Más adelante, éste país se integra al CENTO, con la intención de limitar la influencia soviética. Además se comienzan a construir bases militares. Ramazani señala, sobre lo anterior que "al iniciarse el desarrollo de bases militares, se había convenido en que ... la presencia militar en Irán no constituya una ocupación" (23) (ver Anexo No. 1). --- Aquí vale la pena señalar hasta qué punto puede violarse un territorio o la soberanía de un país sin que ésto se tome como intervención u ocupación, porque así lo consideró el Sha.

Kennedy "se da cuenta" de las carencias (equipo) del ejército iraní y decide proporcionar al Sha unidades más modernas; sin embargo, Pahleví se rehusa, porque quería conservar el mando sobre elementos militares tradicionales. Si aceptaba era probable que ya no los pudiese manejar y, además, aumentaría su dependen--

cía hacia Estados Unidos de América.

Como se había dicho anteriormente, al retirarse Gran Bretaña del Golfo Pérsico, Estados Unidos lo substituye en la región, con la presencia también de Arabia Saudita, Israel e Irán.

En el memorándum de estudio de Seguridad Nacional, aparece una nota que hace referencia a la modernización de las fuerzas armadas iraníes "para su propia seguridad y de la región" (24), señalando al mismo tiempo la necesidad de un fortalecimiento del gobierno para evitar una sublevación que pudiese provocar la caída de Pahlevi, que traería, en consecuencia, un desequilibrio en la zona de seguridad estratégica del Golfo.

Estados Unidos apoya sin limitaciones la defensa y desarrollo de las Fuerzas Armadas Iraníes, asesorando a oficiales iraníes y enviando expertos militares a adiestrar al ejército ----- (iraní).

El desarrollo de Irán como potencia militar aumenta en 1973- con la compra de armamento (en su mayoría estadounidense y frances), por la cantidad de tres mil millones de dólares.

Según Pahlevi, hacia las compras para reforzar el ejército y apoyar en caso necesario a Estados Unidos, Europa Occidental y Ja-

pón, ya que dichos países "consideran al Golfo como parte de su - seguridad" (25).

De esta forma se concretaba la Doctrina Nixon, haciendo énfasis en la formación de coaliciones de interés común por medio del desarrollo de agrupaciones nacionales sostenidas por Estados Unidos, haciendo dicho país a la vez, el papel de coordinador y suprimiendo al mismo tiempo, los riesgos que podría implicar una -- acción directa.

En 1974 Irán forma parte de las 10 principales potencias militares en el mundo. En este mismo año hace un pedido por dos millones de dólares a las principales compañías proveedoras estadounidenses (Hughes Air Craft y Grumman).

Adquiere tres mil tanques (entre 1975 y 1976), y más de 9 -- mil proyectiles antitanques, preparando el desarrollo para 1978 - de una unidad de aviación constituida por 14 mil hombres y 890 helicópteros. Las compras mayores fueron de aviones con un costo - de 11,800 millones de dólares en 1976, esperando Pahlevi tener en el futuro una de las fuerzas aéreas más grandes del mundo "quise- que nuestros armamentos estuvieran al nivel de lo que exigía la - seguridad en esta parte del mundo" (26).

Con el aumento del precio del crudo y la libre venta de mate

rial bélico por parte de Estados Unidos, se produce un descontrol de armas en Irán, apareciendo la corrupción y soborno entre vendedores e intermediarios. Pahleví acusa a las empresas estadounidenses de vender equipo inútil y elevar los precios en forma injustificada.

Esto trae como consecuencia que sea presentado ante la Comisión de Relaciones Exteriores del Senado Estadounidense un estudio basado en la política de venta de armas estadounidenses a Irán llegando a la siguiente conclusión:

a. Irán ha obtenido tal cantidad de material bélico, que incluso los asesores militares se han encontrado en dificultades para su operación.

b. Debido a la complejidad y cantidad de los sistemas militares vendidos a Irán, dicho país lo podrá utilizar hasta un periodo de cinco a diez años, a no ser que aumente el personal estadounidense pudiendo incluso ser insuficiente ésta ayuda, encontrándose Irán sin infraestructura técnica y educacional para hacer tal efectivo operante.

c. La decisión tomada por Kissinger y Nixon en cuanto al libre pedido de armamento estadounidense hacia Irán desde 1972, ha provocado la competencia de la industria privada bélica estadouni-

dense, con lo que el Departamento de Estado y Defensa han perdido el control sobre los pedidos hechos, vendiéndose el armamento según intereses particulares de las compañías, sin informar a los compradores de las dificultades del cuidado, construcción y manejo de los mismos.

d. La presencia del personal estadounidense en Irán (para -- 1980 se preveía entre 50 mil a 60 mil elementos) traerá como consecuencia la dependencia estadounidense adicho país. Y en lo referente al excesivo armamento enviado a Irán, de llegarse a dar un golpe al actual régimen, el nuevo gobierno en el poder podría utilizarlo contra intereses estadounidenses

El anterior informe determinó cierto cambio de actitud en -- cuanto a venta de armas al exterior, criticando el presidente Carter tal política. Sin embargo, dos años después de haber ocupado la presidencia, Carter, con la política de venta de armas militares e implantación de asesores militares, contradice su política de derechos humanos.

A partir de 1982 el gobierno de Reagan incrementa la venta de armas hacia países del Tercer Mundo, y legitima dicha acción -- criticando la política adoptada por Carter en dos puntos:

a. La política de Derechos Humanos no limitó las exportacio-

nes de armas, lo único que obtuvo fue el sacrificio del mercado bélico estadounidense en beneficio de países competidores (URSS y Europa).

b. No hubo una disminución en cuanto al consumo de armas, si no al contrario, tal restricción favoreció el desarrollo de la industria militar en algunos países.

Como consecuencia de lo anterior, Reagan tuvo, a partir de 1982, una política diferente en cuanto a venta de armas, la cual estaba basada para proteger los intereses de seguridad de países- "amigos" en distintas regiones, persiguiendo como objetivo estratégico la recuperación de la confianza que Estados Unidos había perdido con la administración Carter como seguro proveedor de armas, para tener un acercamiento ó reforzamiento, según sea el caso, hacia países "convenientes" a Estados Unidos de América.

CAPITULO 4

PERDIDA DE LA HEGEMONIA ESTADOUNIDENSE EN IRAN

Al ser derrocado Pahlevi, fue acusado de ser un fiel aliado estadounidense y de haberse coludido con Estados Unidos para derrocar a Mossadeq.

Poco antes de su expulsión en 1964, Jomeini se había formado una imagen antiestadounidense al conceder públicamente el otorgamiento de privilegio de extraterritorialidad (27) a los estadounidenses, tanto a civiles como militares. Fue en esa ocasión cuando hizo famosa su célebre frase: "habéis extirpado hasta las raíces nuestra independencia" (28). Asimismo, acusó a los monopolios estadounidenses de saquear los recursos naturales, de derrochar fondos económicos en la compra de armas y fomentar la dominación de los capitales extranjeros.

Pienso que Jomeini también adoptó esa posición recordando el respaldo que durante 40 años Estados Unidos le había dado a los Pahlevi, así como el intento de Carter por sostener hasta el final al gobierno monárquico.

En noviembre de 1977, Carter había ratificado a Pahlevi: "la seguridad de Irán es asunto de la más alta prioridad para Es

tados Unidos de América y trabajaré en estrecho contacto con el - Congreso para satisfacer necesidades" (29).

Después de haber estado en México, el ex-Sha fue admitido en Estados Unidos el 22 de octubre de 1979 confirmando con ello las palabras de Carter, acerca de que la administración estadounidense trataba de respaldar hasta el último momento el gobierno monárquico, gesto que fue calificado de humanitario en Occidente, pero en Irán apenas si se podía creer que se había dado asilo a un dictador que había sometido durante largo periodo al pueblo. Carter hizo caso omiso a dichas críticas y, además de ello, jamás admitió el que su administración haya intervenido en el derrocamiento de Pahleví.

Mahoma Javad Bahonar, miembro del Consejo de la Revolución, explica: "Estados Unidos insultó el honor nacional iraní y la Revolución Islámica, al concederle al ex-Sha una visa que le permitiese su estancia en Nueva York; el exdictador representa todo el dolor, tortura y represión sufridos durante décadas por nuestra nación" (30). El Pueblo iraní también acusó a dicho país de quitarle los verdaderos valores islámicos, a través de Pahleví. --- (ver Anexos No. 5 y 19).

Los iraníes tenían en creencia que, a pesar que Estados Unidos había sido protector de Pahleví, este país sabía lo que el --

ex-Sha significaba para Irán y que por ningún motivo le darían asilo en territorio norteamericano, pero sucedió lo contrario.

Para Estados Unidos de América la reacción de los iraníes había sido desproporcionada y ajena a la realidad, y Carter se opuso a que ellos juzgaran por derecho propio a Pahlevi.

Pahlevi había recibido todas las facilidades para transferir durante el último período de su gobierno a bancos estadounidenses cerca de 20 millones de dólares. Esto motivó una serie de acciones por parte de Jomeini, quien hizo todo lo posible por coaccionar al gobierno estadounidense para que devolviera el dinero que pertenecía al pueblo iraní.

4.1 LA DOCTRINA CARTER

Carter basaba su Doctrina en el siguiente contexto:

Como el temor comunismo había caracterizado a la administración anterior, tal política anticomunista fue reemplazada por -- una tolerancia al pluralismo ideológico y por una mayor preocupación de los derechos humanos Carter trató de formar una política más sensible sobre aspectos Norte-Sur, prometiendo ser un mecanismo más eficaz contra impulsos no nacionalistas dentro del sistema multipolar internacional, tratando de resolver por medio de -

los derechos humanos la negativa imagen de Estados Unidos formada a causa de la guerra de Vietnam; sin embargo, jamás se permitió - que los derechos humanos fuesen más importantes que aspectos convenientes a la política exterior estadounidense como es el caso de Irán.

Considero que Carter nunca vió su política en términos moralistas; al contrario, su política es presentada como una estrategia de seguridad nacional basada no únicamente en factores políticos y económicos, sino también militares, a pesar de las aparentes acciones en contra del rearmamento bélico, por lo que recibió muchas críticas en el sentido de que la Unión Soviética estaba -- desarrollando su propio armamento bélico, dejando en desventaja a Estados Unidos.

Sin embargo, una contradicción de la política antibélica del expresidente Carter se puede advertir con la promesa del mismo, - al vender a Pahlevi 140 aviones F-16 y al entregar, un sistema de radares con un valor de 200 millones de dólares. En 1978, Carter vende, (una vez que el Congreso promulga una legislación sobre -- venta de armas), entre 6 y 8 reactores nucleares, para que de ésta forma, gradualmente, Irán se conviertiese en una de las 5 potencias medianas a nivel mundial para 1984.

En base a su doctrina sobre Derechos Humanos, Carter se pro-

puso dejar de apoyar a las dictaduras que pretenden mantener las estructuras por medio de la represión, ya que al basar éstos su política en programas injustos y anacrónicos, podrían suscitarse descontentos y levantamientos de todo tipo. Por ello, si Estados Unidos apoya a tales gobiernos, éstos al desintegrarse, es seguro que traerán en consecuencia una política anti-estadounidense, como sucedió en Irán.

4.2 TOMA DE LA EMBAJADA ESTADOUNIDENSE EN IRAN

La toma de diplomáticos estadounidenses como rehenes, sirvió para que estallara el conflicto Irán-Estados Unidos. Carter pensó poder arreglar las cosas tratando con los dirigentes moderados en Teherán (primero Bazargan y luego Bani Sadr), pero fue ésto lo que disgustó su de por sí ya deteriorado prestigio ante Jomeini.

El 4 de noviembre de 1979 es tomada la Embajada, haciendo -- rehenes al personal estadounidense de la misma. Se dice que la toma fue como protesta a la negación de Pahleví de devolver las riquezas saqueadas a Irán, así como de haberle permitido Estados Unidos la entrada a su territorio.

La toma de los rehenes ocasiona en Irán la división entre de recha e izquierda: los que apoyaban tal acto estaban a favor de la revolución y de seguir una política antiimperialista; los de--

más eran tildados como antirrevolucionarios prooccidentales.

Los mudjahidines criticaron el comportamiento de los estudiantes. Bani Sadr fue el único en declarar públicamente su no aprobación a la toma de rehenes por razones derivadas a la moral islámica y al interés revolucionario.

Agrupaciones políticas, sindicatos, asociaciones profesionales, etc., exigían, además de la ruptura total con Estados Unidos, la anulación de acuerdos militares con Washington, la confiscación de empresas imperialistas y el desmantelamiento de redes de espionaje, así como la publicación de los documentos encontrados en la embajada pertenecientes a la CIA. (Conviene recordar que los rehenes estadounidenses fueron acusados de espionaje).

En los documentos encontrados se detallaban los intentos de la CIA por reclutar funcionarios iraníes e incluían fotografías aéreas de instalaciones de almacenamiento de armas soviéticas en Severomork.

"Había demasiados documentos que se tenían que destruir en - muy poco tiempo" (31), decía el exdirector de la CIA William Foley.

Las autoridades de Estados Unidos, al conocer la toma de la-

embajada, trata de ponerse en contacto con Jomeini, enviando una-delegación. Sin embargo, Jomeini se niega a recibirla. En res-puesta, Carter detiene las importaciones de crudo iraní. Adelan-tándose a un posible embargo, y tratando al mismo tiempo de hacer una demostración de fuerza, aprovechar la irritación del pueblo -norteamericano para adelantar la realización de su programa ener-gético; además deporta a estudiantes iraníes en Estados Unidos, -ordena la ruptura de transacciones comerciales y expulsa al perso-nal diplomático Iraní de territorio estadounidense.

Otra medida tomada por Carter fue la congelación de bienes -iraníes en bancos estadounidenses y sucursales en el extranjero. En respuesta, el presidente Bani Sadr amenaza con transferir los-bienes iraníes depositados en Estados Unidos a bancos de países -que no bloquearan los fondos monetarios.

Carter se adelanta a lo dicho por Sadr y congela los fondos-iraníes. Ello crea que los dirigentes de algunos Estados Árabes-amenacen con revisar sus respectivas políticas de depósitos en --bancos estadounidenses. Los bancos europeos critican la medida,-argumentando que ello podría crear una generalizada crisis de des-confianza.

Posteriormente se emitió una declaración mencionando la posí-bilidad de tomar acciones militares para rescatar a los rehenes,-

donde un comando especializado llamado "los azules" (descrito como el mejor preparado para actuar en situaciones adversas) llevaría a cabo la misión. Estados Unidos habría declarado que tal acción no era militar, sino de tipo más bien humanitario, siendo el único objetivo el rescate de los rehenes.

Sin embargo, al tratar de rescatarlos, los helicópteros presentaron fallas en su operación por lo que no se pudo proseguir - con lo planeado. Al ordenar la partida de regreso, chocó uno de los helicópteros con otro que iba a despegar, resultando el rescate un fracaso.

Tal acto provocó un mayor distanciamiento entre ambos países, siendo calificado en Teherán como provocación. Los estadounidenses se encontraban inquietos por los violentos ataques verbales en contra de su país, así como por la determinación del gobierno islámico de llevar a Irán a una etapa medieval.

Las ideas del expresidente Carter, respecto a la inexistencia de riesgo para Estados Unidos con la reducción del poder militar estadounidense en esa zona asiática, se vinieron abajo al ver la impotencia de su país en la acción por rescatar a los rehenes.

Ante ello, fue adoptada la idea de que las represalias eran la única vía que podía disuadir a otros países a intentar la mis

ma acción, y sólo con el poder militar se podrían prevenir agresiones.

El entonces secretario de Defensa, James Schlesinger, hizo el siguiente comentario "la estabilidad mundial está siendo erosionada por la debilidad de la política y del poder norteamericano; Estados Unidos está aparentemente renunciando a la responsabilidad de riesgo y poder" (32).

Esto trajo como consecuencia el aumento del presupuesto del Pentágono.

Los esfuerzos de Estados Unidos, en las acciones de rescate, encontraron una verdadera rebelión entre los iraníes.

4.2.1 NEGOCIACION

Se formó una comisión de majlises para estudiar la liberación de los rehenes, apareciendo las conclusiones con las siguientes condiciones para su liberación:

- Se pedía la devolución de las propiedades de Pahlevi, las cuales habían sido transferidas al extranjero; descongelamiento de los bienes iraníes y promesa de no intervención política ni militar en Irán.

- Se hacía énfasis en la independencia de la República islámica respecto a Occidente, advirtiendo que la no satisfacción de las condiciones anteriores traería el castigo de los delincuentes estadounidenses.

En ese mismo año (1980), el gobierno iraní, a través de sus representantes diplomáticos en Argelia formalizó un llamado al gobierno estadounidense para que diera respuesta a sus condiciones.

En 1980, el Secretario adjunto del Departamento de Estado, - Warren Christopher, partió rumbo a Argelia junto con una delegación llevando la respuesta de Estados Unidos; Sostuvo una entrevista con el ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Argelia, sirviendo éste gobierno como intermediario de las negociaciones. Finalmente Jomeini aceptó la respuesta de liberación, consistiendo en el depósito de fondos iraníes que estaban en Estados Unidos de América en el Banco Central de Argelia, así como la devolución a Irán de las propiedades de Pahlevi.

En diciembre de 1980 Irán hizo un llamado a Estados Unidos, señalando que la cantidad de 24 millones de dólares se recibirían en garantía por los haberes congelados y propiedades de Pahlevi - y, en caso de no cumplir con la entrega del dinero, los rehenes serían sometidos a juicio.

Estados Unidos deseaba solucionar el problema antes de que - finalizara el tiempo que le quedaba a Carter en la presidencia, y decide enviar a una delegación estadounidense encabezada por Warren Christopher, la cual llega a Argel para agilizar las negociaciones. El 8 de enero de 1981, el recién electo presidente Ronald Reagan, subrayó que podría cumplir con cualquier acuerdo hecho por el expresidente Carter, pero aclaró que se reservaba el derecho de proponer nuevas técnicas si la crisis no se solucionaba antes del 20 de enero. En respuesta, los majlles emitieron decretos en los que se autorizaba el arbitraje de terceros sobre -- las declaraciones en contra de los rehenes a los que se les acusa ba de espías. En lo único que se había avanzado fue sobre la nac cionalización de las propiedades de Pahlevi.

El 15 del mismo mes, se advirtió al gobierno estadounidense, que si los haberes congelados no eran depositados en bancos argelianos, las negociaciones se detendrían. Todavía en el poder, -- Carter ordenó la transacción de 910 millones de dólares en oro a Gran Bretaña para su posterior transferencia a Irán, así como los bonos de tesorería pertenecientes a dichopaf los cuales se encontraban en el Banco de Reserva Federal de Nueva York.

El 18 de enero de ese mismo año, Estados Unidos e Irán firma ron documentos que hacían referencia a los puntos antes mencionados y emitieron la declaración final acerca de la liberación de -

Rehenes, la cual se llevó a cabo dos días después.

Para justificar las negociaciones y no dar demostración de - debilidad, el vocero del Departamento de Estados Unidos, declaró que la decisión habría sido acordada conforme a los intereses estadounidenses en el Golfo Pérsico, y que Irán no se ha beneficiado con los acuerdos, ya que los términos convenidos restablecían el "status quo", debido a que los fondos devueltos, así como los que en el futuro se hicieran, eran fondos pertenecientes desde el --- principio a Irán.

Irán abandona definitivamente al CENTO, con lo que automáticamente queda fuera de la línea de la hegemonía estadounidense: una República Islámica era preferible a un Estado satélite de --- Washington ó Moscú.

Con la revolución Islámica, disminuye la influencia de Estados Unidos en la región. Ello provoca en la capital norteamericana la elaboración y diseño de nuevas estrategias, con el propósito de :

a. Tener libre acceso (Estados Unidos y sus aliados) a las reservas de hidrocarburos del Golfo, así como la protección de rutas marítimas que permitiesen el libre flujo del crudo.

b. Limitar la expansión e influencia soviética.

c. Promover la estabilidad de gobiernos amigos contra posibles ataques de países hostiles.

Al terminar James Carter su período, el nuevo presidente, Ronald Reagan hace las siguientes declaraciones:

a. La contradicción principal en el Medio Oriente es la --- Unión Soviética, y

b. Desde la base de Afganistán, la Unión Soviética es el -- principal oponente en el Golfo Pérsico, pudiendo incluso bloquear el paso de Buques a través del estrecho de Ormuz.

Por su parte, los iraníes analizaban las ventajas producidas por la ocupación de la embajada estadounidense:

a. Descubrimiento de las personas de origen iraní influídas por Estados Unidos, y de aquéllas que tenían contactos con gobiernos anti-islámicos.

b. Desarrollo del sentimiento antiestadounidense, paralelo a la unidad y fortalecimiento del sentimiento nacional iraní.

c. Neutralización de conspiraciones contra el Estado iraní provenientes del gobierno de Estados Unidos.

d. Revelación de prácticas estadounidenses con el gobierno-de Pahlevi.

e. Recuperación de las riquezas transferidas al extranjero-
por Pahlevi.

f. Demostración de la vulnerabilidad de Estados Unidos.

4.3 PERDIDA DE LA HEGEMONIA ESTADOUNIDENSE EN IRAN Y SU IMPORTANCIA EN LA UNION SOVIETICA.

Después de la insurrección iraní, la Unión Soviética anunció el reconocimiento de Bazargan. Leonid Brezhnev declara: "Saludamos el triunfo de ésta revolución que ha puesto fin a régimen despotico y de opresión que había hecho de Irán un objeto de explotación y una base de apoyo al imperialismo extranjero" (33). Los Soviéticos ofrecen su apoyo en la lucha contra Estados Unidos, pero tal apoyo es recibido con hostilidad por parte de las autoridades iraníes, rehusando tener relaciones con la Unión Soviética.

Respecto a una posible intervención de Estados Unidos en --- Irán, Brezhnev señaló que de ser así, la Unión Soviética lo con-

sideraría una agresión directa a su propia soberanía.

