

# EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA Tehran, Iran

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October 4, 1979

# CONFIDENTIAL

# OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Mr. R. T. Curran Director for North African, Near Easter and South Asian Affairs United States International Communications Agency Washington, D.C. 20547

#### Dear Ted:

At the end of my second month in Tehran, it should be useful for me, and perhaps for you also, to try to sort out where I think we are now and what we should do in the next six months to promote U.S. interests in Iran.

The Revolution: As I see it, the revolution which suddenly found itself victorious last February was essentially a revolt against privilege. The forces opposing the Shah were a disparate lot -- Shi'a traditionalists, Westernized democratic liberals, socialists, Marxists -- who coalesced for one purpose only, to oust the Shah. These disparate groups could never, however, have mustered the force to face down the Shah without the fanatical backing of the masses who were fired up by the charisma of Khomeini. In addition to opposing entrenched privilege, many who fought the Shah were profoundly upset by rapid change and Western (especially American) influences which permeated Iranian society and in the view of many were undermining traditional values and institutions.

In brief, the revolution was against privilege and rapid Westernization. I believe it is essential that we keep this firmly in view as we go about trying to promote U.S. interests by entering into ongoing communication processes with influential Iranians. There are, of course, specific communication tensions, but the deep-seated tensions stemming from revolt against privilege and Westernization underlie most of the other limited tensions we may address.

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Influence Structure: Iran is still a long way from lending itself to normal USICA program planning. The country has undergone a genuine revolution. Members of the pre-revolution establishment have, for the most part, been executed, gone into exile, or are living in the limbo of "taghout" (tainted ones). Prominent members of the old anti-Shah liberal and leftist groups are in exile (i.e., Bakhtiar), in hiding (i.e., Matin Daftari) or obliged for the moment to be unenthusiastic fellow travelers (i.e., Tudeh Party) on the road to fundamental Islam.

An analysis of the power structure of post-revolution Iran would place Khomeini and the other ayatollahs at the top, along with the Shi'a clergymen elected to the Council now conjuring over a constitution. Next would come the mullahs who have infiltrated the provisional government and the revolutionary courts, committees and para-military organizations. In third place, I would place the politicians (i.e., Bazargan) who have managed to adapt to the prevailing Islamic winds and maintain a precarious grip on the helms of provisional government or quasi-government organizations, including the oil industry (NIOC). In fourth place, are the buccaneers who lead the various para-military groups (pasdaran) and local revolutionary committees. Finally, come the unsophisticated mullahs and the masses they serve in the villages and teeming urban ghettos whose fanatical support is the chief source of the power which Khomeini and the ayatollahs wield.

Shadow Influence Structure: A good analysis of the influence structure of a society which has undergone a revolution and has not yet settled into anything like a stable pattern would also include the frustrated "outs" jockeying on the sidelines. None of the "outs," however, is likely to make a move to grab power so long as the Islamic fundamentalists continue to enjoy the overwhelming support of the masses. The silent opposition counts on the inability of the mullahs to manage a society in the 20th century world eventually to provide them with opportunity to take power or at least strongly influence decision making because they have the skills or organization to cope with pressing security or economic problems. Here I would place the leaders in the conventional armed forces, the Westernized managers and technicians, the liberal-democratic politicians, para-military romantics, and finally the hard-line leftists, including the communists.

None of these groups can move overtly to take power without risking annihilation at the hands of the Islamic fundamentalists who at present enjoy the overwhelming support of the masses. The Islamic fundamentalists are nonetheless vulnerable. I see at least two scenarios which could result in chaos and their eventual downfall: the centrifugal forces generated by ethnic and regional disaffections, if they are badly enough handled, could shut down the oil fields, disrupt the traditional economy, or so frustrate nationalism that the masses would become disenchanted with their incept Islamic leaders; dissension in the schools among both the students and faculty could either shut down the schools over a long period and lead to mass dissatisfaction or degenerate into violence and set off the 40-day martyr cycle which contributed enormously to the downfall of the Shah. (Iranians have a pathological penchant for mourning and a typical third-world vulnerability to the demands of youth.)

Target Audiences: If the foregoing analysis is a reasonably accurate picture of the influence structure of post-revolution Iran, in theory USICA target audiences are: the clergy, the secular politicians who run government and quasi-government organizations, the leaders of para-military groups, the leaders of the conventional armed forces, the Westernized managers and technicians, the liberal politicians, the leaders of the hardline leftists, ethnic and regional leaders, students and teachers, the media people who influence all these groups, and finally the masses. Including the masses among our primary audience may appear heresy, but I believe it is justified in the case of post-revolution Iran where institutions are so weak that real power depends almost entirely on the thrust of mass sentiment. There are no institutions or procedures to cushion the thrust of aroused mass sentiment, capricious or unrealistic as it may be.

Inaccessibility of Target Audiences. Because America in particular and the West in general are blamed (scapegoats) for most of the problems which beset Iran and are seen as the enemy of both traditional Islam and revolutions, USICA does not have easy access to many of the influential audiences cited above. Nor can we take initiatives without running some risk of arousing active hostility. Many of the means which USICA normally uses to engage target audiences in an ongoing communication process focused on issues of mutual interest are not feasible in post-revolution Iran. There are few Iranian fora for most American participants; Western art and publications are often seen as anti-Islamic and corrupting; and our exchange programs are ill-adapted to the needs and

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interests of most of the target audiences. (Mullahs and pasdars, along with Kurdish and oil-field guerrillas are hardly the types our program officers are used to dealing with!)