Si Pahleví habría puesto cuidado en separar la ideología Marxista en sus relaciones con la Unión Soviética, Jomeini además de no hacer eso, añade el calificativo de "pequeño satán" al dirigirse a la Unión Soviética. No obstante ello, Irán continúa sus relaciones comerciales con dicho país, evitando que se infiltren -- preceptos comunistas en la doctrina islámica.

Considero que a falta de tener una relación amistosa con el gobierno islámico, la Unión Soviética siempre ha tratado de mantener una política de espera, a fin de tener la oportunidad para -- acercarse al gobierno islámico, una vez que disminuyera o desapareciera el sentimiento anti-soviético.

4.3.1 EL PARTIDO TUDEH

El Partido Comunista Tudeh supo aprovechar la ola antinorteamericana para ganar aliados dentro del sector clerical. Jomeini no atacaba directamente a ese partido, y su aparente moderación, es posible que se debiera al apoyo que le dieron durante su exilio en 1964, cuando dirigían los mensajes de Jomeini, por radio -- de una forma clandestina y le ofrecieron su ayuda para lograr una República Islámica.

No obstante, Jomeini no es tributario de ningún sector no islámico, sobre todo marxista, tratando de preservar el monopolio - del poder en el sector musulmán.

Considero que la ideología marxista del Partido regulaba su acción contra la penetración estadounidense y contra el régimen - de Pahlevi, por lo que se unió a la revolución para derrocarlo, - aboliendo totalmente a la monarquía y apoyando la creación de una República que defendiera las libertades democráticas, esperando - que Jomeini, al obtener el triunfo fortaleciera al Partido (Tudeh). .

Sin embargo, Jomeini ya en el poder, no puede apoyar al Partido, debido a las campañas difamatorias por parte del sector clerkical, quien acusó al Partido de ser aliado de la Unión Soviética. Ello provoca, asimismo, el desinterés hacia los Tudeh por -- parte de las masas. Lo anterior, aunado con la persecución de comunistas en Irán (debido a la invasión soviética en Afganistán) - provoca la total eliminación del Partido.

4.3.2 INTERESES SOVIETICOS EN IRAN

Los intereses de la Unión Soviética (a parte de los conocidos por tener fronteras comunes), provienen de su deseo de controlar el tráfico marítimo en el Golfo Pérsico.

La realidad es que la Unión Soviética no tiene ningún interés en el petróleo del Golfo para abastecerse, ya que sus reservas son cuantiosas; más bien, busca el control del Golfo para de esta forma poder hacer cierta presión sobre Europa Occidental y Japón, que vienen siendo las piezas primordiales en cuanto a la Alianza Occidental.

Pero no solo por eso los soviéticos apoyan al gobierno de Jomeini, sino también porque Irán, aparte de ser el país más poblado de la zona posee recursos petroleros que de llegar la Unión Soviética a un acuerdo con Irán, podrían servir para los intereses soviéticos.

4.3.3 PUNTOS DE FRICCION ENTRE LA UNION SOVIETICA E IRAN

Irán, no obstante haber rehusado a tener relaciones con la Unión Soviética, ha realizado acciones que han imposibilitado aún mas un posible acercamiento entre ambas naciones, tales como:

a. La expulsión de diplomáticos soviéticos de Teherán en -- 1983.

b. El desmantelamiento del Partido Comunista Tudeh, y

c. El ver como enemigo a la Unión Soviética cuando éste país proporcionó armamento bélico a Irak (en su guerra contra Irán).

Las diferencias no sólo son a nivel ideológico-religioso. Existen otros elementos de fricción, aparte de los anteriores, - los cuales son:

a. Intransigencia por el suministro de gas natural. Los soviéticos no aceptaron las condiciones de venta, por lo que éstas fueron interrumpidas.

b. Ruptura del tratado soviético-iraní de 1921, que autoriza a la Unión Soviética a intervenir en Irán en caso que un tercer - Estado sirva de base para una agresión a la Unión Soviética.

c. Oposición por parte de Irán a la ocupación soviética en - Afganistán.

d. Manifestación contra la Unión Soviética en algunas ciudades iraníes como Teherán y Moshad.

Los soviéticos, que esperan cierta modificación de las fuerzas internas iraníes, se han dado cuenta que, a pesar de sus esfuerzos, Irán no acepta relaciones más allá que las necesarias en cuanto a tratos comerciales; asimismo, están conscientes del aislamiento que le produjo a la República Islámica la revolución y -

los problemas que puede tener este país con sus enemigos: Irak y los países Occidentales y prooccidentales de la región, militarmente presentes y activos en el Golfo.

4.4 IRAN Y SU POLITICA DE NO ALINEACION

Irán mantiene una política de no alineación frente a Oriente y Occidente ya que, según Jomeini, la existencia del sistema internacional es inquietante debido a la arrogancia de las potencias, las cuales viven a expensas del Tercer Mundo; él señala que se divide en: los opresores, cuyos líderes son Estados Unidos de América y la Unión de Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas, y los oprimidos cuyos habitantes pertenecen al llamado Tercer Mundo.

Lo que hoy en día se considera libertad en Occidente según - los iraníes es la independencia del hombre de las órdenes divinas y su servidumbre al imperialismo.

Se piensa que la política exterior Iraní debe servir a la recuperación de las riquezas y a la independencia económica (lo cual es difícil), políticamente y cultural, por lo que se trata de eliminar los últimos vestigios de dominación extranjera.

De esta forma, según Jomeini, una revolución mantiene su pro-

pia independencia a través de su propia fuerza militar. Si aceptan el apoyo de alguna potencia mundial, como es el caso de algunos países, obstruyen su éxito revolucionario, y posteriormente son sometidos a dicha potencia. La revolución islámica se distingue por su no sometimiento, hasta hoy, a ninguna de las dos potencias existentes. A raíz de eso trata de tener una política de no alineación; sin embargo, necesita tener relaciones con otros Estados, ya que el aislamiento le podría traer consecuencias en varios aspectos, toda vez que es un país dependiente en el aspecto científico, tecnológico y bélico.

CONCLUSIONES

LAS CONCLUSIONES A LAS QUE HE LLEGADO EN EL PRESENTE TRABAJO DE INVESTIGACION SON LAS SIGUIENTES:

En los sectores proletarios iraníes, se formó la imagen de Jomeini como la de un confiable conductor del pueblo, donde según la religión musulmana shiita es enviado especial de Mahoma, con lo que adquiere poderes extraordinarios en el sector político de su país a cuya representatividad todos los sectores deben someterse.

Sin embargo la autoridad de Jomeini, ya en el poder, transformó la política iraní en una dictadura teocrática, basando su prevalencia en la manipulación del Corán como instrumento legitimador de poder.

La ineptitud del gobierno creó una situación crítica del país, reinando la opresión y el fanatismo.

El Estado se vió en la necesidad de importar productos, dando surgimiento al mercado negro, canalizando las utilidades al Comité Revolucionario o al sector formado por mullahs, mencionándose constantemente el envío de divisas por parte de dirigentes iraníes a bancos de Suiza y la República Federal de Alemania, asimismo

la crisis aumentó con la baja en el precio del crudo, creando junto con la guerra contra Irak una fuerte crisis económica, dando como resultado el aumento de desempleo y mayor marginación en los estratos proletarios.

Jomeini ha utilizado la guerra contra Irak para desviar la atención del pueblo a los problemas internos, fomentando a su vez el nacionalismo ante un enemigo común de la sociedad iraní, sin embargo, han aparecido evidencias de cansancio y brotes de desacuerdo entre los comandantes del ejército, donde se muestran en contra del sacrificio innecesario de connacionales que son enviados a combatir sin un entrenamiento correcto.

A pesar de la represión, hubo manifestaciones en Teherán y en otras ciudades iraníes en contra de la guerra.

Aparte de lo anterior, surgió una escisión entre el clero conservador y el radical, pero el Estado ha demostrado su habilidad para mantener las instituciones estables y conservar el poder.

Con el surgimiento de la guerrilla "Mujahidin al Kalq", se declaró una política de resistencia armada contra el régimen, bombardeando cuarteles del PRI y asesinando a algunos dirigentes políticos. Sin embargo, la guerrilla no se fortaleció y eso permi-

ticó que el gobierno los dispersara. No obstante ello, los opositores al régimen fueron creciendo día a día.

En otro aspecto, el pueblo fanático desde sus orígenes, teme revelarse contra el Islam, pues eso sería negar sus creencias religiosas, sería un desafío a Dios que traería como consecuencia pérdidas de valores vinculados a la sociedad iraní.

Por otra parte, debido a la avanzada edad de Jomeini, se habla de su posible sucesor, aunque no tenga la experiencia necesaria para dirigir al país.

Dado el descontento del ejército, un golpe de Estado por su parte no se puede descartar; sin embargo, el propio régimen está consciente de ésta situación, por lo que el gobierno ha instaurado un "sector protector" integrado por religiosos, oficiales y tropas. Ellos están para impedir un golpe de Estado, pero si se llegase a dar, también ese "sector protector" ha realizado campañas para que las masas lo repudien y luchen nuevamente para volver al sistema que hoy han decidido tener.

Y en cuanto a los grupos de oposición, ninguno cuenta con la organización verdaderamente fuerte para llegar al poder.

En otro aspecto, la derrota de Estados Unidos de Norteamerica-

ca en Irán, obligó a la administración estadounidense a:

- a. Incremento del arsenal bélico.
- b. Fortalecimiento y búsqueda de aliados.
- c. Presión a los aliados de Estados Unidos para que accedieran a los programas militares estadounidenses.

Por su parte Estados Unidos de América, no está dispuesto a perder a un Estado considerado como estratégico, no únicamente en cuanto a sus recursos petroleros, sino también como Estado colindante al Golfo Pérsico y a Afganistán (país que ha sufrido la invasión soviética a la cual Jomeini ha hecho pública su oposición), por lo que existe la posibilidad que en un futuro se intente un acercamiento estadounidense hacia Irán para ayudar a guerrilleros afganos a combatir la invasión soviética.

Los estadounidenses temen asimismo, en caso de una victoria iraní sobre Irak, la expansión por parte de radicales islámicos - sobre la región, permitiendo con el tiempo un cambio de equilibrio de poder, no favorable a sus intereses, en un área donde se provee del 75% de recursos petroleros a sus aliados.

A Estados Unidos de América no le sería favorable que Irán - tuviese como proveedor de armamentos a la Unión Soviética, pues -

le permitiría un acercamiento hacia la República Islámica, con lo que en caso de una posible victoria de Irán en la guerra contra Irak, traerían la expansión, junto con el Jomeinismo, la influencia de ésta nación.

A Washington le conviene la prolongación del conflicto Irán-Irak, pues de ésta forma los dos enemigos de Israel agotarían sus recursos económicos, bélicos y humanos, evitando cualquier intervención de éstos países sobre Israel.

Un posible acercamiento al sector moderado, por parte de Estados Unidos de América, es lo que busca Washington, ya que este sector tiene más fuerza que el radical, sin embargo para un re establecimiento de relaciones, Irán exige demandas similares a las formuladas durante la toma de los rehenes en 1979: levantar el congelamiento de bienes iraníes en Estados Unidos de Norteamérica suministro de refacciones y armamento bélico, y una disculpa pública por los crímenes cometidos por Estados Unidos en Irán.

La Unión Soviética trata de re establecer relaciones por medio de la venta de armas y el establecimiento de tratados de cooperación industrial, siendo sus intereses similares a los de Estados Unidos de América, sin embargo Jomeini ha declarado que no tendrá ningún acercamiento con ella, más allá de las relaciones comerciales.

En definitiva, concluyo que la revolución islámica fue la -- causa primordial de la pérdida de hegemonía estadounidense en --- Irán. Estados Unidos de Norteamérica ha tratado de tener un acercamiento con el gobierno moderado islámico, ya que éste país es - de importancia primordial para los intereses estadounidenses.

Aparte de la anterior consideración, estimo que a Irán le es difícil proseguir con su política de no alineación, ya que tiene necesidad de insertarse al mercado de alguna de las dos superpotencias para poder canalizar los recursos necesarios a su estructura tecnológica y comercial, incluso tiene necesidad como cualquier país, de tener determinada afluencia de divisas para poder tener comercio con otros Estados, dado que entre otras cosas, la guerra con Irak lo está desgastando materialmente, sin embargo parece que tal guerra fortalece al sistema iraní, al fomentar la -- unión ante un enemigo común, sirviendo para mantener distraída a la sociedad de problemas internos.

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(12). Sunna. Una de las actividades del primer siglo correspondiente al Islam fue la recopilación y transmisión sobre lo que el profeta Mahamed (Mahoma) había proclamado, la recopilación de estos estudios, se le da el nombre de Sunna o costumbres tradicionales.

(13). Shiismo. Al fallecer Mahoma en el 632 de la era cristiana, se da el shiismo en las sectas musulmanas, teniendo en común: Reconocer a los descendientes de Alí, yerno de Mahoma como designados a llevar el poder después de la muerte del mismo al contrario de los sunnitas que no creen en la existencia actual de -- descendientes del profeta.

(14). Imam. Se le da el nombre de imam al descendiente directo de Alí, considerándose actualmente como líder a Khomeini.

(15). Soberanía. Independencia de un Estado que es expresada en su personalidad jurídica, haciendo referencia al poder supremo sobre su territorio, siendo reconocida dentro del Derecho Internacional.

(16). Parlamentarismo. El sistema parlamentario de gobierno - es la forma externa de una constitución representativa, bajo la cual el parlamento posee una influencia directa sobre la composición personal del gobierno.

(17). CENTO o Pacto de Bagdad. Hace referencia a la mutua cooperación para seguridad y defensa de los Estados miembros. Irak y Turquía como primeros países adherentes al pacto, posteriormente Gran Bretaña, Pakistán e Irán.

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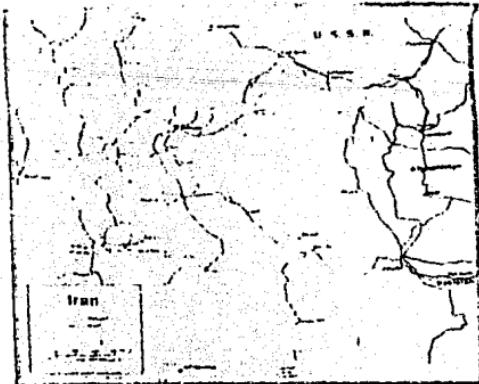
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Department of State

Office of the Inspector General,
Foreign Service

Inspection Report

**THE CONDUCT OF RELATIONS
WITH IRAN**

August 1974

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THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
THE PRACTICE OF RELATIONS
WITH IRAN

INTRODUCING

This inspection report summarizes the previously unreported results of audit. The audit objectives were to determine whether U.S. practices in conducting the U.S. Embassy's relations with Iran met the standards of internal controls and management. Specifically, this audit was designed to determine if the U.S. Embassy's practice of relations with Iran was consistent with the applicable laws and regulations. The inspection took place from January 15 through January 19, 1973. The audit period covered January 1, 1972 through December 31, 1972. The audit was conducted by the Office of Inspector General, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

H. F. Dray
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THE CONDUCT OF RELATIONS
WITH IRAN

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**THE PERSPECTIVE OF SITUATIONS
WITH IRAN**

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For the foreseeable future Iran will be of very considerable interest to the United States. Its location, bordering on both the Soviet Union and the Indian Ocean, makes it a strategic asset to the United States. The Iranian oil fields, which are second only to Saudi Arabia's, will be of critical importance to the United States. The Persian Gulf has other very important interests in Iran, such as the active U.S. intelligence activities of unique character in that area, and the large American business interests there.

Also, the U.S.A. is of considerable importance to Iran, for reasons that will continue to be valid for a long time to come. The U.S.A. is the only westernized country of Persia's size that has had the experience of industrialization. The U.S.A. is also the major present-day manufacturer of the advanced equipment and techniques that are needed in order to develop natural resources—petroleum, slate, coal, building stone, copper, skilled labor, and an educated élite.

Fortunately for both the United States and Iran, relations between the two countries are very good. Iran gives the U.S. most-favored-nation treatment, and access to Iran's extensive oilfields. The U.S. supplies to the Iranian armed forces, and has been sending military and civilian experts to provide training in Iranian defense agencies. In return, the U.S. has given Iran substantial amounts of military equipment and supplies. The net outcome of this favorable trade are the terms of this mutual exchange: the Primes of Iranian petroleum and petrochemical products and the routes to Iran of the civilian aircraft carrier and services it takes from the United States.

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The Government of Iran carries the responsibility for its actions in this situation. It is in consultation with other IAEA members to offer price of petroleum, and it has the key role in determining the terms from particular value which we need. The flow to Iran, which is mainly technical military and civilian, is financed almost entirely by the Government of Iran. The latter contributes far more, in financial terms, to the IAEA than any other member state, including the US Government. So we hope the price will make the Iranian regime less inclined to proceed to the United States.

On the petroleum price issue, the perceived interests of Iran and the U.S. are opposed. Iran wants a relatively high price, so as to maximize returns to Iran over the relatively brief period (estimated at about seven years) before its exports will be fully phased-in. The price Iran wishes may be those agreed to in OPEC, which is willing to sacrifice—in all oil it sells—at the agreed price level, and has not curtailed exports.

It is not likely that the U.S. could persuade Iran to withhold OPEC prices. The Iranian interest in oil production will remain strong, but there is no guarantee that it will do so at OPEC prices. It is also not likely that OPEC would increase its output, but there would be increasing oil at least retaining its share of the market. The barrier negotiations will continue, but OPEC will probably not necessarily represent a form of non-price competition instead of other petroleum suppliers. There is no reason for either party to believe that OPEC will not be able to compete. Any form of competition among oil exporters will benefit the U.S. and other importers, and will undermine the solidarity of OPEC as well.

Furthermore, Iran's willingness to act as a dependable source of supply will not offend Israel should we recognize and compensated. Iran did not participate in the Arab oil embargo, and the U.S. should be assisted by the Administration's actions to Iran and other nations similar which did not join in that embargo. The Israeli request should extend by the U.S. to all loca, in general.

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Today, times as the Shah correctly perceives, the interests of Iran and the U.S. in energy sources are close to the sea of petroleum and natural gas. The Shah has turned his attention into production alternative facilities for generating power. The Shah's interest in generating power is currently reflected in his interest in nuclear power plants. It is known that the Shah will not be put out of play by the United States, particularly the foreign exchange, for the U.S. is willing to supply equipment for these negotiations and to ensure that the result of these negotiations and to ensure that they end in deal with the full range of Iranian interests in energy, science, and technology.

Iran's ability, through OPEC, to "fix" the price of the petroleum and petroleum products is nothing more than a ploy for them to collect from OPEC and its civilian allies the maximum amount of oil at official aid. The Shah will his own interests and the future of OPEC exchange. He wants and needs the U.S. to supply him equipment and he finances U.S. military and civilian scientists, technicians and instructors. The OPEC also wants to facilitate the training of students and training foreign civilian officials. The U.S. can supply both the military and the civilian fields. There is no reason for the U.S. to Washington again, since the OPEC members itself, import oil and leave the U.S. to share the blame for all sorts of problems with nations and their approach relative to re-exporting oil to friendly forces or the expense of the civilian sector, continuing most over time on specific weapons systems.

There are, of course, risks of this kind. They cannot be avoided. However, they should be minimized by emphasizing the goals and benefits of the OPEC programs that increase the oil price. It is on that cooperation with the Government of Iran could insure the timely understanding of the possible consequences of these programs. The U.S. should see to

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it that institutional arrangements for U.S.-Iranian cooperation are designed and operated so that the decisions regarding what is to be done in scientific, technical, educational, cultural, and other fields are made in specific fields and kept separate and distinct at all times. The responsibility of the Government of Iran and the U.S. Government would assist the GOI in selling computers, material and expertise and in obtaining high quality

The U.S.-Iran Joint Commission, established in 1974, was intended to further U.S.-Iranian cooperation in non-military fields. It has not yet led to the completion of projects on the scale expected--possibly because the U.S. has not been able to keep pace with its responsibilities and partly for other reasons (including Iran's belief that the U.S. should have been more generous). In any case, this technical assistance extended to Iran. U.S. interests do not appear to have suffered as a result of this lack of cooperation initially. The U.S. should stand ready to assist the GOI in acquiring additional U.S. funds and services at full cost. U.S.-Iranian relations would rest on firm belief that the U.S. has the world's best scientific, technical, and technological. The best is, usually, expensive. The U.S. interest lies in supplying the best; in particular, in full equipment, which is often the only having appeal for a well-funded developing nation anxious to be one of its neighbors.

Looking to the future, it seems probable that Iran will continue on the course it took in 1973, when it increased the oil until it reached 1.5 million barrels per day. It will continue to do this, unless it is forced to do otherwise. The major source of the oil is regional, and the U.S. is the major source of the oil. Regional oil imports for U.S. security purposes have increased from 1.5 million barrels per day in 1973 to 2.5 million barrels per day in 1978. This is a 66% increase. There are now an estimated 35,000-45,000 Americans in Iran. It is believed that the number may increase to 50,000-60,000 by 1980. (This level off, 10 of the 30,000 in Iran are some 100,000 defense contractors and their dependents.) For this and other reasons, the U.S. consider that the U.S. Mission in Iran is more likely to agree than to object in the coming years.

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U.S. policy toward Iran has been effective in advancing U.S. interests. Most policy objectives have been attained, and at a minimum cost. In terms of U.S. interests, high level bilateral contacts have been taken place with the Shah, and U.S.-Iranian relations are very good. U.S. business, tourism has unusually good access to the country. The U.S. has a clear lead in oil sales and OPEC agrees to grant extra. The current level of U.S. staff support for the conduct of U.S. relations with Iran is consistent with the present needs. With regard to military assistance to Iran, however, some redefinition of resources would increase efficiency. This report recommends the closure of the U.S. military base at Souda, which would not reduce the efficiency of operations in U.S. aircraft, forces and the commitment posts. The policy actions described below can improve the conduct of U.S. policy in Iran. The following recommendations take a number of recommendations addressed to this area by the House Select Committee on Central Intelligence available in the House's Circular Section and the Economic/Commercial Section is to increased efficiency in the provision of the necessary services.