USICA Successes: The foregoing list of obstacles should not be interpreted as so formidable that USICA is hopelessly hamstrung. We are not "hunkered down" or dispirited. On the contrary, more opportunities for useful action present themselves than we can cope with comfortably with our reduced resources and only partly reorganized operation. In recent weeks, we have, for example:

- --Placed Science Report and Vision on the national TV network.
- --Gained access to IAS Shiraz's bank account and enlisted the Governor General of Shiraz in our effort to recover the occupied IAS building. The IAS board has been reconstituted and plans are far along to begin teaching English.
- --Responded to a Foreign Ministry request for material on Cuba's relations with other Latin American countries -presumedly this was part of the Foreign Ministry's attempt to get ready for the Non-Aligned Conference in Hayana.
- --Produced copies of the U.S. Constitution in Farsi and English in response to a request from the Office of the Constitutional Assembly which has responsibility for acquiring documentation useful to the Council now in the process of producing a constitution for Iran.
- --Placed several releases regarding our newly reopened consular operation with all the principal media outlets; created signs for the consular operation which helped reduce disorder; laid ugly rumors and misunderstandings to rest by engaging in long discussions with editors which resulted in helpful stories; installed a loudspeaker system outside the consular operation so we can talk directly with the crowds.
- --Developed a plan which will in the next few weeks reinstitute programming at IAS Tehran: a film series, a concert, art exhibits, and a members' night. IAS Isphahan is planning a similar program.
- --Organized a dinner at the PAO's house which featured a VTR showing an example of how American television reported the Iranian Revolution. Guests included prominent members of the working press, Foreign Ministry

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officials, a writer, an artist, and an IAS Tehran board member who is also a distinguished professor of law at Tehran University.

- --Helped organize dinners at the Charge's residence which featured American films and in one case an American pianist. Guests included high ranking government officials, doctors, lawyers, and professors.
- --Came up with books on state and local government requested by the Deputy Prime Minister for Cooperation.
- --Talked with the Minister and the Spokesman at the Ministry of Guidance about recent expulsions of American journalists.

In addition to the items noted above, English courses at IAS Tehran and Isphahan are bringing in thousands of Iranians and enrollment figures may even approach pre-revolutionary figures by the second semester.

Reservations about the Regime: There is, of course, a good deal about the post-revolutionary Iran which is disconcerting to Americans: human rights violations, including summary executions; expulsion of American journalists; bans on much of the domestic press; mistreatment of minorities such as the Kurds and Bahais; frequent characterization of America as imperialist and Zionist dominated; and foreign policy postures inimical to U.S. interests. To make matters worse, we are not able to enter into meaningful dialogue about many of these issues with influential Iranians. It could therefore be argued that it is in the long-term U.S. interest to sharply limit our relations with Iran in order to avoid being identified with policies and actions which are opposed to our ideals and interests.

Recommendations: I believe that it is in the long-term U.S. Interest to publicly express our concern over Iranian violations of human rights. We should also take firm issue with pronouncements by Iranian leaders which characterize us as imperialists and Zionist lackeys, or accuses us of intervention in Iranian internal affairs. Finally, we should strenuously object to the expulsion of American journalists.

On the other hand, I am convinced that Iran is today so fractured and disparate that it would be a mistake to assume that any disconcerting action or pronouncement represents Iran in toto. We should therefore avoid reacting on an across-theboard basis and treat each incident or pronouncement on an ad hoc, limited basis. Similarly, we should deal with each

issue and each opportunity for dialogue on its merits without linking it to any other issue or rebuff. I recognize that such an attitude on our part makes planning and resource management difficult. But I nonetheless feel confident that we can operate on such a basis to excellent long-term effect. I therefore recommend that USICA Iran give top priority to acquiring the equipment, personnel, insights, structure, organization, and procedures which will give us the flexibility and resources to take full advantage of opportunity. (The revolution and its aftermath destroyed our physical plant, scattered our personnel, and made our old organization, program and procedures obsolete.)

More specifically, I am comfortable with the initiatives proposed in Ms. McAfee's "Communication on Environment Problems, Prospects, Ideas" and the subsequent proposals developed by USICA Washington for Assistant Secretary Saunders and the NSC. I am particularly pleased with the plan to expand VOA Farsi services and our recent success in placing Agency films on national television, as I noted earlier, at this juncture the mass audience is a prime audience. I am also convinced that we should make the effort and take the risks involved in trying to enter into a genuine dialogue with the Islamic clergy and the leftists. I recognize that we are ill-equipped to communicate effectively with these two groups and that the kind of Americans (i.e., Jesse Jackson, Andy Young) most acceptable to them may be less than representative of the views of our own establishment. But the mullahs or the leftists are likely to be dominant for a long time to come. If Iran is important to us, self-interest suggests that we accept a sizeable portion of discomfort and learn to communicate effectively with mujahedins mullahs, pasdars, and even Fedayeen Khalq -- being careful of course to avoid being identified with them or with any other faction for that matter.

With warmest regards,

John Graves Public Affairs Officer

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NOTES CALL

"IFMN UPPAGE" (-05, 1979

I. Ravolution

11. Judge

The causes of the revolution were:

#### 1. Corruption:

- a. The personal corruption of the Shah
- b. The corruption of his family (including Phalavi Foundation)
- c. The corruption of his ministers
- d. The corruption of his friends the so-called "51 leading industrialists"
- e. The corruption of the military

#### 2. Social/Economic Upheaval:

- a. "The billion dollar industrial syndrome"
- b. Missive modern armament from bow to bozuka in five years
- c. Quadrupling oil price
- d. Lack of trained managers, skilled technicians
- e. Cultural shock
- f. No agriculture improvement
- g. U.S. doctrine of "regional cooperation"
- Shah being too remote, misread his people. Mistook quiescence for stability.

The revolution is political, not social, in nature. Note that only 1/3 of the population of Iron speak Fashi at home.