Looking to the Immediate Future, it is clear that the most urgent priority is to highlight and develop the U.S. role in the political process. This means a strong emphasis (especially in the Consultative Assembly) on improving laws and involving the public in the political process. Other things should be considered. There are plans in the air, but funding has not yet been requested of the Congress. From other sources, additional funding is available. It will be necessary to make additional grants available to the Congress. The Department (DO) should, therefore, seek to have funds for that building included in its budgeting next budgetary request to the Congress.

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II. POLICY

A. Policy Setting, U. S. Interests, Key Policies

1. Introduction

Iran is a vital element in U. S. middle eastern policy and is a very considerable factor in the U. S. posture vis-a-vis the USSR. The country occupies a position of exceptional strategic importance due to its location, oil reserves, and its political influence. The U. S. has enough to follow a policy towards Iran aimed at the continuation of a stable, responsible and friendly government. This requires (a) U. S. strategic military facilities and access to its oil and markets and (b) play a constructive regional role, including the limitation of Soviet influence in the area. This policy has been, on the whole, very successful.

2. Policy Setting

There are a number of elements in the policy environment which affect the U. S. position. In former years, the most important was the perception that Iran is a monarchy ruled by an autocratic, domineering and personally noted all critical decisions in civilian and congressional aspects of the economy, assuming no political life. There is now effective internal challenge to his leadership. There are many progressive aspects of the Shah's policies, and his administration is more open than in the past. The condition of most Iranians during his reign have been substantial. Nevertheless, many Americans-officials, Congressmen and public opinion leaders believe that the political system has become increasingly repressive, the relatively low regard for human rights in the political sphere and the Shah's role in keeping oil prices high. The idea of a "special relationship" has been abandoned. U.S. military support is also distasteful or repugnant to many. There is concern that U. S. arms sales policy will lead to a conflagration rather than stability in the area.

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A second, paradoxical element in the situation that has generated considerable concern among some members of the American public is that Israel's military and political strength, resulting from years of war and military strength, enables it to play an independent role, less bound by its ties to the United States. This concern has not been shared by the official U.S. position, which has consistently denied assistance to other states in the region, except to those that have either reached, or soon will reach, a state of self-government. Current policy appears responsive with that of the U.S. as regards the smaller, less developed Gulf neighbors, such as Saudi Arabia, or Iran.

A third factor in the situation is that freedom of action is now demanded in the U.S. and elsewhere for the U.S. to act more independently of France and Japan. American policy makers must take into account the present situation dealing with the Shah. Further, the U.S. is beginning to develop its own independent military posture of its own, in large and expanding. In this, the bilateral balance of trade, including military equipment and services, is a factor of the U.S. position will dominate as an important factor for the U.S. for the foreseeable future.

Finally, the evolution of U.S. policy towards Iran has resulted in a very heavy emphasis on the military and intelligence elements of the bilateral relationship between the two countries.

3. U.S. Interest

First, U. S. interests call for the maintenance of stability in the Persian Gulf area. They also require a great deal of practical cooperation. The United States needs certain military intelligence to monitor and analyze Soviet missile developments and capabilities and Soviet adherence to arms control agreements. It is important to note that there are no alternative locations to those the U. S. can turn to in Iran. The United States also needs good flight

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flight so that American civil and military aircraft from Europe and the Mediterranean have access via Turkey to the Indian Ocean and South Asia. The only alternative would be to fly over the range of Israel. The U. S. is more sensitive to Iranian oil interests than to Israeli oil interests. Iran is a major oil producer, and oil is a major export. Iran's non-military imports in 1973 were \$10.5 billion, of which oil imports were \$7.5 billion, and it is estimated that by 1980 the Iranian (civilian) market will be in the neighborhood of \$20.5 billion. Iran's oil imports are about \$1.5 billion. Oil imports to Iran will increase five times in the coming decade. U. S. interests also require that Iran continue to play a constructive role in the Middle East, but, given the present circumstances, this is becoming limited.

4. U.S. Policies

The U. S. policies that flow from its interests in Iran and the OPEC region have remained fairly constant over the past year, although not enunciated in any single policy document, the U. S. has sought to pursue its interests in Iran through a regional policy framework which can be described as follows: changes in the specific policies followed in individual countries to achieve the general objectives. Main elements of the policy framework as of the Department of State as recently as August 1974. The policy framework has been:

a. To support collective security and stability by encouraging Indianapolis Regional Cooperative efforts and encouraging the U.S. to provide military equipment to request from the regional states for advice on military equipment and services they need to meet their threats and challenges. The U.S. should encourage these states, and being responsive on a case by case basis to requests to purchase equipment or services. The U.S. should not be involved in setting off such a policy towards Iran. "... in general, decisions on the acquisition of military equipment should be left primarily to the Government of Iran.

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b. To be decided by the Central Committee, the
Minister of D.E.A., military attachés from the US
Embassy, their equivalents, and technical advice
in the preparation of the equipment in question
should be provided.

c. To make continual access to the medium's
communications system available to the US officials
and the US Army and those of the USSR.

d. To provide other in the area to ensure
the smooth operation of the communications system
and the channels of communication between them.

e. To expand the US diplomatic, cultural, technical,
commercial, and financial assistance and activities.

f. To assist oil exporters to employ their rapidly
developing technology in a constructive way, especially
for oil pipelines systems.

The U. S. has a bilateral Defense Cooperation
Agreement with Iran, concluded in 1970, which
will continue until 1975. Iran has agreed to take military advice
and action in areas of its own interest
against threat by a communist country. There is also
a separate agreement concerning Relations and Cultural
Activities, as well as an Investment Protection Agreement.

Policy Formulation Stage

i. Policy Formulation

As is true generally of the US foreign policy
planners, a variety of more or less interlocking systems
of policy making are used. The policy process is
the chief system. Major decisions are reached by
the Foreign Office and White House. This is the level
from which the US officials go to explain and defend
the US in Iran, effective executive measures,
or counter-they advice to the US officials concerned
of policy decisions affecting them. In the case of

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Iran, the Assistant Secretary for NSA, the Ambassador
to a lesser extent, the Country Director are
usually informed and can receive briefings on as
to complete the high level decisions without exception.
Country Directors are not involved in the policy
process. Treasury officials stated that they were not
informed about the US position on a possible Iranian
arrangement. A better arrangement involved very substantial
turn over of currency.

The Embassy and Country Directors contribute
actively to the preparation of ongoing policy assessments
which, needless to say, have some impact
on higher level decision makers. Their analysis can
and does make the policy formulation process
process by means of Country Team procedures in the
field. In Washington this input is achieved through
delegations with various committees. The
Near East Inter-Departmental Group has not played the
active role some previous evaluations of the Gulf region
policy have indicated would be desirable.

In a major attempt to illuminate some of the more
traditional policy issues, the US efforts to
renew an active bilateral relationship with Iran while
at the same time not foreclosing alternative regional
policy options, the Policy Planning Council's Working
Group has produced a study (Report in the Near East: US
Policy Towards the Persian Gulf). This is a useful
compendium of information, including some useful
background information and shows the continuing interaction
which policy initiatives in one area may have
on another. It also provides some useful information
about the desirability of various policy "mixes" and
its usefulness may remain, in consequence, chiefly
as a reference work.

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Affecting the development of policy, for example, the Direct System, are the meetings of US officials with Indian officials, discussions of the Direct System with Indian officials, discussions of the Direct System with other members, and the conduct of such government business. The US officials have been more than the results fit. They have been instrumental in helping to develop, responsible for the execution of that policy. Specifically, this is not always the case. There has been at least one occasion in which contact with the Indians has been initiated by the Indians themselves. In this case, and apparently was, regarded as a US commitment, was made to facilitate the Indian Indians' access to the US market. It was also agreed that the Indians would be responsible for their interests vis-a-vis International Basic, Inter-American, Export Control, and the Inter-American Development Bank. This is a substantial amount of responsibility, indeed a billion dollars, in the area of developing the policy.

12. In our view, on the basis of information available to the Inspectorate, whether this apparent departure from the policy was the result of inadvertence or the result of a conscious course of action, reflects the spirit of the spirit of the present program. In any event, the gap has closed with the development of the Inter-American institution which could effectively handle the problem. It is also interesting to note that, despite the Administration's publicly declared Indian policy, which stresses the limited nature of US diplomatic claims, it would have had serious effects on most of all diplomatic and political relationships, if say nothing of the credibility of the US, to insist on the BILC as a sine qua non of the negotiations. The feasibility of doing this was the subject of much argument. In the end, it appears that the case has been decided in favor of the position where India may be pleased. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there has been a lack in operation of lack of control and understanding of US policy by those involved.

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Increased Congressional involvement in the foreign affairs process generally has been in effect in the formulation of policy affecting India. The Inspector's strategic importance, large purchases of US arms, potential India test role, all pricing policies and inflation factors have been used to keep the object of negotiations by one or another element of the Congress. Particular Congressional attention has been given to the US role on the nuclear issue, and currently on the India's participation in the possibly dangerous consequences arising from US and India's free trade with all states. The Inspectorate considers that the Foreign Affairs Committee has been charged with the task of investigating US foreign policy concerns and has engaged in a process of consultation was reflected, especially recently, in the record of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee which has given way to explain India's justify self-interests. This process has not, of course, convinced the international audience of our policy nor fully satisfied members of Congress, but its success has been taken as a major achievement. Nevertheless, the process has been a useful and, in the Inspectorate's view, a corrective one.

C. Policy Effectiveness

13. Policy towards India has been highly effective in advancing US interests. The only significant US objective not attained has been in the area of full military policy. To be fully effective, whether in the international context, US efforts to achieve lower and more stable prices for oil and gas should be fully integrated with effective multilateral negotiations. The absence of such integration has been a major source of US representations to the UN on this subject will achieve desired results.

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the majority of countries throughout the world are in some states and other organizations, the government has been unable to find a way to increase its influence in the Arab region. Under these circumstances, the US government feels it has no choice but to accept the idea of Israel. Only potential military force can be used to stop the US from continuing to improve the relations with other Arab countries. The relationship must be continued, even though there are many problems and difficulties. This, however, results in the continuation of the current situation and potential conflict. The US must continue to support the development of the region and the development of the economy throughout the region and the improvement in commercial and political terms for the Arab world.

If Arab policies are not joined to have been adopted by the US, then the situation will deteriorate, and the US will produce some undesirable results. One of these, already mentioned, is that Iran is becoming a greater threat to the US. The US will either be unable to control Iran or will be forced to take military action against Iran. Another problem is that the Iranian regime is not very good or willing to do its best to maintain the peace and harmony between the US and Iran. In the strategic relationship, in the longer run, this will not be the best best, especially if the US continues to support the Iranian regime. This will result in a greater conflict in the cultural, trade, and other areas, but this has not started the US yet. In an increasingly turbulent region, the US will need to provide more military support for a leader who, however enlightened and progressive, is a replacement for his people, to accomplish easier and smoother the transition and understanding regions. This is where the present US will follow its own way.

Finally, a definition which refers to the offensive and public support for the armed forces of the US, and the use of their military and economic resources. It is agreed there must be limits, but where they are, they should be realistic and reasonable, which needs clear-cut rules and regulations. The minimum offensive and defensive weapons are immediately yielded. Also, the question arises as to the limits which Iran, in its own interest, should place on its use of offensive weapons in order to prevent the expense of its social and economic development.

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11 - PRACTICER

Table 2

Trade development is highly restricted as is the case now. Accordingly, the effectiveness of foreign policy in less depends on a large number of economic factors than the effectiveness of his other policies. The most important single factor of foreign policy is the strength of the Ambassador. The Ambassador has been given a great deal of power in this area. There are other high ranking officials who have this power, which they can use with considerable effect. The Ambassador, however, has more power and influence than any other official at the levels in the Ambassadorial office. He has the power to hire, fire, and promote officials through tribunals.

REFERENCES

Since World War II, the relations with the USSR have been very close, especially in recent years. This is particularly evident in the mutual economic cooperation, which has been developing rapidly. The USSR has been one of the main sources of foreign credits and oil imports for the country. It is also a major source of foreign trade, particularly in collaboration with the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. The Soviet Union is the largest foreign market for the country's exports, particularly in agriculture, which provides a significant share of the gross national product.

relationships between the industry and the environment, as well as the resultant relationship between industry, the city, the community and the natural effects have been analyzed.

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relationships with the Shah and other senior officials of the Government of Iran, but other officers of the Mission have been assigned to Iranian Government offices, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These contacts are not always as useful as they might be, however, because all major decisions in Iran are made at the top, even relatively senior officials are not consulted, and the Embassy has little influence or influence on them. The Embassy also has difficulty in developing information about intelligence and about the internal security situation in Iran, because of the suspicion and the Government of Iran's disapproval of foreign contacts with these groups.

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The nature of the U.S.-Iranian bilateral relationship, described above, is such that the pattern of U.S. official resources devoted to Iran responds to Iranian decisions as to what Iran needs and can afford.

There have been many recommendations for general plant-wide, carry-out the policy of official neutrality. The most recent was a proposal to suffice for the time being, pending possible trustee decisions to request more relevantly treated as "unofficial" those activities which do not affect official presence or use of the nuclear facilities with operational effectiveness. Even so, the non-official uses can continue, and the facilities will be increasingly used for purposes by only the United States, for military and civilian goods and services, and for medical programs in areas continuing to receive such support.

As the mistake has grown, the Leadenay Chancery building has become grossly inadequate to meet office needs. The efficiency and security of a number of

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Anexo No 2.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
AMERICAN EMBASSY TEHRAN
MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

February 12, 1978

SUBJECT : Mullahs; Corruption; SAVAK
PARTICIPANTS: Farsin RASIN, AP and TIME Magazine Representative
 in Iran
 Roger C. BREWEN, Counselor of Embassy for
 Economic and Commercial Affairs, TEHRAN
COPIES TO AMB/DCH INA/RIO OFF. ERIBAS. USIS
 POL 2 INP/KHA TARIK. OR
 NRA/IRN IRN/OIL/S ISPAHAN 40

Rasvin has become well known to the Embassy over the years and I have generally found him to be a reliable informant. Within limits, he speaks his mind and I have the impression that he is fairly well plugged-in around town. He has prospered under the present regime but his remarks obviously reflect a fairly strong wish that some things should change. I understand that he does see the Shah with some frequency.

The Mullahs

Rasvin finds the mullahs generally to be an untrustworthy, conspiratorial and thoroughly selfish lot. Rasvin believes that the bulk of them in their hearts have never forgiven the Shah for divesting them of their political and economic power in the early 1960s and, given the right circumstances, would not hesitate to cause trouble for the government and the Shah generally. Rasvin feels that the mullahs are now exploiting the current discontent by assuming postures favoring greater political liberties for the people, but in fact they would like to return Iran to the 19th century, recovering their expropriated property along the way.

Rasvin's distrust for the mullahs apparently has its origins in a bloody incident which occurred in Eshgh Square in the early 1960s. According to Rasvin the mullahs mounted a demonstration against the Shah and organised a mob of school children to proceed the mullahs in moving against crowd. When the mob gave an order to the children "too, the mullahs turned them on, finally, the police, and, strict orders to shoot if the demonstration did not turn back, did open fire, killing several of the school children. Rasvin found this "strategy" of the mullahs to be thoroughly contemptible and about what one would expect.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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Rasvin was not at all pleased with the recent international press coverage given to Ayatollah Khomeini of Qom, in which the latter is depicted by the three foreign newsmen who interviewed him as a great libertarian. Rasvin said he is nothing of the sort.

Corruption

The corruption in Iran is pervasive, Rasvin said, and the only way it can be curtailed is by action "from the top." According to Rasvin, the principal offenders are "the generals and the royal family." He said that these two groups acquired vast estates near the Caspian Sea for literally nothing and are now offering parcels for sale at exorbitant prices. Both groups, he said, had succeeded in extracting money from the government for the purpose of building roads into their properties. Such construction with public monies benefits no one except the owners.

SAVAK

Rasvin said that of course prisoners are tortured in Iran and all Iranians know this, but went on to say "What is torture? Torture in hours in prison can be a form of torture for some people." Rasvin added that the U.S. played a prominent role for SAVAK, citing a continuing intelligence mission via Iraq and the USSR. Rasvin believes that the senior officers in SAVAK, including General Hesari, ought to be retired. These senior SAVAK officials have outlived their usefulness, giving Iran a bad name and causing misery to a lot of people. He mentioned a Dr. (7) Qassimzadah (whose real name is Atsour) who as SAVAK's chief interrogator only lived to convict people through his interrogations—guilty or innocent.

Rasvin recounted the following story which landed him in jail for two hours. Rasvin said that he filed a routine story with AP in New York concerning heavy snow which had isolated several Iranian villages. When the paper brought the story to the attention of the editor there, thought he would jazz up the story a bit and added the following concluding line which was duly printed in the U.S. press: "And while several Iranian villages struggled to dig their way out of heavy snow, the Shah was enjoying himself on the ski slopes of St. Moritz." Rasvin said that the paper's copy editor in New York learned of this story. In the end said Rasvin, an urgent phone call from Ambassador Taheri in Washington to the Shah, confirming that the offending line had been added in New York, got Rasvin out of jail.

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Anexo No 3.

SADEGH GHOTBZADEH
16 rue du Colonel de la Porte
75008 Paris - Tel. 8984-72

To: Robert Montell
Subject: Sadegh Ghadzadeh
File # BIO Name: Ellis O. Green
HA/HM
Robert Montell 10/37
Department of State
Division of Political and
Military Affairs
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.
RTE TO
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Dear Mr. Montell,

I hope you are well and fine. I'm sorry that I haven't been able to write you sooner, but I wish to thank you now for your valuable time that you gave me in Washington.

Enclosed you'll find documents concerning torture, police methods, letters from the families of the imprisoned and certain communiqués regarding Iran. Unfortunately some of them are still in the original French. These will be translated into English and the translations sent to you later and however, in view of the urgency resulting from the Shah's upcoming visit to the U.S., I thought it best to send you everything on it.

I hope you realize that this trip is extremely important because it is the first contact with the present Carter Administration. I am sure that the Shah will try the same methods and the same arguments that he used during his first trip to Washington after the late President Kennedy took office. He'll try to convince President Carter that if he is given a free hand with his repressive methods, he will soon finish off the opposition and rally the people around himself.

Needless to say, this argument holds no water. He has used it before and he has failed over and over. But since he uses this kind of argument with new people each time, he succeeds in getting away with his crimes and goes off scot-free to commit fresh ones.

I'm not trying to analyse the entire American foreign policy in Iran, nor the Shah's policy regarding our people, but rather what I wish to emphasize is the fact that our people are the Americans supporting the Shah as the primary tools of repression in Iran. The Shah is in real trouble in Iran, economically, politically and socially. I hope you are aware of all this and that when you judge the Shah, you will judge him on the entire record of his rule, taking all these things into account.

I sincerely hope the documents submitted here will find their way to the President's attention, and I trust to you to do this in whatever way you deem most helpful. I hope to see you soon in Washington and promise to send you more documents on various subjects. In the meantime I remain

Yours sincerely
S. Ghadzadeh
Sadegh Ghadzadeh

P.S. A commission of the Red Cross has gone to Iran and made inquiries about the political prisoners and their conditions in the prisons. The report will be secret but should be extremely useful. I hope you will be able to get hold of this report through the necessary channels.

Anexo No 4.

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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN		SECRET//NOFORN
TO: 11652:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC	
TADS:	INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON	
SUBJECT:		
ACTION:	SECRET TEHRAN <u>961</u>	
	NOFORN	
E.O. 11653:	XGDS-4	
TADS:	SHUM PINT PINE IR	
SUBJECT:	RELIGION AND POLITICS: QOM AND ITS AFTERMATH	
REF:	A. TEHRAN 0548, B. TEHRAN 0389, C. TEHRAN 0663 D. 77 TEHRAN A-124	
POL-3	SUMMARY: RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCES WIDESPREAD OVER WEEKEND JAN. 14-15. AYATOLLAH SHARIATHADARI'S INTERVIEW WITH THREE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS WAS/ (AND UNPRECEDENTED) PUBLIC REPUTATION OF GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS. AS RESULT OF QOM INCIDENT ORGANIZED MOSLEM ESTABLISHMENT POTENTIALLY IN STRONGEST POSITION SINCE 1963 VIS-A-VIS GOI. MOSLEMS FAR FROM WHOLLY UNIFIED, BUT GOI IS DEMONSTRATING CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY IN FACING UP TO THE CHALLENGE. END SUMMARY.	
	1. FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS WERE CLEANED FROM IRANIAN CONTACTS CLOSE TO RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND TWO	
ROUTINE BY: POL/JDS/Abel/ab	DATE: 1-24-78	OPTIONAL FORM 1070 17 SEP 1971 GSA GEN. REG. NO. 2740 OCT 1971 DRAFT OF 2400
ROUTINE BY: POLCOUNS/CB/Lenbrahki/686 OR (draft)		

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WITH CIVIL AUTHORITIES. HE SAID HE HAD NOT ORDERED
BAZAARS IN COUNTRY TO CLOSE DOWN AND HAD ENCOURAGED
RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN EACH TOWN TO MAKE THEIR OWN DECISION
REGARDING MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR THOSE KILLED IN QOM.
NEVERTHELESS, SHARIATMADARI'S STATEMENTS IN BRANIGIN
WASHPOST STORY (JAN. 20, USINFO) WERE A DIRECT CHALLENGE
TO GOVERNMENT'S VERSION OF EVIDENCE SURROUNDING KILLINGS
AT QOM.