# II. Factions Involved

- Religious Ayatollahs and mujhilias. It has always been the function of the religious leaders to protect the common people from the government, i.e., oppression. There has never been a participant government in the long history of Persia. The hold the Ayatollahs have over the common people is far greater than that which the Popes had over Europe in the Middle Ages.
- The Bassar. Unlike the so-called "52 leading industrialists", those merchants are of the old school, shun Western ways, are deeply religious, are suspicious of modernization, and are angry at the government and private corruption.

<sup>\*</sup> All of whom have either fled the country or have been shot.

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The money for the revolution  $\sigma_{\sigma^{\rm eff}}$  ,  $\cdot$  , the bazaar. So did the direction.

The religious Muslim always tithes. Weis puts vast sums of money at the disposal of the religious, the dispense it to the poor. Unlike the government, the religious are honest - no rials stick to their fingers.

- 3. Technocrats. About 12% of the lion people are educated in Western ways. They are the middle-managers, the scientists, and the professionals. Most are young and liberal. They saw the Shah's clique grow wealthy while inflation took away any monetary gains they may have made. This group is essential to run the country.
- 4. The Universities. Perhaps the most prominent group before the revolution were students and young instructors. Liberal to radical in belief, led or used, by underground political leaders, they were visual and vocal adherents of the revolution in Teheran.
- Unrecognized political parties including minority ethnic groups (Arabs, Kurds) and communists.

This uneasy coalition of right, center, and left joined together in a common cause - hatred of the Shah.

# III. Intelligence

The U.S. State Department has never understood Iran, culturally, religiously, or economically. It had only meager clues to the depth of the Iranian dissatisfaction. The few reports, hinting at severe problems, were suppressed. Rather:

- 1. CIA mid-1978 "all is well" report
- 2. House of Representatives Staff Report
- Carter's statement on December 8 asserting that the Shah would retain power. This was the day that Iranian troops shot hundreds of demonstrators in the streets of Teheran.

The U.S. press has been unfair in its reporting. It demonstrates:

- 1. Bias
- Little or no knowledge of the culture and traditions of the country. Example: The press reported the executions in detail. Yet a summary of those executed (about 300) reveal:
  - 83% were secret police, security personnel, torturers
  - 9% criminals, mostly murders and rapists
  - 7% politically elite under the Shah
  - 1% prominent industrialists

#### IV. Present Situation

Iran is living on borrowed time. The Theoretiahs have always been promeetedors of the people against the governent. They have never governed; they cannot govern. But they are the only force that can hold the country together at this time.

Future situation: Each speaker had a different conclusion.

#### All agreed that:

- 1. The economy must be re-started
- 2. The military must be strengthened
- 3. The people must continue to receive food.

#### V. Future Government

- The liberal religious leaders are the bridge between the common people, the new military, the Bazaar merchants, and the Western educated. A government far more liberal than the present one, but still adhering to Islamic beliefs, will be formed incorporating these four elements - Jim Bill.
- The present government will not remain in power. As in so many cases, the highly disciplined communist minority will simply insert itself into what had been a power vacuum. Saudi Arabia is most fearful of this action - Frank Menaker.
- 3. If the communists time their move correctly and all elements of the coup fall into line, then Iran will continue to be one nation, albiet communistic. The odds against this happening are huge. In all probability, Iran will be partitioned along racial lines Arabic, Persian, Kurd. This would most likely cause armed conflict since the oil fields are in the Arab ethnic territory uncertain.

#### VI. Business Climate

Despite rhetoric against the U.S., we are liked and our technology is admired.

Business opportunities are good. Motto now is think small.

Germans and Japanese are back in force, sending their best men.

Priorities have changed. Food, raw materials for basic industry, low cost housing, construction, and communications are now high priority.

Comeback - Comback in force - Iran will remember those who helped her in her hour of need.

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- At this point I asked a quantion
- Q: JR. "What would you consider that the probability is for Iran to join the Israeli hoycott?"
- A: Don Weldon. "Relations between true, and Israel have been severed and will remain to for a long time. But I doubt if, with all Iran's pressing profilers, busy will try to set up a hoycott list and boycott office."
- Q: JR. "No, I simply mean the Percel boycott as now constituted with offices in Darances."
- A: DW. "Oh; very, very likely."
- Q: JR. "Gentlemen, you have just finished telling us to rush back into Iran, even though re-sensitishing our presence will be very expensive, even though near-term profits are very iffy. Now suppose we fought the corner office, won, re-entered Iran, and then got slap, and the first payoutt."
- A: DW. "Don't you believe in composite courage."
- Q: JR. "At what age."

# VII. U.S. Government

Business can expect no help from our government. As pointed out from the floor, the Japanese government is guaranteeing every yen invested by its companies in Iran. The current Tranian government is, naturally, much opposed to our government. Current government policy is "very low profile." Worst move since January I was Javits Resolution. No ambassador in sight.

#### VIII. Legal

- 1. The U.S. has recognized the new government of Iran.
- The Iranian courts are still working but in a political context. This is no time to sue.
- Of the U.S. State Department list of about 22 Iranian lawyers, only seven are still practicing and they are very busy.
- The Teheran Bar Association is evaluating all its members. Religious affiliation will be a problem.

All hand-outs pertinent to legal, and there were several, have been sent to Dave McCalmont.

# IX. Competition

The DuPont Folyacryl plant in Isfahan is not operating. It had been at start-up stage before the revolucion. It was extruding, but only to the waste stage. Capacity was about 2000M lbs./year of polyfil, polystaple, and acrylic staple. FOY was to be drawn textured at Iran Knitting in Gothvin. DuPont entered this project with a 40% holding and four board members out of an 11 man board. A 75% vote was necessary for any approvals; 50% interest was held by 5 of the 51 leading Iranian industrialists; the remaining 10% by the Iranian government.