4. ATAYOLLAH SHARIATMADARI WAS TREATED WITH OBVIOUS
RESPECT BY OTHER LEADERS OF QOM THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
WHO WERE PRESENT DURING INTERVIEW. RELIGIOUS LEADERS
AGREED POLICE HAD OVERREACTION AND INSISTED SHOOTINGS WERE
UNPROVOKED. ATAYOLLAH ASKED QUESTION (NOT REPORTED BY
NEWSMEN) WHY POLICE HAD NOT USED TEAR GAS OR FIRE HOSES?
SHARIATMADARI AND HIS COLLEAGUES SAID ORIGINAL CROWD HAD
BEEN AROUND 3000. HE SAID SOME 30 INDIVIDUALS WERE
KILLED WHEN SHOOTING STARTED--MORE DIED LATER BRINGING
TOTAL AROUND 70. (COMMENT: EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED REPORT
THAT PANS NEWS AGENT, AFTER FIRST REPORTS, CAME UP WITH
FIGURE OF 76 KILLED BUT WAS ORDERED BY COI NOT TO USE
THIS FIGURE. MORE ACCURATE FIGURE IN OUR JUDGEMENT IS
REPORT FROM OPPOSITION INFORMANT WHO CLAIMS THAT 14 DEATH
CERTIFICATES WERE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN SIGNED (SEP MEMCON).
THE LATTER TRACKS WITH OTHER RELIABLE REPORTS EMBASSY
HAS RECEIVED.)

5. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH REPORTERS, SHARIATMADARI INDICATED
RELIGIOUS COLLEGE AND MOSQUE AT AKHAEH HAD BEEN CLOSED
FIVE DAYS BECAUSE RELIGIOUS LEADERS THERE HAD BEEN IN
FOREFRONT OF DEMONSTRATORS. SHARIATMADARI AND HIS
COLLEAGUES LEFT DEFINITE IMPRESSION WITH JOURNALISTS
THAT THEY HAD CONTACTS IN MOST MAJOR AND MANY MINOR
IRANIAN CITIES. TWO MULLAHS WHO HAD RECENTLY RETURNED
FROM KHUZISTAN PROVINCE TOLD OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL
EFFORTS THERE. JOURNALISTS' IMPRESSION WAS THAT
SHARIATMADARI WAS EMERGING AS FOREMOST LEADER OF MOSLEM
REACTION TO GOVERNMENT. OTHER EMBASSY SOURCES DESCRIBE
HIM AS ONE OF EIGHT LEADING IRANIAN ATAYOLLAHS AND
POSSIBLY THE MOST EMINENT ONE. AFTER JAILING OF ATAYOLLAH
TALEQUANI AND BANISHMENT TO PROVINCES OF SEVERAL OTHERS
LAST FALL, ONE SOURCE NOTED THERE WAS NOW NO RPT NO
ATAYOLLAH IN MASHAD, ONE OF IRAN'S THREE MOST RELIGIOUS
CITIES. ACCORDING TO EMBASSY FILES, ATAYOLLAH
SHARIATMADARI HAD BEEN KNOWN IN EARLIER YEARS AS
PROGRESSIVE THINKER (IN MOSLEM CONTEXT), ONE WHO HAD
SERIOUSLY STUDIED ISLAMIC REFORMERS OF LATE 19TH AND
EARLY 20TH CENTURY. JOURNALISTS WERE INTRODUCED TO
ATAYOLLAH BY SENIOR FIGURE IN TEHRAN'S "HOSEYNIYEH
ERSHAD" RELIGIOUS CENTER WHICH MAINTAINS CONTACTS WITH
SHARIATMADARI AND OTHER ATAYOLLAHS.

6. EMBASSY ANALYSIS: FROM POLITICAL STANDPOINT, MOST

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INTERESTING ELEMENT OF SHARIATHADARI'S PROMOUNCEMENTS WAS STATEMENT THAT WEARING OF VEIL WAS UP TO INDIVIDUAL WOMAN AND THAT ISLAM WAS NOT AGAINST LAND REFORM BUT MERELY AGAINST WAY GOVERNMENT HAD CARRIED OUT CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF SHAH-PEOPLE REVOLUTION. TWO LOCAL CONTACTS WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH RELIGIOUS CURRENTS HERE BELIEVE IF SHARIATHADARI CAN MAKE THIS POSITION MAIN THESIS OF ISLAMIC OPPPOSITIONISTS (MANY OF WHOM ARE MUCH MORE REACTIONARY THAN THIS) HE WILL HAVE TURNED MOVEMENT IN DIRECTION WHICH MIGHT COMMEND IT TO THOSE WHO HAVE THIS FAR BEEN ALIENATED FROM OPPOSITION POLITICS BUT WHO ARE ALSO NOT INTERESTED IN FELICIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM--MEMBERS OF IRAN'S EMERGING MIDDLE CLASS.

7. IN COMING MONTHS EMBASSY WILL BE ATTEMPTING TO WORK AT INHERENTLY DIFFICULT TASK OF LEARNING MORE ABOUT RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS OF OPPOSITIONIST MOVEMENT, INCLUDING DOCTRINES WHICH ARE CURRENTLY BEING ESPOUSED BY BOTH PROGRESSIVES AND REACTIONARIES. WHAT QOM INCIDENT AND ITS AFTERMATH HAS DONE, HOWEVER, IS TO ELEVATE RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION TO MORE VISIBLE, SIGNIFICANT POSITION AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE THUS FAR TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF NEW LIBERALIZATION. ORGANIZATIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AYATOLLAS AND MULLAHS IN RESPONSE TO QOM EVENTS SEEM IMPRESSIVE, THOUGH THEY WOULD PROBABLY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO GENERATE ADDITIONAL DEMONSTRATIONS IMMEDIATELY FOR PURELY POLITICAL

PURPOSES IN ABSENCE OF ADDITIONAL CRYSTALLIZING INCIDENTS. QOM DEMONSTRATION WAS TOUCHED OFF BY ARTICLE IN DAILY NEWSPAPER ETELAAT WHICH SEVERELY ATTACKED EXILED RELIGIOUS LEADER (KHOMEINI.) FOR EXAMPLE IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT RELIGIOUS FACTIONS COULD BE MOBILIZED IN NEAR FUTURE TO SUPPORT ANY LEGISLATION IN PARLIAMENT OR TO DEMONSTRATE IN FAVOR OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. POTENTIAL BLIND OF RELIGIOUS FEVER WITH THE POLITICAL, HOWEVER, HAS KEPT GOI, AND SHAH, ALERT TO DANGERS OF RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS.

8. INITIAL SOUNDINGS INDICATE THAT GOI HAS NOT YET NOT BEEN ABLE TO MOBILIZE MIDDLE CLASS AROUND SLOGANS DEPICTING RELIGIOUS DEMONSTRATORS AT QOM AS HOPELESS REACTIONARIES. "WORKERS AND PEASANTS" PLUS BUSINESSMEN, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, STUDENTS AND SOME INTELLECTUALS HAVE TURNED OUT DUTIFULLY FOR GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS, BUT THIS HAS NOT BOUND MIDDLE CLASS MORE CLOSELY TO GOVERNMENT. POTENTIAL DANGER, OF COURSE, IS THAT GOI MIGHT LOSE CONTROL OVER RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS. ~~EXTRACTION OF ELEMENTS FROM GOI~~ ^{GOI} LEADING TO THE INHERENTLY MORE DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION OF SECULAR MODERNIZERS AGAINST FUNDAMENTALIST RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHICH HAS BEEN AVOIDED FOR SOME 15 YEARS.

9. THUS FAR, AMERICANS AND OTHER FOREIGNERS HAVE NOT RPT NOT BEEN INCLUDED EVEN INDIRECTLY IN ATTACKS ON GOI.]

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GIVEN DEEP XENOPHOBIC STREAK IN FUNDAMENTALIST MOSLIMS.
HOWEVER, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THIS CONDITION CAN
HOLD UNLESS PROGRESSIVE ATATOLLAVIS ARE ABLE TO IMPOSE
MORE STRICT DISCIPLINE ON THEIR FOLLOWERS THAN SEEKS
POSSIBLE FROM PAST EXPERIENCIA, PARTICULARLY IF ISLAMIC
MARRIAGE MUDDY THE WATERS.

RJ

SULLIVAN

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OPTIONAL FORM FPM-1
(FEBRUARY 1964 EDITION)
MAY 1964
100-1000

Anexo No 5.

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INFO: DEPT PASS TO AMBASSY LONDON
FROM: AMEM 1981 TEHRAN
E.O. 13526
TAGS: SENS, CHIN, PINS, IR
SUBJECT: THE IRANIAN OPPOSITION

REF: A. 27 TEHRAN A-124, B. TEHRAN 190

Summary: This airgram identifies individuals who have emerged during the last few months during which the Iranian government has increased its toleration of opposition groups run the spectrum from leftists to rightists. Those who have some contacts with these groups include former members of the Shah's cabinet. Some men come from the "liberal moderate" wing of the opposition. One man has advocated return to "constitutionalism" including new elections and greater freedom for the judiciary. Another, who was a member of the Shah's cabinet, has also been mentioned. Dissidence connected with religion is to be the most potentially dangerous to the GOI. The government has held public meetings, but allowed no political parties to participate. In the dissident camp, the dissident hand, the GOI has mobilized individual demonstrators through Iran's one party. For now, the majority of the Iranian opposition seems to believe that the GOI cannot be influenced in this way, at least not move toward use of violence. The bulk of these opposition groups perceive

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of influencing the GOI to allow them a role. Should they feel this hope is disappointed, the relative (and surprising) low level of anti-Americanism could give way to greater anti-U.S. sentiments and action. End Summary.

Introduction

This diagram attempts to sketch out what we know of Iranian oppositionists who have emerged during the recent 8-month period in which the GOI has shown greater tolerance for public protest. Since the Iranian opposition has been "underground" for so long, and since it is still relatively cautious about revealing itself to outsiders, this diagram should be considered a rough cut at a description of various opposition groups, not a definitive analysis of everyone on the scene. This is especially true since various opposition groups have overlapping membership with several leftist groups or organizations. The description below begins with the groups considered to the left of the spectrum and proceeds across through those generally considered the "moderate liberal" opposition to the religious conservatives of the right.

Groups with Possible Terrorist Links

To the very far left of the ideological spectrum are left-of-revolutionary groups such as the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party, which is active in Europe and apparently maintains a tightly-knit organization in Tehran. We know very little about this group, except that one of their members was arrested after a terrorist shooting in December 1976. Other similar radical Marxist groups exist primarily in Europe, but appear to us as small, shadowy organizations with little impact in Iran.

Probably the largest and best known of the leftist groups is the National Liberation Front (NLF), including its emerging offshoot, the Iran Freedom Seekers Liberation Movement. The NLF has organized a number of attacks in Iran, and one of its principal members and organizational contacts in Paris, Sadeq Chotbaee, has been responsible for a number of letters written to individuals within Iran. Although the NLF has terrorist links, it has tried to portray itself as an umbrella organization for all moderate dissident groups to the left of the Tudeh. It should be noted that it does not accept this claim. The NLF appears to have small, tightly-knit groups in Tehran and in several European and American cities. Its headquarters in the U.S. is reportedly in Houston. Its main contact in Tehran may be Ahmad Sadr-Haj-Sayed-Javadi, an ex-judge who has been involved with a number of opposition projects, including the recent letter to UNSYC Waldheim.

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Some Muslim Ayatollahs have contact with some Mujahidin-e-Khalq (People's Strugglers) guerrillas. They do not, as far as we know, form a specific group for this purpose. At the present time, we do not know how these connections take place, but they have been hinted at secondhand and hand by a number of individuals who have dealt with the oppositionist movement. Through the Ayatollahs, the main, but much more fluid and fundless, anti-leftist mass of religious oppositionists may maintain at least a liaison with some factions of the Mujahidin. It appears that the terrorist actions teams are kept separate from these contacts. Additionally, a great deal of support for the religiously oriented opposition movement comes from the bazaar—an important center of opposition at this point on the political spectrum.

While there are a number of people who call themselves communists or Tudeh Party supporters, the Party remains illegal and its organization is, at the moment, underground. The Embassy believes the local leader of this faction may be Abdol Ali Parcham-Aslani, a university professor and former Tudeh Party Organization chief who is the brother of Bonyad Aslani, a Tehran leader who remains in exile in East Germany. Little is known about possible other members of this group, but it has contacts among leftist personnel in other universities in Iran and several university professors feel that Marxists who are "fellow travelling" with this group currently wield substantial ideological and intellectual influence among students.

More Moderate Descendants of the Old National Front
The organizational structure of the center of the oppositionist movement is so fluid as to make exact description problematic. Nevertheless, we discern the following major elements, many of whose personalities hold overlapping membership in one group or another:

The Union of National Front Forces of Iran, which was organized in November 1977 draws together a number of individuals, such as Darilush Foruhar, Dr. Farim Sanjabi, Shahpour Bakhtiar, and Ali Sheyan. The group worked for a return to constitutional government and the dismantling of the Shah's "revolution". Ali Asgar Haj-Saved-Javadi is probably the leading writer who is connected with this group. Most of the moderate groups accept the major lines of Haj-Saved-Javadi's thoughts as laid out in a long, 700-page letter published in April 1977. The Embassy has been trying to obtain a copy, thus far without success. Its orientation is leftist, and it includes many alumni of the (Borsodag period) National Front.

The Radical Movement of Iran was founded in 1975 by Engineer Rehamnullah Nafisabadi, and with several friends. The Embassy believes that Behnam and Hamed Halimi and Mrs. Kazem Hassibi are probably members or associates of this particular unit. The Radical Movement of Iran takes a line similar to the Union of National Front Forces and calls for the abolition of Iran's

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single party, a free press, new and free elections, and unshackling of the judiciary. Its principal points of difference with the Union of National Front Forces appear to be ones of personalities which may go back as much as 25-30 years. It seems to be situated less to the left (in the fashion of the "Radical Party" in France) and be a bit better disposed to Americans.

The Tolless Party is led by Dr. Moseffar Agha'i Kermati. The Party is essentially the personal creation of the Dr. who has been an inveterate writer since he was a Mosadegh supporter who broke with the prime minister in 1953.

There are a number of other significant individuals, many of whom are members of the outlawed Iranian Writers Guild which has been trying to reestablish itself. Among these are Hadi Hashemi, Morteza Dafir, former editor-in-chief of Mossadegh; Ali Ansari, ex-liberal prime minister and close friend of a number of the oppositionists of all factions; Fereidun Adasat, a former Iranian ambassador to Holland and India; Mohaghegh-Maragheh's of the Radical Party (above); and Eng. Mohammad Reza Gholam, managing director of NICC and a sometime opponent of the Shah. He has been a prominent speaker at several rallies and is one of the most articulate spokesmen for a return of constitutional government, expanded freedom of the press, total independence of the judiciary, and completely new and free elections for Parliament.

Several groups and individuals have organized themselves in a "new National Front" with a directorate of seven leaders-- Eng. Mohaghegh-Maragheh's Eng. Bezargan, Farim Sanjabi, Dr. Khatami, Dr. Saeed Sharifi, Dr. Mohammad Reza Zanjani, Mr. Sangaboli and one other. This group cooperates with the new founders of the Iranian Human Rights Committee formed in January 1978, and indeed memberships overlap. It also coordinates with Foruhar's group, but--despite the presence of religious figures in the "new National Front"--there would appear to be little coordination with religious conservatives and fanatics.

In addition to these long-time oppositionists, there are a number of others who have become important either because of incidents they have been involved in or because of foreign connections. Chief among these are Chaham Hassan Sa'irdi, a writer who has come to the attention of American publishers; Dr. Homa Nataqi, a Tehran University history professor (and member of the clerical guard); and Dr. Abolghasem Massoudi, a former army officer and legal counsel for political prisoners in military courts. Most of these moderate oppositionists eschew violence and believe as an article of faith that the U.S. could play a major role in inducing the Shah to deal with what they call the "liberal opposition."

It is this seeming dependence upon American action which has caused them to urge a suspension of terrorist activities through intermediaries with terrorist groups. They would be potentially dangerous, however, should substantial numbers of them be convinced that the U.S. cannot or will not cause the Shah to treat with them. While it is known that the Iranian government is sensitive toward American efforts to deal with them, over the past eight months the Embassy has received no indication that the government openly favors or contacts with these individuals, people close to them, and other organization supporters. This presumably could change if the government felt threatened or became uncertain of the USG's basic summons.

Religiously Oriented Groups

In the past two years, primarily as a result of the Qom incident and its aftermath (see Part II), the outline of a religious opposition has become clearer. Ayatollah Sayyid Ghassan Shariatmadar has emerged as the public spokesman for this group, primarily because of his interview with three foreign journalists (Tehran Uygh). He is behind the formation of the "Progressive Ayatollahs" and links with the Tehran religious faction of Dr. Hassan Minatchi who is a lawyer and a member of the board of directors of Hosseyniyeh Ershad Religious Center near the Friday Mosque on Old Shahrivar Road. The Center was closed five years ago because of some speeches made against the government. The GOI quietly allowed it to reopen in the last few months and it may again become a center for at least tacitly accepted dissident religious opposition. Another Ayatollah, Haj Sayyid Aholaqzadeh Muhsin-Zanjani, has been linked to the more moderate oppositionists listed in the last section.

It appears that there are a number of religious factions that are not centered around Ayatollah Shariatmadar. Yet one of them, the Ayatollah Khomini, exiled to Iran in 1964, is considered the true leader of the Shi'ite faithful. Khomini's principal disciple has been Ayatollah Mohammad Taleqani, who was jailed for ten years in August 1977. Another of these, Taleqani's close associate, Moslem theologian Hosseini Ali Hormandi, has been in prison for sometime. The Moslem Hormandi understands that several perhaps as many as 50 ayatollahs and mullahs were imprisoned or exiled in the fall of 1977 for anti-government activities. One source believes this has been a primary reason why other religious leaders have come forth to challenge the interpretation of their stance as reactionary, and why the GOI has tolerated their emergence.

The Qom incident has caused religious figures to look to their organizational situation. The loose and fluid religious structure of Iran offers perhaps the only country-wide network

for an oppositionist group. Thus far, anti-government sentiment has largely remained beneath the surface due to continuous work by Savak and because religious leaders have (we believe) continually assured their people that confrontation with the government is unavoidable. They have no hard facts, but there is some indication that moderate oppositionists and more progressive religious leaders have talked about joining together for certain demonstrations similar to those which eventually led to confrontation with the Carter administration. If such would be important—if additional incidents involving the religious community, such as firing upon marchers, either occur or can be generated, religious fervor could be activated to provide the mob manpower for demonstrations.

It is difficult to get an accurate reading of religious/political beliefs. Progressive figures speak in terms which would accommodate the secular state. They accept "human rights", land reform and tacit separation, in practice if not in theory, between church and state. The Shi'ite doctrine, however, has always emphasized the importance of religion in everyday life, and in Iran Shi'ism has always been closely tied to Iranian nationalism. Those familiar with Shi'ite doctrine believe most fundamentalist Shi'ite mullahs will have difficulty supporting a more progressive doctrine. This could lead to a significant dispute between those Moslems, both laymen and clerics, who wish to accept some form of separation of church and state by referring such matters as wearing the veil to individual "conscience", and those who will insist on the application of "true" Shi'ite principles in all areas of human conduct. The former would be consistent with the beliefs of many of Iran's new emerging middle class and would open the way for the more religious of them to support a movement combining religion and politics. Religious opposition which emphasizes fundamentalist Shi'ism would probably chase more enlightened moderates into tacit if unhappy alliance with the government.

Miscellaneous

This airgram has not dealt with groups deliberately connected to active terrorists, the Right-wing (from Struggles) and the Shah's enemies—Fardi-Sabiq (People's Justice Guerrillas). Thus far, we find no hard indications of direct links between the action teams of either of these groups and the more moderate oppositionists noted above, but this may be due merely to good security practice. There is a strong opposition (both within the country and abroad) which has availed itself over the past year, several related to the Carter visit to Iran, December 31 to January 1, which suggests either that the

monolithic is not absolute or that terrorist discipline is not strict. What may reasonably be expected, however, is that there will remain some loose coordination between the various opposition figures and the terrorist movement. At times, moderates may restrain the extremists. It is also possible that the extremists will influence the moderates in the direction of stimulating (or at least condoning) greater violence.

Iranian Government Reaction

The Iranian government has thus far permitted at least some public meetings, though clamped down on such activities rather severely in late November 1977. The dissident have been allowed to last October, but these have been covered only superficially (and always negatively) in the press. There have been indications that the COI intended to mobilize groups and individuals through the Resurgence Party in counter-demonstrations desired to show support for progressive government programs against reactionary oppositionist activities. Such counter-demonstrations have taken place since November 22, 1977, occasioned by the nationwide January 26 parades in favor of the Shah-People Revolution.

The government has not dealt with the substance of the oppositionists' challenge that Iran has strayed from the Constitutional path. Rather, it has suggested that the Monarchy, the Constitution and the Shah-People Revolution are basic elements on which all members of the Iranian nation agree. The COI has not yet drawn a stark line between its government supporters for progress and all oppositionists as revolutionaries, but the thrust of its statements and those of speakers at pro-government rallies suggest this line. Opponents of the COI are reportedly being tarred as agents of repressive colonial powers in the broadest historical sense. It suggests that the nefarious past interference in Iran's affairs by Russia and Britain might be blamed through such dissidents. By driving the nations' patriotism around the Shah and his four-decades-old rule, spokesmen are trying to broaden the appeal of the government beyond specifics such as the Party or the Shah-People Revolution to patriotism in a more general sense.

Some COI and Resurgence Party (RPP) officials harbor the belief that some oppositionists might be induced to bring their activities in some sort of association with the KMT. At present, this appears a vain dream. Those who might consider this line of action are not the complete oppositionists listed above, but rather those who have remained apathetic non-participants in the Iranian political system: Iran's emerging middle class. To a considerable degree, Iran's emerging middle class, and one could say that the struggle over the coming months and years will be one between the COI and the oppositionists for

the allegiance of a substantial majority of those now moving into Iran's modernizing elite. Should the government succeed in rekindling and strengthening the allegiance of this group, oppositionists would be forced to leave the Iranian political scene. Alternatively, in the unlikely possibility that the oppositionists win the allegiance of many in this strata of the population, the way would be open for another severely dichotomous split similar to that which evolved in 1963, with a like potential for schizophrenic domestic strife.