The five DuFont partners have either flei the country or have been shot. DuFont has a new partner, the Islamic government, represented by the workers committee.

Somehow, DuPont can get back its 40% holding by paying \$100,000? This I believe is to pay the workers for not working.

The purpose of this commercial intelligence is not to gloat over the misfortunes of a competitor, especially one as honorable and capable as DuPont, but simply to emphasize the uncertainties of making capital investments in developing countries.

In 1973 when it was rumered that DuPont was going to build in Iran, we had the distince feeling that DuPont had outmenturered us. Since they had firm contacts with the industrial leaders, our strategy (if you can call a vague feeling in the pit of the stomach strategy) was to work with the smaller mills, all of whom were Bazaar merchants.

By good luck, not good management, our approach seems successful. We have a large and ready market for our products until the Polyacryl situation is resolved. Our customers are alive, well, and most vocal in demand for product, as the last month has amply demonstrated. Opportunistic business perhaps, but business nevertheless.

We have formed a vague hypothesis over the last several years in doing business with developing countries of "Never align yourself with the government, members of the government, or entrepreneurs close to the government." The DuPont/Iran impasse brings a vague hypothesis close to being axiomatic.

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E.O. 12065: GDS 10/1/79 (LAINGEN, L.B.) OR-M TAGS: PEPR, UNGA, PINR, IR SUBJECT: BILATERAL WITH IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, OCTOBER 3

1. (CONFIDENTIAL-ENTIRE TEXT.)

- 2. YOU MEET WITH YAZDI AT A TIME THAT MAY MARE A SIGNIFICANT WATERSHED IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR ANY OBSERVER TO AVOID HASTY JUDGMENTS ABOUT THIS PLACE, IT IS HARD TO AVOID THE CONCLUSION THAT THE CLERICS ARE NOW IN THE MOOD TO STEAMROLLER VIRTUALLY ANY AND ALL OPPOSITION TO THEIR DESIGNS FOR AN ESSENTIALLY THEOCRATIC STATE, WITH ISLAM AS THE IDEOLOGY AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN PARTY POSSIBLY PROVIDING CONTROLLING PARTY APPARATUS. ITEMS:
  - THE KURDISH "REBELLION" HAS BEEN PUT DOWN IN A ۸. WAY INTENDED TO SERVE AN OBJECT LESSON FOR OTHER MINORITIES.
  - THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND ITS LEADERSHIP В. HAVE BEEN BRANDED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES AND OTHER OPPOSITION ELEMENTS SIMILARLY WARNED.
  - A CLERIC-DOMINATED COUNCIL IS RAMRODDING THROUGH A CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW PROCESS THAT WOULD SEEM TO INSTITUTIONALIZE AN IRON-CLAD SHIA ISLAMIC CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENTAL APPARATUS.
  - EXECUTIONS ARE CONTINUING, EVEN OF COMMON CRIMINALS, DESPITE TALK OF AMNESTY. QUM SEEMS DETERMINED TO AVOID ANY SHOW OF JUDICIAL MERCY OR COMPASSION.
  - THE HEAD OF THE REVOLUTION-BORN PASDARANS "GUARDIANS OF THE REVOLUTION") HAS JUST TAKEN OVER AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE.
  - F. NAZER'S OUSTER AT NIOC IS A FORCEFUL AND VERY PUBLIC REMINDER TO THE SECULARISTS OF QUM'S DETERMINATION TO PREVENT ANY LESSENING OF ITS CONTROL OVER WHAT MATTERS. INCLUDING THE OIL SECTOR.

- G. A KIND OF PARANOIA PERSISTS OVER AN ALLEGED
  CONSPIRACT BY THE WESTERN PRESS AGAINST THE
  IRANIAN REVOLUTION. (THERE ARE NO AMERICAN
  JOURNALISTS NOW RESIDENT HERE.)
- H. THE U.S. CONTINUES TO BE DENOUNCED BY KHOMEINI
  AS MASSIVELY INVOLVED WITH INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM
  IN FRUSTRATING THE HOPES OF THE PALESTINIANS;
  INDEED KHOMEINI SEEMS TO SEE HIMSELF AND THE
  REVOLUTION AS BECOMING THE REAL UNIFYING FORCE
  THROUGHOUT THE AREA IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINIAN
  RIGHTS.
- 3. THERE IS MORE, BUT THIS IS ENOUGH TO UNDERSCORE THE POINT THAT FOR THE MOMENT THE CLERICS ARE IN A FLOOD TIDE OF ASCENDANCY. THERE WOULD SEEM TO RE NOTHING THAT WILL PREVENT THEIR SOLIDIFYING THEIR POLITICAL CONTROL IN THE EVOLVING CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE NOT THE MILITARY, NOT BAKHTIAR FROM PARIS, NOT POPULAR DISILLUSIONMENT OVER THE LACK OF MUCH BREAD AND BUTTER RETURNS FROM THE REVOLUTION, NOT BAZARGAN AND OTHER MODERATES IN THE PGOI. (BAZARGAN IS QUOTED IN AN INTERVIEW IN TODAY'S PRESS WITH OPIANA FALLACI AS SAYINS ... FROM AN OFFICIAL POINT OF VIEW THE GOVERNMENT RUNS THE COUNTRY BUT IN AN ILEOLOGICAL AND TRUE INDEED.)
- 4. WHAT COULD ARREST THE TREND PERHAPS, BUT ONLY WITH TIME, WOULD BE A GREATER APPRECIATION THAN NOW EXISTS OF THE PROBLEMS OF GOVERNING A PLURALISTIC BODY POLITIC AND A PARTIALLY MODERNIZED ECONOMY SUCH AS IRAN'S WITH RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS THAT SEEM TO PROVIDE SO LITTLE ROOM FOR PARTICIPATION BY THE SECULAR ELEMENTS OF THIS COUNTRY.
- 5. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER KHOMEINI APPRECIATES THIS AT ALL, AND THERE THE RETURNS ARE NOT ENCOURAGING. EVEN IF HE DOES THERE IS A REAL QUESTION WHETHER EVEN HE COULD PREVAIL AGAINST A SUBSTANTIAL TIDE NOW RUNNING AND AN ENTOURAGE IN QUM THAT BY ALL ACCOUNTS IS EVEN MORE OBDURATE THAN KHOMEINI.

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STATE OF THE PERSONS ASSESSMENT

# CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 TEERAN 10528

- 6. THE EASY ANSWER IS THAT AN INEXORABLE PROCESS IS UNDERWAY THAT WILL SWEEP ASIDE THE MODERATE FORCES AND THAT WILL EVENTUALLY ALSO SEF BAZARGAN OUSTED, IN THE MANNER OF NAZEH AT NIOC.
- 7. I AM NOT SO SURE. I FIND MUCH LESS GROUND FOR OPTIMISM THAN A MONTH AGO, BUT KHOMEINI IS NO FOOL POLITICALLY AND MAY YET APPRECIATE THE NEED FOR SOME ACCOMMODATION TO THE MODERATES (WHICH BAZARGAN WEAKLY BUT STILL GAMELY REPRESENTS) TO ASSURE CONTINUED POLITICAL STABULITY AS HE SEEKS TO ASSURE WHAT MATTERS TO HIM, AND THAT IS PRIMACY OF ISLAM IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FABRIC OF FUTURE IRAN.
- 8. YOU MAY WISH TO PROBE WITH YAZDI HOW HE SEES FUTURE TRENDS IN THIS AREA. HE IS A DEEP BELIEVER, A REVOLUTIONARY WHO IS AS CLOSE AS ANY IN THE PROI TO KHOMENIN BUT WHO MAY APPRECIATE THE NEED TO BALANCE HIS IDEALISM WITH REALISM. HE HAS SAID AS MUCH TO ME, AND I AM PREPARED TO BELIEVE HIM. YOUR CONVERSATION WITH HIM, THE FIRST HIGH LEVEL CONTACT WE HAVE HAD WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP, IS CRUCIAL TO OUR PURPOSES HERE. IN AFFIRMING TO SHIP, IS CRUCIAL TO OUR PURPOSES HERE. IN AFFIRMING TO HIM THAT WE ACCEPT THE NEW REALITIES IN IRAN, AND INDEED THAT WE WISH IRAN WELL IN DEVELOPING ITS NEW INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, VAZDI SHOULD ALSO KNOW THAT WE ARE TROUBLED BY A RIGIDITY AND AN APSENCE OF A HUMAN FACE IN THE REVOLUTION THAT SEEMS TO LEAVE SO LITTLE SCOPE FOR THE REJECT OR INTERESTS OF MORE MODERATE BLEMENTS IN TODAY'S IRAN. KHOMEINI CARES LITTLE ABOUT IRAN'S IMAGE IN THE SUNITED STATES BUT THERE ARE OTHERS, LIKE YAZDI, WHO DO.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TEHRAN 10528

دوط دبراز ص اخت درنَّقي

(TTA)

October 4, 1979

Mr. Harold Saunders

FROM:

NEA -USICA Iran

SUBJECT:

The recent impressions of ICA Country Affairs Officer McAfee's visit to In (Tehran and Shiraz) and subsequent events there tend to confirm the Embassy judgment that the current religious-dominated pattern of government will continue in Iran for the foreseeable future. At the same time the civil government, be it Bazargan's or a successor, seems likely to become even further weakened as competent professionals decline to serve in the government. McAfee's conversations and contacts further document that Khomeini is firmly backed, indeed venerated, by the majority of Iran's poor, Persian-speaking population. Life goes on. The bazaars are bustling. There are no bread lines.

It was particularly interesting for me to hear at first hand the impressions that actions and rhetoric emanating from the religious leadership which are jarring to us and to the Western-oriented in Iran are perceived through a different prism and weighed against a different value system by Khomeini supporters. The Ayatollah rejects Western values and priorities as decadent and unislamic. According to impressions from McAfee's conversations, Khomeini is dedicated to pan-Islam and sees himself in a world role (a vision notably not shared by other Islamic countries in the area who drew the line, if they had not before, with the executions of Kurdish Sunnis).

Assuming that the short term will not bring a more flexible government to Iran, relations between the U.S. and Iran are likely to continue to be difficult. In these circumstances, it seems all the more important for ICA to focus its public diplomacy efforts on our long term relationship. While present circumstances require circumspection, we believe we should continue to look for opportunities to open communication channels. Amending my paper in this regard, submitted September 24, 1979, and based on recommendations from field officers ICA/NEA will concentrate on the following:

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- Iran-America Societies: Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz

The U.S. has been associated with the Iran America Society since its founding in Tehran over fifty years ago. Its institutional respectability, its widely-desired English language teaching capability, and, acknowledged U.S. affiliation provides us an important (and one of the few remaining) windows to Iranian audiences. We propose to lend it whatever support needed and, as opportunities permit, promote its use of programming pursuant to our interests. This will include continued emphasis on our USICA library in the Tehran IAS and renewed support to the Isfahan IAS library. We have initiated "behind-the-scene" efforts to revive the IAS in Shiraz.