Potential for Increased Anti-Americanism

Until late 1977, increased opposition activity in Iran had not resulted in overtly anti-Americanist acts. However, since December, 1978, elements ranging from the Marxist left and the religiously-oriented right of the opposition spectrum have carried explicitly anti-U.S. overtones and statements, and the volume of such activity has increased in the past month.

Given intensive American interaction with Iranian society at all levels, and the inevitable resultant strains between two cultures in friction, the extent of current restraint in overt anti-Americanism is surprising. One significant reason is the virtually unanimous oppositionist perception (regardless of who they are) that the U.S. Embassy, with its substantial influence and power within Iran, could counsel the Shah to open up the political system if it wanted to. This led the oppositionists to play down their dismay at what they consider to be U.S. "support" for the Shah and to disperse a religious opposition from voicing their natural anti-foreign sentiments.

Should oppositionist elements begin to believe, as some extremists are already doing, that the U.S. elite can act or will not act as a catalyst for oppositionist entry into the Iranian political system, the current constraint on latent anti-Americanism may be reduced and overt manifestations of it increase. The Embassy will be commenting more fully on this phenomenon in other contexts.



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سازمان امور خارجه
EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tehran, Iran

Aencia No. 6.

January 12, 1978

OFFICIAL INFORMAL
CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Charles W. Mass, Director
and Mr. Myles L. Greene
MT / IINH
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Charlie and Myles:

Realizing that the holidays, combined with the President's visit, have impeded my progress, I hope you won't mind a joint effort which tries to answer Charlie's letter of November 23 and Myles' epic of December 27.

First things first--we trust you have seen that part of the President's press conference given on his way home which refers to human rights and Iran. I am enclosing the relevant question and answer, including an extra copy which we would appreciate your flogging to D/IA when they show signs of losing the presidential perspective. We were very pleased by the Visit and, as you know from others, so were the Iranians. My contacts, especially some of the "alienated ones", were delighted to see the President mention human rights and relieved that he did not go on too heavily.

Qajar Curries: Myles, thanks for sending us the Firouz material. Suffice to say, we feel the Prince has no backing here, and your question about human rights under the Qajars gets right to the heart of the matter. Moreover, such sketchy views as I have been able to cull up suggest that Firouz became an early apologist for Soviet vices and has not demonstrably changed his spots in the past few years though he may be a more sophisticated exponent of them than today's crop of students are of theirs.

The Waldheim letter is interesting of course, because the signatories have figured in this type of correspondence addressed to others. I do not know if Waldheim has seen the letter, but it was eventually delivered to the U.N.,

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according to a local source with contacts among the oppositionists. The charges within the letter are the extreme points of view on all subjects, usually containing a kernel of fact and popcorn balls of inuendo. It would be rather useless and too time-consuming to go into all the inaccuracies in the piece, but let me cite a couple of the more obvious: 1) Comments on torture which hint at recent use are probably flatly false; 2) the description of the "resurgent" Party clearly overrepresents the amount of popular participation and is flatly wrong, stating that the "GOL has intimidated people into voting for approved candidates; and 3) the letter overdoes the point about lack of freedom of expression--the letter itself being one form of such freedom.

It would be useful for us if you could have INR/OIL/B run some spot checks thru the computer on the names at the bottoms of the various letters we've sent you--I know their computer can do it, if someone will take the initiative. In that connection, I'm enclosing a rough cut at a list of key dissidents which you might like to crank into the process.

Regarding the enclosure to Charlie's letter from the Liberation Movement, I have checked with my OR colleagues who are as mystified as I am about some of the individuals portrayed in the "communique." The "execution" of Akhondi, who, of course, carried out after a military tribunal convicted him of killing Embassy employee Hoosain. The GOI's weakness on this one stems from the fact that his trial was announced and sentence carried out before the effective date of the reforms, but after they had been announced. The October "religious demonstrations" mentioned in the other communique do not correspond to the dates we have for some events, and include others which we're not convinced took place at all. For example: Tehran University students have not, to our knowledge, called for the return of Khomeini (as charged in item 1); attacks against the students were not carried out before November 18 (item 2); and there appear to have been no religious disturbances in October except for the larger meeting on October 15, which the communique dates as the 7th and places in the wrong city. We have not run the names of alleged torture victims through our special contact, but we have no other knowledge of them. (Perhaps one of the international groups visiting Iran's prisons could ask about them?)

Which brings us to Sadigheh (or Sadegh) Ghotbzadeh (or Combazadeh), who wrote to the Department's Robert Montell. We received his packet, apparently from Ollie Jones in KA/HK

(through you?). Ghotbzadeh, of course is the noted T.V. personality who went on 60 Minutes in March 1971 charrsing SAVAK with trying to kill him and producing a rather elderly old man as a witness. Our sketchy records show he was a student in the U.S. in the early '60s and is a member of "moderate" dissident movement in Europe. He has been linked to Muja Sadr's group in Lebanon and has traveled to the Midwest many times under assumed names. He is in the U.S. lookout book, but apparently turns up in America with disgusting (and probably illegal) regularity. His bio should be checked out thoroughly.

We have no other information on the specific charges in the packet, either regarding individual names, or the sort of what appears to be the Movement's description of Iranian conditions. The latter seems to be grossly overdrawn, but out of date in some spots, and takes no account of what's been happening during the past year. Should anything else turn up, we'll let you know.

To return briefly to Hyles' recent letter, we hope this armed with the President's remarks "the final country evaluation plan" which emerges is livable and recognizable that there are probably a lot of other regimes which have a lot further to go than this one. On the other hand, steady, objective pressure such as that applied by Bill Butler (we note with pleasure his projected return to Iran this spring), can probably push The Cause ahead.

One last note on the question of executions. To our best knowledge in the past three years there have never been any executions without due process according to Iranian law. There have been folks killed in shootouts, but I can best bring myself to call them "innocent college students" when the police (not SAVAK, the police) haul out an armada that would have given the Viet Cong control of a whole district in my Vietnam days from the "Innocent Infantry" from which these students have been shooting at police for several minutes to an hour or more. Perhaps the above is a bit frisky, but you understand my point--to illustrate how the GOI has not resorted to the random police killing that marks some other regimes. It seems unfair to single out Iran simply because the radical leftist movement has its propaganda effort better greased (from where, by the way, than its counterparts in Chile, the Philippines, etc.)

More and better New Years to you both--and what's this rumor I hear about Hyles departure?

Best to all,


John D. Stempel

Enclosures

Anexo No 7.

SECRET//NOFORN
REF ID: A657103
FOLIO: JBLB-103-1:lab 1-1-78
FOLIO/CON: (C) Lembke (SAC contributor)
DR (Draft) - 11-1-78

of influencing the COI to allow them a role. Should they feel this hope is disappointed, the relatively (and surprising) low level of anti-Americanism could give way to greater anti-U.S. sentiments and action." End summary.

Introduction

The following attempts to sketch out what we know of Iranian opposition groups that have existed during the recent 8-month period in which the COI has shown greater tolerance for public expression of dissent. Since the Iranian opposition has been "underground" for so long, and since it is still relatively cautious about revealing itself to outsiders, this airgram should be considered a rough cut at a description of various opposition groups, not necessarily anything more than everyone on the scene. This is especially true since various oppositionists hold overlapping membership in several definite groups or organizations. The description below begins with those groups considered to be the left of the spectrum and proceeds across through those generally considered the "moderate liberal" opposition to the religious conservative on the right.

Groups with Possible Terrorist Links

To the very far left of the ideological spectrum are left-at-revolutionary groups such as the Revolutionary Organization of the Poor, which is active in Europe and apparently maintains a tightly-knit organization in Iran. We know very little about this group, except that one of their members was captured in a terrorist shootout in December, 1976. Other similar radical Marxist groups exist primarily in Europe, but appear to us as small, shadowy organizations with little impact in Iran.

Probably the largest and best known of the leftist groups is the National Liberation Front (NLF), including its emerging offshoot, the Iran Freedom Seekers Liberation Movement. The NLF was organized about 1964 in Paris by Behsh Sadr. One of its principal leaders and organizations now common in Paris, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, has been responsible for a number of letters written to individuals within Iran. Although the NLF has terrorist links, it has tried to portray itself as an umbrella organization for all moderate dissident groups to the right of the Marxists, though the others do not accept this classification. NLF appears to have about 10 tightly-knit groups in Tehran and in several European and American cities. Its headquarters in the U.S. is reportedly in Houston. Its main contact in Tehran may be Ahmad Sadr-Haj-Sayed-Javadi, an ex-judge who has been involved with a number of opposition projects, including the recent letter to UNRWA Waldheim.

Some Muslim Ayatollahs have contact with some Majlisid-e-khalq (People's Strugglers) guerrillas. They do not, as far as we know, form a formal organization for this purpose. At the present time, we do not know how these connections take place, but they have been hinted at second and third hand by a number of individuals who have dealt with the oppositionist movement. Through these Ayatollahs, the main, but much more fluid and fundamentalist anti-leftist mass of religious oppositionists does not, at least officially, link with some factions of the Majlisid. It appears that their terrorist actions too are kept separate from these contacts. Additionally, a great deal of support for the religiously oriented opposition movement comes from the Bazaar--an important center of opposition at this point on the political spectrum.

While there are a number of people who call themselves communists or Tudeh Party supporters, the Party remains illegal and its organization, if any, is underground. The Embassy believes the local leader of this faction may be Abdol Ali Partovi-Alavi, an ex-university professor and former Tudeh Front Organization leader who is the brother of Rostam Alavi, a Tudeh leader who remains in the U.S. Some information is known about possible other members of this group, but it has contacts among leftist personalities in other universities in Iran and several university professors feel that Marxists who are "fellow travelling" with this group currently wield substantial ideological and intellectual influence among students.

More Moderate Descendants of the Old National Front

The organizational structure of the center of the oppositionist movement is so fluid as to make exact description problematic. Nevertheless, we discern the following major elements, many of whose personalities hold overlapping membership in one group or another.

The Union of National Front Forces of Iran which was organized in November 1977 draws together a number of individuals such as Dariush Farzad, Dr. Behnam Shapourkhast, and Ali Sharghi. This group has worked for a return to constitutional government and a dismantling of the Shah's "dictatorship". Ali Asghar Haj-Sayed-Javadi is probably the leading writer who is connected with this group. Most of the moderate groups accept the major lines of Haj-Sayed-Javadi's thoughts as laid out in a long, 200-page letter written in April 1977. The Embasy has seen this letter and can confirm the fact without success. Its orientation is leftist, and it includes many alumni of the (Mossadegh's period) National Front.

The Radical Movement of Iran was founded in 1973 by Engineer Rahmatullah Zarghami-Masjidi and several friends. The Embassy believes that most of the individuals mentioned in this airgram are probably members or associates of this particular unit. The Radical Movement of Iran takes a line similar to the Union of National Front Forces and calls for the abolition of Iran's

single party, a free press, new and free elections, and unshackling of the judiciary. Its principal points of difference with the DPM are: 1) its position would be more of personalities which may go back as much as 15-30 years. It seems to be situated less to the left (in the fashion of the "Radical Party" in France) and be a bit better disposed to Americans.

The **Toilers Party** is led by Dr. Mozaffer Naghi's Kermani. The Party is essentially the personal creation of the Dr. who has been an inveterate writer since he was a Mosaddeq supporter who broke with the prime minister in 1953.

There are a number of other significant individuals, many of whom are members of the outlawed Iranian Writers Guild which has been trying to reestablish itself. Among these are Mazyadollah Matin-Daftari, a Tehran lawyer and grandson of Mohammad Ali Matin-Daftari, a former member of the Pahlavi government and a friend of a number of the oppositionists of all factions; Fereidoun Adasmy, former Iranian ambassador to Holland and India; Mohghadam-Karaghe'sh of the Radical Party (above); and Eng. Mehdi Bazaarjan, the first managing director of NICC and a member of the Shah's cabinet. He has been a prominent speaker at several rallies and is one of the most articulate spokesmen for a return of constitutional government, expanded freedom of the press, total independence of the judiciary, and completely new and free elections for Parliament.

Several groups and individuals have organized themselves in a "new National Front" with a directorate of seven leaders-- Eng. Mohghadam-Karaghe'sh, Eng. Bazaarjan, Mr. Sanjabin, Dr. Karimzadeh, Ayatollah Haj-Sayyid Abolfazl Montaseri-Vi-Zanjani, and Mr. Sangabadi and one other. This group cooperates with the new founders of the Iranian Human Rights Committee formed in January 1978, and indeed memberships overlap. It also coordinates with Foruhar's group, but--despite its presence of religious figures--in the new National Front there would appear to be little coordination with religious conservatives and fanatics.

In addition to these long-time oppositionists, there are a number of figures who have become important either because of incidents they have been involved in or because of foreign connections. Chief among these are Chaham Hassan Saeedi, a writer who has come to the attention of American publishers; Dr. Homa Negari, a Tehran University history professor (the mother of a writer); Dr. Mohammad Reza Naghsh Nezhad, a former army officer and ex-counsel for political prisoners in military courts. Most of these moderate oppositionists eschew violence and believe as an article of faith that the U.S. could play a major role in inducing the Shah to deal with what they call the "liberal opposition."

It is this seeming dependence upon American action which has caused them to urge suspension of terrorist activities through international wrangles with the terrorist groups. They would be potentially dangerous, however, should substantial numbers of them become convinced that the U.S. government will not cause the Shah to treat with them. While we know the Iranian government is sensitive toward American efforts to deal with them, over the past few months the Shah has received no indication that the government openly favors one group with the individuals, people close to them, and their oppositionist supporters. This presumably could change if the government felt threatened or became uncertain of the USG's basic support.

Religiously Oriented Groups

In the past two weeks, primarily as a result of the Qom incident and its aftermath (see ref 3), the outlines of a religious opposition have become clearer. Ayatollah Sayyid Chahine Shariatmadari has emerged as the public spokesman for this group, primarily because of his contacts with three foreign journalists (Tehran 0261). A behind-the-scenes supporter of the "progressive" Ma'alaha and a link with the Tehran religious center is Dr. Nasser Minatchi, who is a lawyer and head of the board of directors of Hosseiniyah Islamic Religious Center near the Friday Mosque, Old Shahiyan Road. The Center was closed five years ago because of some speeches made against the government. The COI quietly allowed it to reopen in the past few months and it was again allowed a charter for a short time, tacitly accepted dissenting religious opinion. Another Ayatollah, Haj Sayyid Abofazele Mohseni-Zanjani, has been linked to the more moderate oppositionists listed in the last section.

It appears that there are a number of religious factions that may soon to cluster around Ayatollah Shariatmadari. For most of them, the Ayatollah Khomeini, exiled to Iraq in 1963, is considered the true leader of the Shi'ite faithful. Khomeini's principal disciple has been Ayatollah Mahmud Telegueh, who was jailed for his anti-government views. The Embassy understands that several, perhaps as many as ten, ayatollahs and mullahs were imprisoned or exiled in the fall of 1977 for anti-government statements. One source believes this has been a primary reason why other religious leaders have come forward to challenge the interpretation of their stance as reactionary, and why the COI has tolerated their emergence.

The Qom incident has caused religious figures to look to their organizational situation. The loose and fluid religious structure of Iran offers perhaps the only country-wide network

for an oppositionist group. Thus far, anti-government sentiment has largely remained beneath the surface due to assiduous work by Kavak and because religious leaders have (so far) been continually reassured that prospects for confrontation with the government are unfavorable. We have no hard facts, but there is some indication that moderate oppositionists and more progressive religious leaders have talked about joining together for certain demonstrations similar to those which eventually led to confrontation with the government. Such a move would be especially important if additional incidents involving the religious community, such as firing upon marchers, either occur or can be generated, religious fervor could be activated to provide the mob manpower for demonstrations.

It is difficult to get an accurate reading of religious/political beliefs. Progressive figures speak in terms which would accommodate the secular state. They accept "Human rights", land reform and tacit separation, in practice if not in theory, between church and state. Basic Shi'ite doctrine, however, has always emphasized the importance of religion in everyday life. In Iran, Shi'ism always has been closely tied to Iranian nationalism. Those familiar with Shi'ite doctrine believe most fundamentalist Shi'ite mullahs will have difficulty supporting a more progressive doctrine. This could result in an important doctrinal dispute between those Moslems, both laymen and clerics, who would accept some form of separation of church and state by referring such matters as wearing the veil to individual conscience, and those who will insist on the application of "true" Shi'ite principles to every sphere of human life. The former would be consistent with the beliefs of many of Iran's new emerging middle-class and would open the door for the more religious among them to incorporate religion into their politics. Religious opposition which emphasizes fundamentalist Shi'ism would probably chose more enlightened moderates into tacit if unhappy alliance with the government.

Misfiling
 This diagram has not dealt with groups deliberately connected to active terrorists, the Mujahidin-e-khalq (Peoples' Strugglers) and the Charikha-y-e-Fada'l-Khalq (Peoples' Sacrifice Guerrillas). Thus far, we find no hard indications of direct links between the action arm of either of these groups and the more moderate oppositionists noted above, though this may be due merely to good security practice. There is a strong supposition (but only a supposition) that moderate oppositionists have prevailed upon terrorist groups to desist from active violence against Americans while the Carter administration is still in charge. There is little influence of Kavak and the GOI. There have been a number of incidents of violence over the past year, several related to the Carter visit to Iran, December 31 to January 1, which suggests either that the

prohibition is not absolute or that terrorist discipline is not complete. What may reasonably be expected, however, is that there will remain some loose coordination between the various opposition figures and the terrorist movement. At times, the moderate oppositionists, the dissidents, will be so powerful that the extremists will influence the moderates in the direction of stimulating (or at least condoning) greater violence.

Iranian Government Reaction

The Iranian government has thus far permitted at least some public gatherings, though it clamped down on such gatherings rather severely in late Nov-Dec 1977. The dissidents have been allowed to issue leaflets, but these have been covered only sporadically (and always negatively) in the press. There have been indications that the GOI intends to utilize groups of individuals through the Resurgence Party in country demonstrations desired to show support for progressive government programs against reactionary oppositionist activities. Such counter-demonstrations have taken place since November 22, 1977, climaxed by the nationwide January 26 parades in favor of the Shah-People Revolution.

The government has not dealt with the substance of the oppositionists' challenge that Iran has strayed from the constitutional path. Rather, it has suggested that the monarchy, the Constitution and the Shah-People Revolution had all served one and all components of the Iranian nation agree. The GOI has not yet drawn a stark line between the government as a force for progress and all oppositionists as reactionary, but that thrust of its statements and those of speakers at pro-government rallies suggest this line. Opponents of the Shah-People Revolution, including agents of foreign communism (taken in the broadest historical sense) to suggest that the nefigious past interference in Iran's affairs by Russia and Britain might be revived through such dissidents. By drawing the mantle of patriotism around the Shah and his four-decade-old rule, spokesman are trying to broaden the appeal of the government beyond specifics such as the Party or the Shah-People Revolution to patriotism in a more general sense.

Some GOI and Resurgence Party (RPP) officials harbor the belief that some oppositionists, particularly the more radical, are seeking some sort of association with the RPP. At present this appears a vain dream. Those who might consider this line of action are not the committed oppositionists listed above, but rather people who are somewhat apathetic non-participants in the Iranian political system. Iran is a pluralistic society. To a considerable degree, one could say that the struggle over the coming months and years will be one between the GOI and the oppositionists for

the allegiance of a substantial majority of those now moving into Iran's modernizing élite. Should the government succeed in retaining and strengthening the allegiance of this group, oppositionists would remain at best a minor irritant on the national scene. Alternatively, in the unlikely possibility that the oppositionists win the allegiance of many in this strata of the population, the way would be open for another several dichotomous splits similar to that which evolved in 1963, with a like potential for schizophrenic domestic strife.

Potential for Increased Anti-Americanism

Until late 1977, increased opposition activity in Iran had not resulted in increased anti-Americanism. If by "increased" since December, I mean emanating from both the leftist left and the religiously-oriented right of the opposition spectrum, have carried explicitly anti-U.S. overtones and statements, and the volume of such leaflets has increased in the past month.

Given intensive American interaction with Iranian society at all levels, and the inevitable resultant friction between two cultures in friction, the extent of current restraint in overt anti-Americanism is surprising. One significant reason is the virtually unanimous oppositionist perception (regardless of what may actually be the case) that the USC, with its substantial influence and power within Iran, could cancel the Shah's open and political system if it wanted to. This led the oppositionists to disavow overt displays of what they consider to be U.S. "support" for the Shah and to discourage religious opposition from voicing their natural anti-foreign sentiments.

Should oppositionist elements begin to believe, as some extremists are already doing, that the U.S. either can not or will not act as the midwife for oppositionist entry into the Iranian political system, the current constraint on latent anti-Americanism may be reduced and overt manifestations of it increase. The Embassy will be commenting more fully on this phenomenon in other contexts.



SULLIVAN

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Anexo No 8.