- Explore possibilities of assigning a Regional Islamic Specialist to the NEA Area who would assist in building bridges to the Islamic leadership both directly and through sensitizing our ICA and State officers in the field.
- Consider the assignment of an "R" cultural officer or grantee to Iran with a background in Persian language and culture to improve our contact with the emerging leadership and academia.
- Use of the celebration of the 1400 anniverary of the Hegira as a vehicle to include Iranians in a U.S. hosted international seminar on Islam. Travel around the U.S. after the seminar would be included to broaden their exposure to the U.S. We would hope that these communication links, once established, might be broadened.
- Include, as possible, Iranian participants in multiregional International Visitor programs.
- -- Work with VOA to expand the non-news content of its Persian broadcasts, emphasizing such areas as American Islamic studies and interviews with American Iranologists and appropriate public figures.
- Explore possibilities for American Participant visits to Iran, particularly in the area of American Islamic studies, foreign policy, economics and agriculture.
- Exploration of some institutional affiliations (not necessarily bilateral) involving Iranians and Iranian institutions.

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Tehram, Iran New 1, 1979

Well this has been another one of these special sort of days in Iran... a day that had us werried but that turned out not so bad after all.

It was Eid-e-Gerban, an Islamic heliday celebrating the feast of sacrifice. And beig such there was a large sermen and prayer meeting spheduled here and in most of the citigs of Iram. Well enough, but the day also coincided with a grawing surge of government and clerical stimulated criticism of the US for our admission of the Shah for medical treatest in New York. And so the prayers Eid celebrations also became a day to meunt a strong public agitation against us. Here in Tebran it had been cannounced that after the big rally in the making south of the city the crewd would seve in procession to the US EMBasy where Speeches against us maker would be delivered and where slegams would be neumted. So we were prepared for up to a million demonstrations in the streets around the Embassy. That meant getting all memicsemential personnel off the compound, the marines concentrated inside the Chancery to pretect it, and those of us who were meeded inside the Chancery - among others reasons to destroy records and commo equipment if we were agains invaded and to Reep in touch with Washington by phone and caable ... and also to Reep in touch with the local government authorities to be sure that we had some Rind of pretectic frost them. The marines of course were in battle gress and eager to defend the place....

But all of that proved unnecessary in the end, happily. Late last evening it was announced on the radioj that the procession would not go all the way to the Embassy, but that instead it would go to a square about a mile or so south of here where the speeches against us would be heard and the sleggams adopted. Therexx The reason being that the distance was far, it was Eid heliday, and time was needed for prayers and visits with families. Nemetheless we stuck to our contingency plans, and bylinkx 0900 we had our demonstrators, but much fewer in numbers. The group, possibly organized by the Communist party here, started at amount 50 and eventually grew to about 4000....their tacters seemed to be to keep us off belance and werried all day, since they stuck with us until about four in the afternoon, marching back and forth around our compound, chanting slogans and shaking their fasts against us all the while. (We've decided that for the mext week anyme whe shows up at the consulate and asks for a visa with a sore throat will be rejected on the spet!). The crowd included a let of wemen in Chaders and even some children im strellen At no time did they try to come over the walls but they did manage to spray pains a let more graffitti on our walls... we had enough as it was fr m previous demonstrations: We kept in touch with werried Washington by telephone and stuck at out. The only real trouble developed late in the afternoon as the thing was winding up... one of our security officers decided to take down a large cloth banner that had been put up on the large iron grill gates at the Embassy's ceremonial entrance... the banner said s mothing deregatory about Carter and praised Kemeini... well, some of the last of the crowd saw what was happening and didn't like it at all .... in fact the crewa get very amgry and get the Ira-ian pelice (about 45-50 were guarding the Embassy teday, unarmed, and gad been pretty good about keeping the frowd moving...)... got the police to join them(!) in desaiding that the banner be put back on the gate... we said of, provided it was laung

e e else. Nething deing, said them, and if we didn't comperate they were coming over '- ralls. Well by that time we decided we would not stand on our pride if it meant turning the police against us. So the banner went back up (much to the disgust of our marines) and the re were ameliah hour of magny sleggmas against us... but me violence....

That was it, except for a brief flurry this evening when large crowds leaving a sports stadicum mearby paraded past us, yeldling more angry slegams. Again we retreated to the chancery, but it proved brief, ever in about 15 minutes.

You probably wonder what triggered all of this, though I suspect you know. Guess I mentioned it above... the Shah. There is mounting irritation ever this, and we are in for some trouble if the Shah stays on for further treatment on an-out martient basis. We have emphasized, at the highest levels here short of the Ayotallah, that our admission of the Shah was entirely on the Augustian basis, we regard him without any political anotherity in Iran, we deal with the present governmant, we respect and support Iran's independence and territionial integrity, we have reminded the Shah's party that he cannot engage in political activity while in the US, etc., etc. But that has not satisfied either the gover-ment or the press, which sees some other purpose on our part in what we have dem, regards the Shah as the basest of criminals and wants him back here for trial.

where this will all end is unclear at the moment but we are grading going to have some be by weather for a while I fear, cosp cially if he remains in the US for extended treatment. Pity, because up to now we had been making some progress, however slowly, in

gaining confidence here, in what is a real uphill straggle.