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TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
REUSS/AMEMBASSY CAFACAS IMMEDIATE 4176
POINTO/AMEMBASSY TO TO IMMEDIATE 2013
REH/AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE 5574
RUECH/AMEMBASSY PECTONIA IMMEDIATE 4890
RUEH/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 8197
RUEAGL/AMEMBASSY LACOS IMMEDIATE 4801
CULLIT/USMISSION NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 5548
HUSSE/2/1-CONGUL KABUL IMMEDIATE 6604
JUFHOLD/AMCONSUL SHIRAZ IMMEDIATE 4318
RUEH/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE 4301
RUEH/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 0391
RUEH/AMCONSUL HONOLULU HAWAII IMMEDIATE 2156
RUEH/AMCONSUL FRANKFURT IMMEDIATE 6602
BT
SECSTATE 327862

STUTTGART FOR ELO

E.O. 12865: GDS 12/20/84 (PRESBY, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO. 58, 12/20/78

1. TEHRAN WAS QUIETIER THIS MORNING THAN IT HAD BEEN FOR SEVERAL DAYS. THE FOCUS TODAY WAS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE WITH THE EMBASSY BEARING FROM A FORMER GOV MINISTER THAT THE AZERI GOVERNMENT DEFINITELY WOULD RESIGN DECEMBER 1 ADDITIONALLY, DR. SIYAH-POUR BAGHTARI, NATIONAL FRONT LEADER WITH SOMEWHAT DUBIOUS CREDENTIALS, TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT THE SHAH HAD GIVEN HIM A MANDATE DECEMBER 20 TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT. HE WISHED TO SEE AN EMBASSY OFFICER DECEMBER 30 AND HOPED FOR U.S. SUPPORT. FURTHER, AN AMERICAN PRESS SOURCE REPORTS GREAT ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF SAQIQI. ALL OF THE INTERLOCUTORS SEEM CERTAIN THE SAQIQI EFFORT HAS FAILED.
2. MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS AGREE THAT THE SHAH STILL CONTAINS AT LEAST THE POWER TO EFFECT AN URGENTLY TRANSITION TO A REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH THEY DEMAND. UNDULY THIS SUCCESSFUL, A REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD EXERCISE THE SHAH'S

EFFECTIVE POWERS AFTER HE HAS LEFT THE COUNTRY. IT WOULD APPOINT A PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET. THESE OPPOSITIONISTS FEAR THE CRITICAL SITUATION THAT COULD RESULT FROM AN UNPLANNED DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH.

3. THE FRENCH DOMESTIC NEWS SERVICE REPORTS IN PARIS THAT IRONINI HAS BEEN GRANTED PERMISSION TO STAY IN FRANCE UNTIL HIS CURRENT VISITOR'S PERMIT EXPIRES NEXT WEEK. THE FRENCH EMBASSY WASHINGTON TELLS US THAT NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE BUT A POSITIVE RESPONSE IS ANTICIPATED. IT IS ALSO REPORTED THAT KHOMEINI HAS CALLED FOR A DAY OF NATIONAL MOURNING IN IRAN TOMORROW, THE END OF MOHAMMED.

4. CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION WAS SCHEDULED TO BE 310,000 BARRELS, APPARENTLY ABOUT THE SAME AS YESTERDAY. ALL PRODUCTION WILL BE DELIVERED TO THE ABADAN REFINERY. ANOTHER PRODUCTION UNIT WILL BE SHUT DOWN DECEMBER 30 CAUSING A FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL PRODUCTION DROP. THE IMPACT IS COMPOUNDED SINCE THE UNIT PROVIDES NATURAL GAS TO ABADAN, WHOSE REFINERY RELIES HEAVILY ON THE GAS FOR FUEL. THE AVAILABILITY OF GASOLINE IN IRAN HAS WORSENED.

5. THE OPPOSITION HAS STATED THAT THE OIL WORKERS HAVE OFFERED TO RETURN TO WORK IF THE GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES THAT ALL PRODUCTION IS USED INTERNALLY, AND PARTICULARLY THAT NONE OF IT IS EXPORTED TO ISRAEL. THE WORKERS WOULD MONITOR DISTRIBUTION.

6. OUR CONSUL IN TABRIZ WAS TOLD BY THE MANAGER THAT HE EXPECTS STRIKERS TO SHUT THE LOCAL REFINERY TOMORROW. STOCKS OF KEROSENE FOR HEATING ARE ENOUGH FOR A WHILE; OTHER PRODUCTS ARE IN SLIGHTLY BETTER SUPPLY. THE OPINION IS UNANIMOUS AMONG ALL THE CONSUL'S CONTACTS THAT THE SHAH MUST GO.

7. THERE WAS ANOTHER PEACEFUL MARCH OF SEVERAL THOUSAND PERSONS IN ISFAHAN. THE MOB WAS IN A HOLIDAY MOOD AND THE SECURITY FORCES KEPT THEM DISTANCED.

8. GRUMMAN HAS DECIDED IN SHIRAZ TO REDUCE ITS STAFF TO AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM AND MOVE REMAINING PERSONNEL ON TO THE AIR BASE. THIS IS LIKELY TO AFFECT THE F-14 PROGRAM.

9. THE IRAN-AMERICAN SOCIETY IN ARVAZ WAS BROKEN INTO DURING 2D LAST IN THE AFTERNOON BY A CROWD OF ABOUT 74 PEOPLE AND SUFFERED CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE. NOBODY

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Anexo N° 9.

CONFIDENTIAL//~~LAW~~

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ENGE: STATE 12/31/78
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EFDT: POL-J33-TEMPLETON
ELLA: POL33-TEMPLETON
GDATE: POL-3 JMB BCR
ACCS: 2 PMS 08
CAL-24/16

L. DEDDY STEPHEN REVIEWED PRESENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WITH DR. MINATCHI AT HIS BOSSOMVILLE ISRAELITE (BIBLICAL SCHOOL) OFFICE AFTERNOON DEC 31. MINATCHI TALKED BRIEFLY AND SUBSEQUENTLY SUCCEEDED IN FORMING A CO-OP. SINCE MODERATE CLERGY FAVORED HIS EFFORTS ENOUGH TO REBELL FROM OPPOSING MIN. DR. KABIM SAMJANI'S BLAST AT PAULINIER KEEING DEC 31 WAS UNFORTUNATE, BUT WOULD NOT MATTER IN FACE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS' TACIT SUPPORT FOR PAULINIER.

2. ENGINEER MEDJ BAZARAN, LIBERATION MOEMENT (LM) LEADER WILL ALSO ACCORDING TO KINTAIKAN TO REIGN IF NOT OPPOSED BY HIM. ACCORDING TO MINATCHE, HE WILL POSSIBLY NOT ACCORDING TO KINTAIKAN TO REIGN AS PRESIDENT AT THIS LEVEL IN TWO OR THREE DAYS. MINATCHE SAID BAZARAN HAD RECEIVED LETTERS FROM BOTH EBONI AND SRIHADI MADANI NAMELY HIM PERSONALLY TO CALL HIS ATTENTION TO OIL FIELDS. OTHER LEADERS OF THE LM ACCORDING TO KINTAIKAN ARE MEDJ BAZARAN, ENG. KINTAIKAN (PHYSICIAN), ENG. RAISIDI AND ENG. SARAGAN. SIGNIFICANCE OF BAZARAN'S NAME WAS NAMED PERSONALLY AS THAT THIS GAVE HIM A CLASSICALIST TOLAK UNTUK PERUBAHAN. HE IS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA (PKI). HE IS ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE PKI WHICH HAS EVENTUALLY SUCCEDED LIBERTAS AFTER THE WEST SPRING' ELECTIONS. MINATCHE ADDED THAT ADDERSON ISKEDI HAD REPORTEDLY OFFERED TO KILL A BAZARAN-LED CABINET TO PREVENT IT FROM OCCURRING. ADDERSON'S INITIATIVE DID NOT WORK OUT AS HE WANTED. LEADERS DID NOT QUITE UNDERSTAND IT.

Anexo No 10.

R 021147Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY STEPHEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2700
BT

F.
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION CODES
I.O. 122651 RES 1-7-69 (1STTRPML J.D.1 OR-7
TAGS: TINS, FCCY, IN
SUBJECT: POLITICAL BORDER IS DISCOURAGED; BUT ANOTHER
POPULAR POLITICAL GROUP ISIFIED.

SUMMARY: LONG-TIME POLITICAL SCENIC IS DISCOURAGED AT
GOI'S CONTINUED INEPTITUDE. HE FEELS TUPA (COMMUNIST)
PARTY BECOMING VERY ACTIVE. HIS CURRENT EFFORTS ARE
DIRECTED TO POLITIZING A MODERATE GROUP BEHIND ALL ALIANZA UNICA
WHICH IS VEHICLE FOR SUPPORT OF SANCTIAGO GOVERNMENT UNTIL
ELECTIONS. SEE SUMMARY.

1. "DO YOU FIT JPA & WITE PREPARAT ELIMINAR. POLITICAL
JACOB OF SOME YEARS STANDING WITH HIGH STATUS HAS BEEN
COMMUNICATING FREQUENTLY FOR PAST PART OF A YEAR. HE WAS
SPARINGLY DISCUSSED AT JUNW OF PELLICO. HE WAS RECENTLY
SUPRISEDLY INVITED AT HANDLING CRISIS AND IS AS A RESULT,
THUS PART ACTIVITY WAS BECOMING MORE VISIBLE. HE
SAID SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS FROM THE SOUTH HAD NOTED OLD-
LINE TURKISH ORGANIZERS INVOLVED IN RECENT LABOR DISTURBANCES
(COMPLETE) THIS SQUARES WITH WHAT I'VE HEARD FROM OTHER
SOURCES AS WELL."

2. ISLAMIAH THEN SAID HE WAS GATHERING A NUMBER OF SPINOTS IN VARIOUS POSITIONS TOGETHER TO FORM A GROUP BEHIND ALL AMINI. THIS GROUP WOULD SUPPORT THE PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT, BUT PREPARED ITSELF FOR ELECTIONS. HE LISTED THE FOLLOWING AS INITIAL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP: MR. IJMI, JASATI, MR. ABECI PARTY LEADER; ABUZU MUSSEBIN TAPATAPATAI, JORPI, SHIRAZ MAJLES DEPUTY; NASSER ZIBARFARD, DIRECTOR OF ASAF 'PILOT' MONITORING GROUP; MANAUFUH SALE-FAIZI, BUMI MAJLES DEPUTY FREQUENTLY A KESKAPA COLUMNIST; MR. NEHRU YARDI, A BUSINESSMAN; MR. TEYMOUR AND MR. ELZAN, INC. ASNAFI HAB CARIM HUSSEINI, A BAZAARI WHO SUPPORTS ATAYALAH KHONKHANI; AND BASSAAN YAHYA INTAT, HEAD OF THE FARMERS' UNION. GROUP WAS PREPARED WAITING TO AHEAD SIGNAL FROM ALL AMINI TO FORMALLY ORGANIZE.

3. COMMENTS: GROUP IS SIMILAR TO MANT NOW FORMING, AND IF IT FULLY GETS ORGANIZED, ENDLESS WILL REPORT FURTHER. POSSI SUCH MOLE-UP GROUPS, AS OF JAN 7, ARE GIVING SUPPORT

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CONFIDENTIAL/LINDB
O BRIEFS JUN TO
FM AMEMBASSY TIBBAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC REACT IMMEDIATE 2700
BT
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 31 TIBBAN 88307
LINDB

S.O. 128023 PDS - (STMP# J.D. 08-F
TASSI, FIVE, PINE, POOL, IS
SUBJECT: CLERGY ORGANIZING TO HELP RESTORE PUBLIC ORDER

SUMMARY: DR. MASSEN MIRABECK TOLD ENTHOY MORNING STAR THAT NUMBER OF CHURCHES WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMED IN THIS AREA SINCE 1967 ARE APPROXIMATELY 100. HE STATED THAT SEVERAL OF THESE CLERGY HAVE FORMED ORGANIZATION TO HELP MAINTAIN ORDER THROUGH TRANSMISSION PERIOD TO W/ POLITICAL LEADERSHIPS. STATEMENT HAS BEEN ISSUED CALLING FOR PEACE, CONCERN BEING OVER MILITARY ACTION IN VIETNAM.

JAN 18 DR. NASSER MESTRIKI INFORMED POLOFF STEMPEL MORNING THAT THE CZECH CLERICAL LEADERS IN TERRA HAKA FORMED A NEW GROUP WHICH IS TRANSLATED AS "CLERICAL LEADERS ORGANIZATION" (CLO). PURPOSE OF GROUP WAS TO HELP REBUILD SOCIETY. OVER ALL ACTIVITIES OF CLO, DR. MESTRIKI AND HIS BUREAU-
TACLES WERE TO BE HELD. DR. MESTRIKI, WOULD BE PRESENTED TO MASJAS AND CONFIRMED JAN 18. THEN TO SMOLEK AND CONFIRMED JAN 19. IT WAS STRONGLY SUSPECTED THAT THE SRAN WOULD LEAD THE
COUNTRY AT SOME POINT FOLLOWING FINAL CONFIRMATION. CLERICAL
WEEK TO END AFTERNOON OF JAN 20. MOST OF PARTIES IN CONTROL
THEIR POSITION WHICH WOULD FOLLOW AND CHANNEL IT CON-
STRUCTIVELY. FEBRUARY 1951.

2. EMPLOY STRONGLY SUPPORTED IDEA, AND NOTED THAT IN EVENT OF SHARI'S DEPARTURE, MILITARY WILL BE FURTHER ELEVATED AND BEHAVIOR IN FIRST MONTHS AND DAYS WILL BE CRITICAL. MINISTRIES SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE MORE. ARE COMMITTED FOR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS. WILL CONTINUE TO ADVOCATE FOR ALL ITS FOLLOWERS TO DO THE SAME. THIS PURPOSE, EMPLOYEE STRESSED THE NEED FOR A PROFOUND WHICH WOULD TRIGGER MILITARY REACTION SUCH AS OCCURRED IN QASIM AND MASAD. MINISTRIES SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PROBLEM VERY WELL.

3. CLERIC WAS ESPECIALLY TELL GROUP, AND OLD WOULD BE MAIN VEHICLE, ACCORDING TO MINAHIKI. LEADERS WAS NOJATOLIAS SEED MORAMAH BENCHU (KNOW TO ENAKSIAT AS EKT ENAKSIAT), WITH FOLLOWING OTHER CLERICS AS SIMON FIGUEZA, NOJATOLIAS HAFIZANJANI, ABDOLKHAN MOHAMMADI APPERLI, AND MORAMAH MOYAR. THEY WERE BODING TO MEET OUTSIDE JAHAN. JAHAN B. THEM BE READY TO MEET IN STATIONARY MONTAJERI, WHO WAS EXPECTED IN THE MORNING JAHAN 9 O'Clock 14 VITE.

4. STATEMENT ISSUED IN TURKEY BY ATATOLKAN TALEBANEI, JAD, WAS ALSO SIGNED BY CLO LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS A GROUP OF SENIOR ATATOLKANS. IT CALLED ON PEOPLE TO STAY CALM, AVOID INTERFERING WITH SECURITY FORCES, AND CEASE FIREATS AND ATTACKS ON TURKISHLES. NOTICE

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WAS PUBLISHED EXTENSIVELY IN PERSIAN PRESS JAN 8, AND
WILL APPEAR IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS JAN 9. MINATCHEI
SAID HE IS OLD AND CONVINCED IT THAT WHEN SHAH DEPARTS,
PEOPLE WILL BROKE OUT IN THE STREETS. HE SAID HE FEELS
MINATCHEI HIMSELF IS NOT TOO CONCERNED ABOUT DISORDERS
MORE, BUT CONCLUDES THERE MAY BE PEOPLE ON THE STREETS
STIRRING UP TROUBLE. IF SO, RELIGIOUS LEADERS HOPE TO
REACT TO THIS. THE LEADERSHIP HOPES AS WAS DONE DURING
TUSLA AND ASHURA MARCHES DEC 19-21. (CONTINUED) SHAH
IS NOT VERY OPTIMISTIC THAT MORE CAN BE SO EASILY
CONTROLLED. HOWEVER, KHOMEINI MISSED HIM MUCH LOCAL
POPULIST.

5. MINATCHEI EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER POSSIBILITY OF
MILITARY INTERVENTION IF SECURITY SITUATION DETERIORATED.
HE SAID PPP-KTS OF MODERATE OPPOSITION ARE BEING ARMED
AND ARMED GROUP DOES NOT OCCUR. WHEN KHOMEINI ALLUDED TO
STORY THAT KIA - THE IRANIAN FIGHTING GROUP IS AN OFFENDER OF
WAR, MINATCHEI SEEMED TROUBLED FOR A MOMENT (SEE BAGH
INFORMATION ON MILITARY), BUT SAID THERE WERE VARIOUS OTHER
FORCES WHO COULD FILL THE VOID AND THE PRIME MINISTER
KNEW THEM ALL. "IF SPECIFICALLY CHARGE AGAINST KASSA",
BOLANI, BATHACILLO, REZAMI AND AGHAJI. MINATCHEI
PERSONALITY THOUGHT MASSOLAKAI WOULD BE BEST CHOICE TO
REPLACE JAM, BUT ANY OF ABOVE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

6. COMMENTS: IT IS CLEAR AND ENCOURAGING THAT MINATCHEI
AND MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS ARE GIVING CONSIDERABLE
THOUGHT TO POSSIBLE TRANSITION PROBLEMS. WHILE MINATCHEI
SAYS SHAH MUST EVENTUALLY GO FOR GOOD, MODERATE RELIGIOUS
LEADERSHIP IS NOT DISPOSED TO PEST THE ISSUE NOW. SHAH'S
DEPARTURE OR INCARCERATION FOR CRIMES AGAINST PEACE WOULD
BE SUFFICIENT. #1 THOUGHT BAZARAK GROUP (LIBERATION MOVE-
MENT) WOULD EVENTUALLY SEE IF THAT WAY AS REALITY OF
SITUATION EVOLVED. EVEN EXCLUDING FRIENDSHIP FOR MOMENT
LIA IS BAZARAK GROUP'S POSITION AND TO TELLER STIRRING
JAM AT SIMPLY SIGNIFY OPPORTUNITY FOR COOPERATION
TO PEACEFUL TRANSITION IF SHAH DEPARTS. MINATCHEI HAD
NO ANY ND CLUES AS TO WHO MIGHT BE ARMED TO REGECT
PT
KHOMEINI

ENDNOTE

CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

TELETYPE

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-2-

Comments: While neither of these contacts represents any institution, and neither has high standing, their views seemed to warrant recounting as reflective of some middle class thinking these days in Tehran.

ANXO No 11.

18 DEC - 4 PM 11-26

TELEGRAM

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN CONFIDENTIAL EXDIS
ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC REACT IMMEDIATE

E.O. 13065: CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 11843

TAGS: E.O. 13065: RDS-4 12/4/78 (STENPEL, J.D.) OR-P
SUBJ: PINS, DORS, IR
REF: (A) TEHRAN 11097 (UTERAN 1108)

SUMMARY: DR. MINATCHI TOLD ENROFF PROPOSAL FOR A REGENCY COUNCIL IS BEING PUT TO LEADING KHORASANI REPRESENTATIVES DEC 4. THEY WILL GO TO PARIS TO CONVINCE KHORASANI, WITH PRESSURE IF NECESSARY, TO ACCEPT THEM. MINATCHI HAD HEARD RUMOR KHAH MIGHT BE READY TO AGREE TO REGENCY COUNCIL. ALI AMINI HAD TOLD MINATCHI "FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISERS" HAD SAID MILITARY COMMANDERS WOULD NOT AGREE TO DEPARTURE OF SHAH AND SAID IF COUNCIL IDEA ADOPTED, SHAH WOULD HAVE TO CHANGE MILITARY COMMANDER. ENROFF DENIED U.S. ADVISERS WOULD HAVE MADE SUCH STATEMENTS. MINATCHI SAID OPPOSITION WOULD ACCEPT PRESENT SERVICES HEADS ON REGENCY COUNCIL. IN REPLY TO MINATCHI QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE SHOULD CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS, ENROFF SAID ALL PEACEFUL EFFORTS ARE USEFUL AND UNDER REALITY OF

POLICJESTVNEI 12/4/78 1112 MINICOBAS

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SITUATION BE IMPRESSED ON ALL SIDES. END SUMMARY

1. AT MINATCHI'S REQUEST, ENROFF STENPEL MET AGAIN WITH DR. MASSER MINATCHI, TREASURER OF COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FRIEND AND ASSOCIATE OF AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI. MINATCHI WANTED TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS AND HEAR ANY LATEST U.S. IDEAS, BECAUSE HE WAS MEETING WITH TWO OF THREE LEADING KHOMEINI AYATOLLARS OVER LUNCH TO PREPARE THEM FOR TRIP TO PARIS WITHIN NEXT TWO OR THREE DAYS. AYATOLLARS WHO WILL GO TO PARIS ARE MONTAZARI OF QOM AND RAFSANJANI OF TEHRAN (THEY, PLUS TALEQANI/IN TEHRAN, MAKE UP KHOMEINI "HIGH COMMAND" WITHIN IRAN, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI). THEY WILL PLACE BEFORE KHOMEINI THE IDEA OF A REGENCY COUNCIL TO REPLACE THE SHAH (SEE REFTELS FOR DETAILS) WHICH WOULD THEN APPOINT A COALITION GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE PREPARED TO "PRESSURE" KHOMEINI TO ACCEPT THIS. ALL OPPOSITIONISTS AND THE SHARIAT-MADARI GROUP IN QOM AND MARSHAD HAVE AGREED TO COOPERATE WITH AND SUPPORT SUCH A GOVT.

2. MINATCHI DESCRIBED PAST TEN DAYS' NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALI AMINI AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER SHARIF-EHAMI WHICH LED UP TO PRESENT SITUATION AND SAID BOTH AMINI AND SHARIF-EHAMI HAD ACCEPTED IDEAS AS VALUABLE ON FIRST HEARING, ONLY TO BECOME STANDOFFISH. (MINATCHI SAID AT FIRST MEETING WITH AMINI, LATTER HAD SAID "AMERICANS

HAVE AUTHORIZED CONTACT WITH YOU." ENROFF DENIED THIS, AND SAID WE SIMPLY HAD URGED AMINI AND OTHERS TO TALK WITH ALL THOSE INVOLVED.) MINATCHI TALKED WITH ENROFF SAID HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THE SHAH WOULD REJECT ANY SOLUTION THAT DID NOT ENABLE/HOW TO REMAIN AS CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY. MINATCHI SHOULD NOT RPT NOT LET WISHFUL THINKING MISLEAD HIS GROUP ON THAT SCORE. MINATCHI ADDED NONE OF HIS GROUP REALLY TRUSTED AMINI OR SHARIF-EHAMI IN ULTIMATE ANALYSIS BECAUSE THEY WERE AFRAID."