But not everything has been trouble... we've tried to continue reasonably normal lives them we cam. The Community has erganzied a velleyball league ("Laingest's lavitational velleyball series"), we've let tennis matches to both the Italian and the British Embassies, and we've had a splanded Halleweeen dance, the latter organized by the young people in the Defense Attache Office. The weather cooperated, so we could put tables out on the terrabes and so we were able to have something more that 250 people for a magnificant dinner prepared by our amazing Italian cook and dancing again until three in the morning. They organized dance condests... disce, walta, polka, and slow... and a great time was had by all. In fact we are becausing celebrated in the diplomatic community for the parties at this emba sy. Never fear, we are discret too. The Residence is far enough from the street so that we do not disturb the Jalamic fundamentalists.... a few Iranians come, but mainly it is the diplomatica and private commuity... all of which are frankly starved for such ;"tagheeti" (comrupt) entertainment, occaused none of it is available in the city.... although sthere is a rumour going around that there is dancing accasionally as the roof restaurant of the Sheraton Hotel.... there are a good number of fine hotels herew but marrax most of them have about 10-20% occupancy, given the total absence of tourists. And some of the hotels have been taken over by students this past week, grumbling about the absence of dermitery space... this poor government, It has so many problems on its hadde and it is very reductant to off-md the students who after all had so much to do with the overthrow of the Shah.

Nothing further has devloped on the question of the assignment of am ambassador here... again the time is a bit imappropriate, given the ruckus over the Shah... so I den't knowwhere things stand at the moment...I was asked recently to take an assignment as Censul Gen eral in Jerusalem, but I have asked to be removed from considration for that job... it seems ery peripheral to the main activity in the Middle East, what with our Erbassies in Tel Aviv, Cairo, and Amman very much in the act; not to mention all the other players like Straus and all the other cast of characters.... it would have been a confortable place to live, p rhaps, but not all that good for schools for Jim, a prime consideration affecting wherever we go next in this transient life that is the Foreign Service of the United States...

RS. We colled on a leady visualed at the Senate build last week - ar intersty consustant with a mon doeph surprison yes but again the prepared to listen, recommend that I have been not deady with use But receipt the most itemed good of the call woo the 12-14 with us. But receipt the most itemed part of the call it was the word you old gail who saw our black Chapter limousine want outile and you asked my security office: "Who's ear is the?" When told it was the who asked my security office: "Who's ear is the?" When told it constitute of the security of the most of the propagate what she said say the said, about the impact of some of the propagate what she said say somethy about the impact of some of the propagate what she said is much of the green - propagate that some of its proposed generally mean and which others express to effect.

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... box 50

Peheran, Iran

Ali M. Izadi Agricultural research Center Iahlavi University Shiraz, Iran June 9,1078

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.orring my stor in Interior (Sert. 1985-Aut.174) I was very intered by Imericans especially their attitude toward each other at all at forei mers.

I studied years in the U.S. before coming back to Iran. Since coming back ,however, I now feel after careful reflection that I would like to go back and attempt to become a useful citizer of the U.S. if it is not very difficult to get in.

I have a Ph.J. and H.S. degree in Agricultural comomics, a 3.5 degree in Agricultural Education in addition to a B. degree in General Agriculture. By capital assets are \$500,000.00 . I have had twenty years associate experience managing a large faum along with traching and research in agriculture. I feel by imministing to the L. I could become an asset and certainly in the workt case not a liability to the country of my choice.

I inquired about the proper forms at the Shirar merican Consulate and was told to complete the Optional Form 17° slographic Late for Tisa purposes and send it to the I.V. Section, rican Embassy, r.G.Box 50, Teheran Iran. I did this and sent the form on Sept. 1977. I was also told that there was no assurance that a vica would be issued. I was also told that the process takes between 9 to 12 months and would receive a reply about this time.

At the present time I have not received any word concerning its progress and am becoming a little worried since it is of great importance to me. I attempted to find out what progress had been made by calling the Immigration section in Teheran but found that they had no record of it. I then went personally to Teheran Immigration Visa Section and spent two days weiting my turn only to find they also had no record of my application. Finally ,yesterday, June 8,1978, I did make contact with someone in the Teheran Immigration office who then told me it would take not 9 to 12 months but 2 to 3 years.

Could you help me by investigating into this matter and letting me know 1) the status of my application and 2) the approximate time period I will have to wait? I would really appreciate if you would do this for me.

Sincerely.

Ali M. Izadi ali M. zadi

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Wheby I cornelly request that all completes documents as returned en the anglestion terminated. Thank you for any office you for any office you for any office that the course of the contract of the contract



al. M. Sah

شعيراز - ايبران كنسول ايالات منحده بخش صدور وبزاى مهاجرت مركز تحقيهات كشاورزي دانشكاه بهلوى المستنده ناوه: على محمد ايزدى مير سده ما مه

١١ سهنامير ١٩٨٨ مطابق با ٢٢ شهريور ١٧

تهران - ايران من در نامهٔ قبلی بسه شمسارهٔ (۹ ژوئن ۱۹۷۸) راجع به مهاجرت ٧ ـ ١ صندوق پستي ٥٥

احتماليم به آمريكا نوشتم من قبلا فرماختياري ١٧٩ اطلاعات بيوكرافي را جهت ویزا پرکودهام . واین فرمرا همانطورکهکنسولگری آمریکا در شیراز دستورداده بود به سفارت آمریکا در تهران بخش ۱ آ صندوق پستی

تقاضا میکنم که تمام فرمهای پر شده را بعن برگشت داده و تقاضایم را جهت مهاجسرت به آمریکا) خیلی زیاد است. من بدینوسیله رسما از شما من حالاً فكر مىكنم كه مدت دو يا سه سال براىاين عمل (گرفتنويزا پایان یافته تلقی تعاثید.

ازتمام زحماتيكه برايم متحمل شدهايد با احترام عليمحمد ايزدي

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CLEAR: NONE

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL

CHRGE: STAT 10/17/79

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HISTR: RSO-2 CHRON 3/WEB

APPRV: RSO: ABGOLACINSKI

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CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 11066

SY CHANNEL

FOR RSO PLEASE PASS USSS

E.C. 12065: GLS 10/17/85 (GOLACINSKI, ALAN B.) OR-A TAGS: ASEC

SUBJECT: ALLEGED COUNTERFEITING RING

REF: (A) TEHRAM 10367 (B) PARIS 32L35

11. AS REQUESTED IN REF B, KAZEMIAN WAS QUERIED ON COTOBER 15, 1979 REGARDING HIS WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH SUSSO OUTSIDE OF IRAN, PREFERABLY IN TURKEY. KAZEMIAN EAS AGREED TO SUCH A MESTING, BUT IS HESITANT ABOUT THE MEETING TAKING PLACE IN TURKEY. IT IS KAZEMIAN'S BELIEF CHAIT THE COUNTERFEITING ORGANIZATION HAS GOOD CONTACTS IN TURIESH NATIONAL POLICE AND THAT HIS COOPERATION WITH THE JUST MIGHT BECOME KNOWN. KAZEMIAN STATES THAT HE WILL MEET

YOUR AGENT IN ANY OTHER LOCATION, AT USSS EXPENSE.

(COMMENT: KAZEMIAN'S NATIVE LANGUAGE IS FARSI, HIS
ENGLISH IS LIMITED, BUT HE CLAIMS HE SPEAKS TURKISH.)

- 2. KAZEMIAN WAS BRIFFED ON REF B, PARA 10 AND BELIEVES THAT HE CAN PROVIDE THE ASSISTANCE MENTIONED. IN REGARD TO A DATE FOR THE PROPOSED MEETING, KAZEMIAN HAS INDICATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE MEETING OCCUR AFTER THE NEXT SHIPMENT OF DOLLARS ARRIVES IN TEHRAN. SOURCE HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT THE OUALITY OF THIS SHIPMENT IS TO BE MICH BETTER THAN RECENT ONES. SOURCE STATED THAT HE WOLLD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO BRING SAMPLESOF THESE NEW BILLS WITH HIM WHEN HE MEETS WITH YOUR AGENT.
- 3. CAZEMIAN WAS ONCE AGAIN STRONGLY DISCOURAGED FROM BECOMING ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN ANY UNLAWFUL ACTIVITY.

  (COMMENT: RSO BELIEVES THAT VAZEMIAN'S INVOLVEMENT IN
  THE CCUNTERFITING OPERATION GOES BEYOND HIS CLAIMED
  CASUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PRINCIPALS. SOURCE IS IN ALL
  PROBABLITY WORKING AS A FENCE/PASSER OF THE COUNTERFEIT
  CURRENCT.)
  - 4. DURING RECENT MEETINGS, KAZEMIAN HAS PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:
- (A) ONE COUNTERFEIT 12,000 RIAL NOTE (APPROXIMATELY 100 DOLLARS AT THE CURRENT EXCHANGE RATE) AND ONE 100 MARK NOTE, BEARING SERIAL NUMBER 112096360. USSS MAY BE INTERESTED IN PASSING 100 MARK NOTE TO GERMAN LIAISON. IF 50, ED WILL POUCE DIRECTLY TO USSS PARIS. (CAVEAT: WE DO NOT AISH TEAT ITENTITY OF INFORMANT BE MADE KNOWN TO GERMANS

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TEHRAN 11066

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THE THAT THEY MAY CHOOSE TO PURSUE OWN INVESTIGATION IN TERBAN WEIGH COULD BURN SOURCE.

- (A) COUNTERFEIT CURRENCY IS BUING SMUGGLED INTO TERRAN AND TERRAN AND OWNED BY THE DERIA TOURIST COMPANY, ISTANBUL.
- (C) SUBJECT IDENTIFIED AS HOLLIS WAS ALLEGEDLY BORN AT MARAS, TURKEY ON AN UNKNOWN DATE.
  - (D) SUBJECT IDENTIFIED AS SHAPKI, PRESENTLY IN TURKEY AWAITING WORD TO SHIP THE NEXT SHIPMENT OF DOLLARS TO TEERAN.
  - (E) ON OCTOBER 3, APPROXIMATELY 500,000 DOLLARS IN COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS ARRIVED IN THERAN AS WELL AS APPROXIMATELY ONE MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF OTHER CURBENCY INCLUDING WEST SERMAN MARKS, RIALS AND SAUDI ARABIAN CURRENCY. THE SAMPLE RIAL AND MARK NOTES CAME FROM THIS SHIPMENT. SOURCE STATES THAT HE WAS UNABLE TO PROVIDE SAMPLES OF THE DOLLARS RECAUSE THEY WERE SOLD THAT FAT TO INDIVIDUALS IPPARTING IRAN.
  - 5. FYI: ON OCTOBER 14, TEHRAN PRESS CARRIED STORY ALERTING PUBLIC TO PRESENCE OF COUNTERPRIT 10,000 RIAL MOTES IN TERRAN. ON OCTOBER 17, TEHRAN PRESS CARRIED ARTICLE THAT THREE BULGARIAN NATIONALS WERE ARRESTED ON OCTOBER 15, 1979 IN TEHRAN FOR PURCHASING JEWELS WITH COUNTERFEIT 10,000 RIAL NOTES. DESCRIPTION OF THE RIALS GIVEN IN THE PRESS THE SAME AS THAT GIVEN RSO BY SOUNCE. LAINGEN
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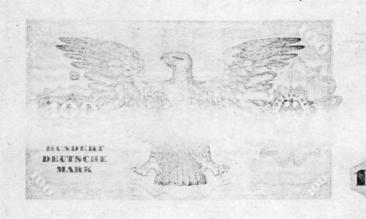
TEHRAN 11866

دهاند (۱۵ اکتبر) . جزئیات این اسکناسهای تقلبی دقیقا همان بود که منبع اداره نیت منطقهای گزارش داده بود .

لينكن



نمونه پول تقلبی ۱۰۰ مارکی





نمونه پول تقلبي دههزار ريالي