3. OTHER PROBLEM WAS SITUATION WITHIN ARMY, WHICH ENROFF HAD DISCUSSED WITH MINATCHI AT LAST MEETING. ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, AMINI TOLD HIM THAT "FOREIGN MILITARY OFFICERS, WHO ADVISE IRANIAN ARMED FORCES" TOLD HIM AMINI THAT IF SHAH GONE, ARMY COMMANDERS WOULD NOT OBEY WHOEVER FOLLOWED. ENROFF ASKED IF THAT MEANT U.S. OFFICERS AND MINATCHI SAID AMINI CERTAINLY MEANT IT THAT WAY. ENROFF FLATLY DENIED U.S. OFFICERS MAKE SUCH COMMENTS, ESPECIALLY TO POLITICAL LEADERS. AS MINATCHI KNEW, HOWEVER, ENROFF AT LAST MEETING (REF A) HAD EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT MILITARY OFFICERS WOULD WILLINGLY GO ALONG WITH SCENARIO WHICH SAW SHAH'S DEPARTURE. MINATCHI SAID SHAH COULD ALWAYS NAME NEW TROOP COMMANDERS BEFORE HE LEFT, AND IN ANY CASE, THERE WOULD BE LOYALISTS ON REGENCY COUNCIL. HE NAMED FOLLOWING RETIRED GENERALS

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OPTIONAL FORM FED-1040
15 SEPTEMBER 1970
1 JANUARY 1976
EXPIRATION DATE
Department of Defense

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Classification

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
DISSEmination BY TELETYPE
15 SEPTEMBER 1970
1 JANUARY 1976
EXPIRATION DATE
Department of Defense

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1841

[WHO WERE ACCEPTABLE TO OPPPOSITION: ASGHAVI, JAM,
 BATHANGELIDJ, GARIAN AND REVANI. PLUS RETIRED ADMIRAL
 HADANI, WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS VERY TRUSTED BY THE SHAH,
 A BRILLIANT MAN, AND SYMPATHETIC TO THE NATIONAL FRONT.
 WHEN ENBOFF EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT SERVING TROOP COMMANDERS
 WOULD EASILY ACQUIESCE IN THEIR OWN REPLACEMENT, MINATCHI
 SAID THAT WAS POSSIBLE, BUT THEN STATED THERE WOULD
 BE NO DIFFICULTY HAVING MEMBERS OF PRESENT ARMED SERVICES
 ON REGENCY COUNCIL. ENBOFF ASKED HIM QUESTION SECOND
 TIME, AND MINATCHI SAID THIS WAS TRUE. BASIC POINT WAS
 TO GET SHAH OUT OF POWER -- ALL OPPONENTISTS HAD
 AGREED THEY COULD SERVE UNDER REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH
 HAD PRESENT MILITARY LEADERS ON IT. (COMMENT: THIS
 REPRESENTS MODEST CHANGE FROM PROPOSITION PUT FORWARD
 IN REPTEL. WHILE IT WOULD NOT MAKE THIS PROPOSAL ANY
 MORE PALATABLE TO SHAH, IT IS USEFUL TO KEEP IN
 MIND. P.W.M.B.W.H.E.M.E.S.S.E.R.A.K.S.Y.)

4. MINATCHI DISCRIMED IDEA OF REGENCY COUNCIL -- IN
 HIS AND OPPONENT'S EYES, THIS IS NOT ADVISORY COUNCIL
 SET FORTH IN AMENDED ARTICLE 38 OF SUPPLEMENTARY CON-
 STITUTIONAL LAW OF 1907. OPPONENT CONCEPT IS THAT
 REGENCY COUNCIL AS A GROUP WOULD ASSUME REGENCY IN PLACE
 OF SHABANOU AND HAVE NO NEED FOR STATUTORY COUNCIL.
 REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TWO OR THREE GENERALS FROM
 LIST ABOVE, FOUR CIVILIANS, AND PRESENT CHIEF OF STAFF

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1843

[AND OTHER SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES "IF THIS WAS NECESSARY".]

ENBOFF MADE NO COMMENT OTHER THAN TO NOTE THAT THIS
 PROPOSAL SEEMED UNACCEPTABLE TO SHAH.

5. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING, MINATCHI ASKED IF ENBOFF
 PERSONALLY THOUGHT HE SHOULD GO AHEAD DISCUSSING PROPOSAL
 AND EVEN SEND AYATOLLAHS TO PARIS, SINCE IT SEEMED THAT
 THE SITUATION WAS NOT YET FULLY RIPE. ENBOFF REPLIED
 CONTINUED DISCUSSION WAS PREFERABLE TO VIOLENCE, AND
 PROBED POSSIBILITY THAT SHARIAT-HADARI AND KHOMPTINI
 LEADERS IN COUNTRY MIGHT BE DRAWN AWAY FROM HARD INSIS-
 TENCE THAT SHAH LEAVE. MINATCHI WAS MILDLY UNCOMFORTABLE
 WITH QUESTION, BUT EVENTUALLY OPINED THAT SUCH A SHIFT
 SEEMED UNLIKELY. HE EXPRESSED HOPE EVLVS MIGHT SHIFT
 VIEWS ON BOTH SIDES AND HOPED VIOLENCE WOULD NOT ACCOMPANY
 CONTINUAL POST-CURRUM ACTIVITIES. ENBOFF URGED HIM
 TO DESCRIBE REAL SITUATION AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLY TO
 AYATOLLAHS, ADDING THAT NONE OF US WANTED BLOODSHED AND
 THAT THE BEST WAY TO AVOID IT WOULD BE FOR "PEOPLE"
 TO SHOW A LITTLE MORE FLEXIBILITY AND BASE THEIR OWN
 IDEAS ON WHAT MIGHT PROVIDE THE STUFF OF COMPROMISE.
 MINATCHI NODDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD.

6. MINATCHI ADDED RITUAL PITCH THAT U.S. TAKE THIS
 PROPOSAL TO THE THRONE "TO PAVE THE WAY," AND ACCEPTED
 WITH GOOD GRACE ENBOFF'S CHIDING THAT HE WAS ONCE AGAIN
 TRYING TO GET U.S. TO MEDDLE IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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OPTIONAL FORM 10-54
 17 SEPTEMBER 1964
 GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
 EDITION 1
 GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
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NATIONAL FORM 10-54
 17 SEPTEMBER 1964
 EDITION 1
 GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
 EDITION 1

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11843

[OTHER DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING REPORTED]

DEPTEL.

7. COMMENT: ASIDE FROM ACCEPTANCE OF PRESENT SENIOR
MILITARY MEN ON PROPOSED REGENCY COUNCIL, ONLY NEW
ELEMENT IS FORTHCOMING PITCH TO KHOMEINI. AS FAR AS
WE KNOW, THIS WILL BE ONLY EFFORT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE
OPPOSITION'S
FROM HIS OWN SUPPORTERS TO PRESS KHOMEINI FOR ANY
"GIVE" DEVELOPING IN HIS POSITION.

SULLIVAN

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OPTIONAL FORM 10 Series
15 January 1962 Edition
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.7

127

Anexo No 12.

TELEGRAM

FO 11652

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

DCH:2

AMR

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AMBASSY TEHRAN

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: SECRETARY WASHDC IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN

XMAS

Z.O. 12065: RDS 12/4/98 (LAZERAKIS, G.D.) OR-V

TAGS: PINS, IR, PINT

SURJ: MORE STIRRING APRIC MODERATE LEADERS

SUMMARY: HEAD OF TEACHERS' UNION SPEAKS OF FINDING A "THIRD

WAY" TO AVOID EITHER RESURRECTION OF SHAH'S POWER OR

KHOMENEI VICTORY. HE BELIEVES SHAH MUST GO, HOWEVER,

VIEGLING TO A REGENCY COUNCIL. THIS ISN'T TO CUT OUT ANCH

NATIONAL FRONT OPPOSITIONISTS TOO. THIS SUMMARY

b. ON DEC 3 POL COUNCILOR KAY INVITED FOR CO-CONFIRMATION

WITH MOHAMAD DERAKHESH, HEAD OF TEACHERS' UNION WHO IS

ACTIVE POLITICALLY WITH FRIEND IN THE IRANIAN OCCUPA-

TIONS. DERAKHESH WENT ON AT LENGTH - OR ABOUT THE

HELD HE AND LIKE-MINDED MIDDLEMEN OR FRIENDS OF THE SHAH

FEEL FOR FINDING SOME "THIRD" COURSE WHICH WOULD NOT BE

THAT OF KHOMENEI. HE AND HIS FRIENDS DISCUSSED THIS

AS INVOLVING THE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH IN FAVOR OF A

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POLITICAL ANALYSIS

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COMPLETED 12/5/98

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[REDACTED] THAT MAY CURE SHAH'S LIBERALIZATION PLAN, BEYOND KEEPING CONTINUING INABILITY TO BELIEVE ANYTHING THE SHAH SAYS.
JUDGERS, ETC. THIS COUNCIL WOULD THEM APPOINT REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF POLITICAL LEADERS FROM NATIONAL FRONT, OTHER PARTIES, BAZAARIS, HIMSELF, ETC. WHO WOULD FORM GOVT, PREPARE FREE ELECTIONS AND WAIT FOR NEW COST TO COME OUT OF FREELY ELECTED NEW MAJLIS.

2. DERAKHSHIAN WAS AWARE OF THIS KIND OF SOLUTION MIGHT BE TALKING ABOUT. HE DID NOT SHOW GREAT APPRECIATION FOR EFFECTIVE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH WOULD HAVE ON MILITARY HIGH COMMAND (THINKING THAT COULD BE HANDLED WITH FORMER RETIRED OFFICERS OF GOOD REPUTE) BUT WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS, AND SEEMED TO BE MODERATELY IMPRESSED, BY POSSIBILITIES THAT WOULD ARISE IF ARMY CRUMPLED. HE KEPT REPEATING NEED FOR ARMY TO BE "NATIONAL" RATHER THAN OWNING ITS ALLEGIANCE TO ONE MAN, THE SHAH. HAVING DONE HIS MILITARY SERVICE AS AN OFFICER HIMSELF IN REZA SHAH'S ARMY, HE SHUNNED CORRUPTION AND CYCERNAL OF TOP OFFICERS. EVERYWHERE, HE GRANTED THE POINT THAT CHANGE IN ARMY MIGHT HAVE TO BE MORE GRADUAL, WHILE IT SERVES AS AN UMBRELLA TO PROTECT BASIC CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

3. DERAKHSHIAN VOLUNTARILY THAT HE FEARED EITHER A RELIGIOUS DICTATORSHIP UNDER KHOMINI OR A COMMUNIST TANTAUER (INCE KHOMINI IS SHORT AGAIN). HIS OBJECTIVE IS TO STARE THAT ON THE ROAD TOWARD DEMOCRATIC GOVT. HE DID NOT QUARREL WITH POL COUNSELOR'S POINT THAT IRAN WAS HEADED

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[REDACTED] THAT MAY CURE SHAH'S LIBERALIZATION PLAN, BEYOND KEEPING CONTINUING INABILITY TO BELIEVE ANYTHING THE SHAH SAYS.
HE SAID HE OR HIS FRIENDS WOULD IMMEDIATELY RECRUIT TRAITORS AND LEAD THEIR FOLLOWERS IF THEY AGREED TO WORK IN A GOVT UNDER THE SHAH. HE KEPT PREDICTING TO THE POINT THAT THE SHAH MUST GO -- OTHERS TO KNOW HIS FOLLOWERS WILL NOT BE CAPTURED IN POWER SUFFICIENTLY TO ALLOW DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO BECOME ACTIVE AND OPERATE A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS FOR IRAN.

4. DERAKHSHIAN STATED HE WAS IN TOUCH WITH MANY TEACHERS, PULLING OUT LONG PETITION LETTERS, MANY OF THEM WITH HUNDREDS OF SIGNATURES ON THEM, WHICH HE HAS BEEN RECEIVING FROM THE PROVINCES. IN ONE CASE THE TEACHERS HAD FUGHT REFUGEE IN A MOSQUE AND SIGNED THIS PETITION AGAINST ONE OF THEIR HIGHEST MEN IN AMERICA. ALL THE PETITIONS ARE ANTI-SHAH.

5. DERAKHSHIAN CONFIRMED OF HAVING BEEN ARRESTED WHEN HE AND HIS PEOPLE USED TO PRINT SOME TRACTS AND A NEWS PAPER EARLIER THIS YEAR. HE NOTED THE SHAH HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN APPOINTING KHOMINI-KHANI, WITH HIS IMAGE AS PRIME MINISTER AT A TIME OF SUCH GREAT DISTRESS. SHAH MIGHT HAVE CONSIDERED WHAT TYPE OF THE SITUATION IF HE HAD APPOINTED A GOVT. IN COV'E INCLUDING SOME OPPOSITION FIGURES. HE INDICATED HE TOLD HIS FRIENDS NOT TO BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE, UNLESS APPROVED BY THE LOCAL

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Anexo No 13.

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STATE
CHG CWAAS
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FOL(3) CHG ECON TCA OR

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMCONSUL DHAKA
AMEMBASSY DOHA
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY RABAT
USLO RIYADH
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USCINCPAC VAIHINGEN GE
USCINCPAC

130

E.O. 12063; DDS-4 5/6/09 (STEMPEL, J.D.) DR-P
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PIHS, IR
SUBJ: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN

1. ((ENTIRE TEXT)) THIS IS A REPORTING CABLE.

2. SUMMARY: CHARGE REVIEWED U.S. DESIRE TO NORMALIZE
U.S.-IRAN TIES, NOTED PROPAGANDA AGAINST USG, AND
STRESSED U.S. IS NOT IN ANY WAY INTERVENING IN IRANIAN
INTERNAL AFFAIRS. BAZARGAN STRESSED HIS PERSONAL

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COMMITMENT TO GOOD U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS, AND STRESSED PGOI DESIRE FOR GOOD, EVEN EXPANDED, ECONOMIC TIES WITH U.S. PG SOUGHT FAVORABLE USG ATTITUDE TOWARD PROBLEMS OF CONTRACT TERMINATION AND CONTINUANCE. BAZARGAN OPINED IT WOULD TAKE ANOTHER ONE/TWO MONTHS TO HAVE A DRAFT CONSTITUTION REPORT, BUT SAID ELECTORAL LAW FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HAS JUST BEEN COMPLETED. BAZARGAN-ENTEZAM DIO NOTE. END SUMMARY.

3. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY ACTING POLCOUNT STEPPEL CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN MORNING MAY 6. DEPUTY PM AMIR ENTEZAM WAS PRESENT AND TRANSLATED; THOUGH IT WAS APPARENT THAT BAZARGAN UNDERSTOOD MOST OF WHAT WAS BEING SAID IN ENGLISH, MEETING OPENED ON WARM NOTE OF GREETING ALL AROUND. CHARGE SPOKE IN TERMS TO THOSE HE HAD USED WITH OTHER MINISTERS: U.S. ACCEPTS RESULTS OF IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND WISHES NEW PGOI SUCCESS. USG STRONGLY DESIRES TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS TO EXTENT AND AT PACE PGOI DESIRES. U.S. SUPPORTS IRAN'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC STABILITY.

4. NOTING THAT THERE HAS BEEN MUCH ANTI-U.S. PROPAGANDA IN SPEECHES AND MEDIA, CHARGE STRESSED THAT U.S. IS NOT INTERVENING AND WILL NOT INTERVENE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF IRAN. PRIME MINISTER WELCOMED CHARGE'S STATEMENT WITH THANKS. CHARGE SAID IF EVER DOUBT AROSE ON THIS SCORE, BAZARGAN OR SENIOR OFFICIALS SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO CALL CHARGE OR AMBASSADOR, WHEN HE ARRIVES. TIMELY FRANKNESS WAS GOOD WAY TO MINIMIZE MISUNDERSTANDING.

5. BAZARGAN RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT HE PERSONALLY FAVORED GOOD U.S.-IRAN TIES, ALLUDING TO VALUE OF HIS PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH AND SOLLYMAN AND POLOFF. GOOD RELATIONS WITH U.S. WERE PERSONAL BELIEF FOR PRIME MINISTER, AND WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER TAIDI'S APPOINTMENT WAS BEING CONSIDERED, PR HAD QUESTIONED TAIDI ON THIS POINT HIMSELF UNTIL HE WAS ASSURED THAT TAIDI SUPPORTED FRIENDLY TIES WITH U.S. PGOI FEELS U.S. DOES INDEED WANT IRAN TO BE A STRONG POWER, AND BAZARGAN JUDGED U.S. WAS SINCERE IN WANTING GOOD RELATIONS. IF U.S. AGREES THAT IRANIAN INTERPRETATION OF U.S. INTENTIONS IS CORRECT, QUOTE WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR NEW AMBASSADOR WILL BE ABLE TO HELP US. UNQUOTE BAZARGAN THEN SAID IF USG HAD ANY INFORMATION THAT WOULD HELP IRAN DEFEND ITS INDEPENDENCE FROM ITS ENEMIES QUOTE WE WILL APPRECIATE IT IF YOU CAN PASS IT TO US. UNQUOTE HE INDICATED DEPUTY

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PM ENTEZAM SHOULD BE CONTACT FOR THIS PURPOSE.

6. PR NOTED THAT U.S. AND IRAN HAD HAD GOOD ECONOMIC AND MILITARY RELATIONS. NEW PGOI WANTED SAME, PERHAPS EXPANDED, ECONOMIC TIES. MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WOULD OF COURSE CHANGE. WEAPONS PURCHASES WOULD STOP, BUT PGOI NEEDED TECHNICAL HELP AND SPARE PARTS. PGOI HOPED AND EXPECTED TO HAVE FAVORABLE USG HELP IN SETTLING QUESTIONS OF CONTRACT TERMINATION AND RENEWAL. ENTEZAM ADDED THAT PGOI WANTED USG QUOTE NOT TO BE AGAINST US UNQUOTE ON DECISIONS WHETHER TO RENEW CONTRACTS OR NOT. ENTEZAM NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT \$8 MILLION IN SPARE PARTS WAS STILL WAITING IN TEXAS FOR SHIPMENT TO IRAN, AND URGED SOME ACTION ON THIS MATTER. CHARGE SAID HE WOULD CHECK ON IT, BUT THOUGHT SHIPMENT OF WHOLE \$8 MILLION WORTH HAD BEGUN SOME DAYS EARLIER (MISSION BELIEVES AT LEAST ONE PLANELOAD HAS ALREADY ARRIVED); DETAILS WILL BE FORWARDED TO PGOI. ENTEZAM ASKED FURTHER QUESTION ABOUT REPORTED ARRIVAL OF IRANIAN MILITARY PLANES. CHARGE SAID THERE WERE NINE CARGO PLANES TO TAKE OUT BACKLOG OF HOUSEHOLD SHIPMENTS AND THAT PLANES WERE COMING AT RATE OF ONE OR TWO PER DAY, NOT ALL AT ONCE. ENTEZAM NOTED THIS WITH SATISFACTION.

7. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM CHARGE, PR DEVOTED A FEW MINUTES TO BROAD BRUSH OVERVIEW OF REVOLUTION, NOTING THAT HE WAS MERELY ELABORATING ON HIS RECENT TV TALK-IRANIAN REVOLUTION HAS SUCCEEDED VERY RAPIDLY. THIS BROUGHT MANY DIFFICULTIES, BUT PGOI WAS TRYING TO GET TOGETHER AND BEGIN TO MEET ITS PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY SECURITY. ENTEZAM ADDED THAT PGOI HAD SUPPORT OF QUOTE 99 PERCENT OF PEOPLE UNQUOTE WHO ARE WILLING TO GIVE UP A GREAT DEAL TO MAKE REVOLUTION SUCCEED. CONCERNED: THAT RECENT KILLINGS OF ISLAMIC MOVEMENT LEADERS (GHEN GARANI AND ATTOLAH MOTAHARI) HAD INCREASED ANXIETY. BAZARGAN SAID THESE PROBLEMS WOULD BE OVERCOME. NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION WAS BEING WORKED ON, BUT IT WOULD TAKE ONE TO TWO MONTHS FOR IT TO BE READY FOR RELEASE TO PUBLIC IN FINAL FORM. MEANWHILE, NEW ELECTORAL LAW HAD JUST BEEN COMPLETED, SO ADMINISTRATIVE PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WERE WELL ALONG. TWO OR THREE MONTHS MORE WOULD PROBABLY BE

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NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THIS PROCESS; THIS WAS EXAMPLE OF PROBLEM WHICH GREW FROM RAPID SUCCESS OF REVOLUTION. (COMENTS: BAZARGAN AND ENTEZAM APPEARED SINCERELY POSITIVE, BUT THEY WENT TO SOME MODEST PAINS TO PAINT GOOD PICTURE OF REVOLUTION GRADUALLY CONSOLIDATING ITS GAINS. SINCE DISCUSSION CAME AT END OF MEETING, CHARGE DID NOT PUSH FOR THEIR REACTION TO HARD QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. VIEW GIVEN ABOVE IS PROBABLY AS CLOSE TO AN APPROVED QUOTE PARTY LINE UNQUOTE FOR THE ISLAMIC PGDI AS CAN BE FOUND.)

8. ENTEZAM AND BAZARGAN: ENTEZAM IS NOW CLEARLY PR'S RIGHT HAND MAN. HE HAS BEEN CLOSE TO BAZARGAN FOR SOME YEARS, BUT REALLY CAME INTO HIS OWN JUST BEFORE AND JUST AFTER SUCCESS OF REVOLUTION. DEPARTURE OF TAJDI FROM PRIME MINISTERIAL ENTOURAGE HAS GIVEN ENTEZAM GREATER ROLE IN GENERAL POLITICS OF PGDI, INCLUDING FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHICH WERE VIRTUAL YACIDI PRESERVE. ENTEZAM IS ABOUT 48, A 1963 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BERKELEY PHD IN ECONOMICS, AND HAS HAD HIS OWN PRIVATE CONSULTING FIRM FOR SEVERAL YEARS. WITHIN LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI) HE ROSE TO POSITION ON CENTRAL GOVERNING BODY OVER PAST TWO YEARS AND WAS ONE OF THOSE CHOSEN BY BAZARGAN FOR GOVERNMENTAL POSITION BECAUSE OF HIS MODERATE VIEWS. HE WAS CHIEF CHALLENGER OF CURRENT TEHRANMATOR TAVAKOLI, WHO REPRESENTED THE LEFTIST FACTION OF THE LMI. BAZARGAN CHOSE ENTEZAM TO REPLACE TAVAKOLI AS THE LMI'S PRINCIPAL DAY TO DAY CONTACT WITH THE EMBASSY SEVERAL WEEKS PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION'S SUCCESS.

9. BOTH ENTEZAM AND BAZARGAN SHARE A WESTERN INTELLECTUAL VIEW OF THE WORLD AND THE WAY OF LIFE SHOULD BE ORIENTATED. THOUGH RELIGIOUS (BAZARGAN MORE SO THAN ENTEZAM), BOTH IMPLICITLY BELIEVE MORE IN WESTERN RATIONALIST CONCEPTS THAN THEIR THEOLOGICAL ALLIES IN THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT. DURING THIS MEETING BAZARGAN LOOKED HEALTHY AND ALERT. MAASE#

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Anexo No 14.



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tehran, Iran

October 28, 1979

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The President has asked me to convey the following message to you:

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

It is my pleasure to extend to you and to the people of Iran my best wishes on the holy occasion of Eid-E Ghorban. May you and your countrymen be blessed with health and happiness and may your efforts on behalf of your country meet with success. We in America seek to work with you and your associates in developing an environment of mutual respect and positive cooperation between our two peoples and countries.

With best wishes,

Jimmy Carter"

Sincerely,

L. Wanda Laingen
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

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His Excellency
Dr. Mehdi Bazargan,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Iran,
Tehran.

CHARGE:LB/LAINGEN:EM
10/28/79

CC:POL

Anexo No 15.

مدد مالوگان

СОМІЮРНІСТЬ

M-11 BAJARWAN
(Phonetic: baa-JAHWN)

Member, Executive Committee, National Front (since at least August 1978)

A professor, politician and businessman, Mehdi Borsigian has a long history of opposition to the Shah. One of the leaders of the Iran National Front--usually referred to as the National Front (NF)--and a member of its Executive Committee, the front is a revival of the NF of 1953-54, a coalition that supported Prime Minister Mossadegh in his power struggle with the Shah. After Mossadegh was overthrown, many NF members fled the country and moved to Europe or the United States; Borsigian, who had been an active supporter of Mossadegh, stayed in Iran, continuing to criticize the Shah by using his firm for injecting sensitive themes into his drawings and fabric reviews. (S)

In mid-1978 Bazzargan emerged from a period of relative political inactivity. He spoke at several rallies, during which he called for a return of truly constitutional government, expanded freedom of the press, total independence of the judiciary, and free elections. In October 1978 Bazzargan went to Paris to see allied religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Bazzargan is reported to have told Khomeini that he expected the end of the Shah's rule and the Pahlavi dynasty. Bazzargan heads the Liberation Movement of Iran and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom. (C)

A Survey to Opportunities

The son of an Azerbaijan merchant, Rassagian was born in 1905. He attended school in France for eight years. After receiving a degree in thermodynamics from the University of Paris, he returned to Iran in 1936 and subsequently served as assistant professor, then professor, and

(cont'd.)

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GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

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Finally dean of the Engineering Faculty of Tehran University. He was appointed technical and parliamentary under secretary in the Ministry of Education in May 1951. The following month he was named chairman of the board of the National Iranian Oil Company, charged with implementing Mossadeq's oil nationalization program; he served until May 1952. In February 1953 Baghban became director general of the Tehran water system, but after the downfall of Mossadeq, he was dismissed in 1954 and imprisoned briefly in 1955. (C)

In 1957 Bazargan resumed teaching at Tehran University, where he headed the Islamic Students Society and founded the National Freedom Movement of Iran (NFM), now defunct, was a rightwing, religious, nationalist organization, which was at various times affiliated with the MF. A member of the Central Committee of the MF during 1957-58, he was convicted of treason (along with nine other NFM leaders) by a military court in 1964. Bazargan was sentenced to 10 years of solitary confinement, but he was pardoned by the Shah in 1967. After his release he lived quietly in Tehran and devoted himself to running an engineering firm, but despite his enforced inactivity, his name remained known and respected in opposition circles. (C)

Personal Data

A particularly devout Shi's Muslim, Bazarqan has written extensively on religious matters. Although he is narrow-minded almost to the point of fanaticism regarding Islam and its precepts, he is otherwise an intelligent man who can be receptive to the ideas of others. Bazarqan speaks French and English. (C)

3 December 1978

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CONFIDENTIAL

Anexo No 16.

SECRET	TO: Department of State	FROM: Ambassador TEHRAN	DATE: January 11, 1978
RE: Ambassador's Goals and Objectives in Iran		SUBJECT: AMGOT, IR	
REF ID: A1 State 295486; (M) State 241277; (C) Tehran 0367			
<p>I welcome the opportunity to discuss in this airgram the approaches which I intend to follow in order to ensure that this Mission effectively pursues the goals and objectives which the United States Government has established in Iran. In ref ID: the Country Team and I have commented on the statement transmitted by Ref (A). We indicated that we considered that statement a reasonable and satisfactory program for our diplomacy.</p> <p>My first approach to this program has been organizational. I have attempted to insure that there is more "light-weight" work to this end. I have instituted daily meetings of the Team and have particularly included the Chief of Armistice-Mag in these daily sessions. Since he controls the largest element of the Mission (over 1100 U.S. military officers, enlisted men and U.S. civilian employees) and handles the most expansive program (\$18 billion), I believe that this move has significantly enhanced the effectiveness of the Mission's organization.</p> <p>Following patterns I have employed in the direction of other large Missions, I attempt to handle the largest possible volume of our activities in our daily meetings so that each element of the Country Team is aware of the actions of the others, problems of all other elements are brought before the broadest possible sharing of information within the Country Team and the participation of all members, under the chairmanship of the Deputy Chief of Mission, in the formulation of all policy recommendations.</p>			
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AMERICAN EMBASSY TEHRAN			

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SECRET

Tehran A-15
Page 2

Proceeding from this organizational base, the Mission has undertaken the task of realizing our numerous and complex proposals. I shall review them under the major headings employed in Ref (A).

I. A Sustained Political/Economic Relationship built upon Trust and Confidence

When the Carter Administration took office, the Shah and the Government of Iran were uncertain about its interests in this part of the world, its commitments to previous agreements, and its attitude towards the Shah as a ruler. As a result of the Shah's State Visit to Washington in November and President Carter's official visit to Tehran at the end of December, the uncertainties have been substantially reduced. In view of this situation, I feel I have been able to develop a relationship of trust and confidence with the Shah. I regularly have long talks with him on a whole range of subjects and those discussions are marked by candor on both sides.

To maintain this sort of relationship, I will need to be able to provide him authoritative information on matters of mutual interest, such as the Middle East, the SALT talks, the Indian Ocean discussions, etc. While the President has made clear that he wishes this sort of information passed to the Shah, the bureaucracy is sometimes reluctant to divulge it in a timely fashion. I shall continue to press Washington on these matters.

From time to time I shall also submit Presidential correspondence with the Shah. This will be on subjects which have been discussed between the two Chiefs of State. I will, of course, appreciate any correspondence from the President which Washington may generate on its own initiative. Given the highly personalized structure of leadership in this country, such personal correspondence is an excellent vehicle of communication.

Due to the new liberalization in Iran, the Ambassador has received letters and other contacts from dissident groups. He has responded to them and will seek cautiously to build up an expanded range of interlocutors in these groups who are outside the official "ring around the Embassy".

On macro-economic problems, we have begun initial discussions with the new, young, and technically competent

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-17-

In the Amouzgar cabinet, I believe it would be useful for both the United States and Iran to have an objective international body such as the World Bank make an intensive study of Iran's economic future. Looking towards the era when petroleum resources will no longer underpin Iran's development, while the bank is willing, I have encountered Iranian resistance to the idea, but will continue to work at it.

III. An Enhanced U.S.-Iranian Relationship in Non-Military Fields

We believe we have had significant success in improving U.S.-Iranian relations in the field of energy, particularly petroleum. Iran took the lead in calling for an OPEC price freeze in 1972. Iran remains a reliable source for petroleum to the U.S. and our closest friends. This development came about partly because of the world oil supply situation, partly because of the Carter Administration's energy program, and partly because of our own blunt talk to the Shah about the problems which Iran's oil policy was causing in our bilateral relations. I believe we can maintain Iran in the camp of moderation if we demonstrate convincingly that our energy program will cut back on petroleum imports and will seriously exploit other sources of energy.

In the general economic sphere, we will continue to push energetically for a fair U.S. share of the market. We will push will be aided by lower U.S. inflation and by the willingness of U.S. business, with U.S. Government support, to arrange parallel oil purchases to offset the dollar costs of U.S. contracts with Iran.

One major American commercial sale to Iran over the next few years should be approximately \$10 billion in nuclear power reactors, to result from early signature of a U.S.-Iran bilateral on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The President and the Shah announced agreement in principle on this matter December 31, and I hope to have the agreement actually signed on February 28 during the final meeting of the U.S.-Iran Joint Commission. That date could be affected if the Senate fails to pass controlling legislation by that time. This, plus other arrangements in the field of housing, agriculture, and civil aviation, should enable us to enhance the status of the Joint Commission, the Tehran element of which I have brought directly into my own office.

Our intelligence collaboration with Iran remains well established and I believe will be enhanced by certain new

technical proposals we expect to make in the near future. Our cooperation with Iran in the narcotics program for Afghanistan will receive additional attention in 1978.

The problem of Iranian students going to the United States is one which will be with us for many years. We have made significant progress in the last few months in the establishment of orientation programs and screening procedures world wide jointly with the Ministry of Education. We have also submitted a number of proposals to Washington for improvements which we believe would materially assist in mastering this problem, especially in the administration of I-20 forms by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

On the question of obtaining full payment from Iran of the delinquent surplus property debt, I have encountered difficulties flowing from a tangled legal situation in which the British government has been involved. The British are considering demands sustained by their railroad. Payment is further complicated by the wartime British role in this matter and by the reluctance of both British and Iranian governments to supply us with pertinent documents. We will continue to work on this matter.

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III. Carefully Coordinated Military Relationship Including the Military Supply Program

As a result of administrative changes resulting from the President's arms restraint policy, I have assumed a far more difficult role than my predecessor in the provision of military equipment to Iran. In preparation of this role, I have worked out with the Shah and his military officials a long-term projection of Iran's needs in the way of military equipment to be procured from the United States. Due to a number of factors, this projection is markedly more modest than earlier projections had suggested. This reduced program will be discussed with the Shah in the course of my visit to Iran, in conformity with the President's policy, met with all U.S. defense contractors here to explain our new policies and to inform them of the requirements of our new regulations.

IV. Maintenance of Iran's Balanced Posture in Regional Affairs

Most of my long discussions with the Shah in recent months have been on regional matters. I have also had numerous discussions on the same subjects with Foreign Minister Pahlavi.

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Tehran A-10
Page 5

From these discussions I conclude that Iranian foreign policy is responsible and constructive, and that we can influence it to remain so. In the Arab-Israel dispute, in the Indian Ocean nuclear non-proliferation, in Africa and elsewhere, Iran plays a constructive role. In order to continue our influence on these issues, I need to know at least as much as my Iranian interlocutors about the areas and events in question. For this reason, I welcome the various intelligence summaries I receive, especially the daily Middle East INR/ME. I would also welcome receiving daily papers from the NSC or S/P relating to these subjects as they are produced.

V. Improvement in Iran's Human Rights Performance

This is the most delicate aspect of our relations with Iran. I believe we have already made some progress on this subject in the last several months. This has been accomplished by touching the Iranians -- especially the Shah -- in their pride about their international image on the subject. The two conversations which the President has had with the Shah on this subject have already made a major contribution to progress on this issue. A effective means I have found in dealing with this subject is to work through the intermediation of a private, non-governmental organization. A distinguished representative of that organization, who is responsive to my suggestions, makes proposals for the amelioration of human rights to Iranian authorities in his own name. Although he cannot be our tactic, he assumes full responsibility for his suggestions. In this way, the Iranians can, and have been, able to improve their performance on human rights without the appearance of having been hectored into these improvements by a foreign, albeit friendly, government.

[Signature]
SULLIVAN

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~~SECRET~~

Anexo No 17.

PSKUO BBR BBR
TALKS ON CASE OF DIMITRIOS
KALOGEROS
1. TALKS ON LEXIS - 117
2. TALKS ON ICIAR
3. TALKS ON PAPAGIANNIS
4. TALKS ON GREECE 222
5. TALKS ON ILLINOIS 327, 38
6. TALKS ON PAPAGIANNIS 118

PSKUO BBR BBR

STAT "THE JUDGES" MIGHT BE PREJUDICED AGAINST IRAN AND
WITHOUT ACTION BY THE USG THE COURTS MIGHT DRAG THE CASE
ON. COMMENTS. WE DO NOT KNOW THE ORIGIN OF THIS APPROACH.
MAY FEEL THAT THAT PART OF THE FIRM HARD LINE BEING
TAKEN BY PATAVANOR IS VIA OWN PECULIAR STYL OF NEGOTIA-
TIONS.

7. IN AN CONVERSATION ON SEPTEMBER 12 WITH PATAVANOR,
RECONCOURS MAY DEMAND AS INSTRUCTED IN STATE 220027
AND LEFT AN AIDE MEMOIRE. WE BELIEVE THIS CONSTITUTE
AN APPROPRIATE REPLY TO PATAVANOR ON THEIR END ISSUE.
RECONCOURS DID NOT MAKE THE SPECIFIC LINK THE USG CONTRA-
RATION WITH PATAVANOR. RECONCOURS COMPLAINED OF RESTRICTIONS
IMPOSED ON PATAVANOR. SEPTEMBER 14, PLANS TO EXPLAIN
TO PATAVANOR THAT SEPTEMBER 12 AIDE MEMOIRE PROVIDED
CCESS RESPONSE TO HIS NOTE. WE ARE IN A POSITION TO
GIVE AT THIS TIME. WE WILL PRIMARILY TREAT APPEAL
PROCESS AS UNIMPORTANT AND IT IS STATE DEPARTMENT POLICY
NOT TO FILE AMICUS CURIAE BRIEFS AT SUCH A STAGE
IN PROCEEDINGS. THE DEPARTMENT WILL MONITOR DEVELOPMENTS
IN THIS CASE CAREFULLY AND, IF THE SITUATION SHOULD
WARRANT AN AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF AT ANOTHER STAGE IN
THE APPEAL PROCESS, CONSIDER THIS OPTION.

LAWRENCE
BT
REIDO

PSKUO BBR BBR

BT
REIDO

1. TALKS WITH IRANIAN ATTACHEES 2022

2. TALKS WITH IRANIAN TERRAIN SPERS

3. TALKS WITH IRANIAN (ARMED, AMERIC) 2022

4. TALKS WITH IRANIAN 19

5. TALKS WITH IRANIAN ATTACHEE FOR USAP 2022

6. TALKS WITH IRANIAN ATTACHEE 19

7. TALKS WITH IRANIAN ATTACHEE 19

IRANIAN HAS RECEIVED NOTES FROM MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS INDICATING REGARDING THE BLOCKING OF U.S. GOVERN-
MENT'S 10 MILLION DOLLARS OF IRANIAN HELICOPTER AND AIR
CRAFT USED IN THE U.S. IN CONNECTION WITH THE
IRANIAN HELICOPTER SHOOTDOWN CASE.

RECONCOURS ON THIS DATE WITH USA AMERICAN
ATTACHEE PATAVANOR, PATAVANOR STRESSED THAT THE CASE
WAS NOT A TERRITORY ACTION AS A POLITICAL ISSUE BETWEEN
THE U.S. AND IRAN NOT A TERRITORY. THE INFLUENCE OF THE
U.S. ON THE CASE AS A POLITICAL ISSUE AND TO ASK
RECONCOURS TO CALL THE ATTENTION OF THE U.S. ATTACHEE
TO THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF BRIEFLY SUCH AS
TO THE U.S. CASE AND TO HAVE IRANIAN TAKEN TO
THEIR ATTACHEE PATAVANOR. PATAVANOR STATED
PATAVANOR HOPED THIS CASE WOULD BECOME A PROSECUTIVE.

RECONCOURS ADVISED PATAVANOR THE SEPARATION OF
POLITICAL AND PROSECUTIVE IN THE U.S. AND THE FACT THAT
IRANIAN COULD SUPPORT IRAN ACT ON THE CASE. SHE SAID
SHE COULD NOT DO SO AS THIS COULD BE AGREED BY THE
COURT. THESE WERE THREE TYPES OF QUESTIONS BUT WITH THE
QUESTIONS CONCERNED BEFORE THE CASE REACHED TO COURT

PATAVANOR WAS APPARENTLY UNIMPRESSED BY THE CONCEPT
OF SEPARATION OF POLITICAL FROM PROSECUTIVE POINTED OUT IN
U.S. LAW WHICH SEPARATION OF POLITICAL MIGHT BE ILLOGICAL
IN THIS SITUATION THAT HAD IN THE PAST TOOLED THE COUNTRY
AS A RESULT OF U.S. HOSTILITY TO IRAN. IT IS
NOT CLEAR WHETHER PATAVANOR WAS REFERRING TO POLITICAL, IT
COULD REFER TO SEPARATION OF U.S. TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION.

RECONCOURS STATED SHE CONSIDERED THAT THE IRANIAN
PROSECUTION OF IRANIAN HELICOPTER SHOOTDOWN CASE WAS
NOT APPROPRIATE THIS DAY AS CARING IN RELATIONS
BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, IRANIAN ATTACHEE IN THE
CASE PROSECUTION. PATAVANOR STATED HE WAS CONCERNED

PSKUO BBR BBR

A nexo No 18.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

DIST TO MEMORANDUM FOR:
PM -Action

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RF

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

SUBJECT:

Follow-up on the President's Talk with
the Shah of Iran

A-A

C-VN

T-FU

During the President's talks with the Shah of Iran in Tehran on May 30-31, the President was forthcoming in response to the Shah's general request for continued US support in meeting Iran's needs for military equipment. The President made the specific commitments described below which now require follow-up:

1. The US is willing in principle to sell F-14 and F-15 aircraft to Iran as soon as we are satisfied as to their operational effectiveness.
2. The US is prepared to provide laser-guided bombs to Iran.
3. The US will assign in Iran an increased number of uniformed military technicians from the US services in accordance with the so-called "blue-suiter" approach to work with the Iranian services.

The Defense Department is requested to prepare by June 30, in coordination with the State Department, a memorandum describing the manner in which each of these programs can be carried out in a way that will be consistent with the President's commitment.


Henry A. Kissinger

~~SECRET~~

Anexo No 19.

1158

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STATE
PHOTOGRAPH
POL: JOURNALIST
POL: PHOTOGRAPHER, NEWSPAPER, REPORTER, STAFFER, STATE

1.5. Setting up

2. SUGGEST FREQUENT VISITS OF HHS, HHS OFFICE OF INSURANCE AND MEDICAL REFORM, AND HHS OFFICE OF POLICY ANALYSIS AND ADVISORY TO HAVE DIRECT CONTACT WITH US. THESE PARTIES ARE FAMILIAR AND INDEPENDENTLY ANTI-ABORTIONISTS. THEY SHOULD BE MADE AWARE OF THE HHS APPROVAL PROCESS, OFFER A CHANCE TO PUT HIGH BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ABORTIONISTS, AND ENCOURAGE THE INTEGRITY OF THE PARTS OF HHS WHICH HAD A POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. IN ADDITION, THEY SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY DO NOT RECOMMEND ANYONE FOR RECONSIDERATION OF THE POSITION OF THE HHS ON THIS ISSUE.

3. IMPROVE IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS FOR CRITICAL EXPRESSIONS AT PREDICTIVE VARIABLE AND STATE LEVEL. THOUGH OVER CURRENT CONDITIONS IN LEADERSHIP STATE, NEED TO EXPAND THE TIME HORIZON OF ANALYSIS. THIS WILL ALLOW LEADERSHIP TO COMMUNICATE ACCURATELY TO LEADERSHIP TEAM MEMBERS. IN ADDITION, LEADERSHIP TEAM MEMBERS WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE BETTER DECISIONS BASED ON THIS INFORMATION. IN ADDITION, LEADERSHIP TEAM MEMBERS WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE BETTER DECISIONS BASED ON THIS INFORMATION.

4. IN THE SPHERE OF POLICY, WHETHER STATE FOREIGN POLICY OR UNDERSTANDINGS CHANGE AND PATTERN APPROPRIATE POLICIES ARE MADE, THE FOLLOWING IS CONSIDERED AS A CRUCIAL POINT WHICH MUST INDICATE WHERE WE ARE. IN THIS VIEW I WOULD LIKE TO SEE OUR DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS WHO HAVE CONTACT WITH LEADERS

THE USE OF ANESTHETIC IN THE FERRET DURING AND AFTER
THE INDUCTION OF AN EPILEPTIC SEIZURE HAS BEEN STUDIED.
IT WAS FOUND THAT THE SEIZURE WAS MORE SEVERE AND LASTED
FOR A LONGER PERIOD OF TIME IN THE ANESTHETIZED FERRETS.
IT WAS ALSO FOUND THAT THE SEIZURE WAS MORE SEVERE AND LASTED
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FOR A LONGER PERIOD OF TIME IN THE ANESTHETIZED FERRETS.

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THESE RESULTS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION. THEY WERE PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK CITY IN JUNE OF 1968. THEY WERE PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK CITY IN JUNE OF 1968.

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