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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 commanication orocesses 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 tod, 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 Dara-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 20 th 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 supvort 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 bady enough handled, could shut down the oil fields, disrupt the traditional economy, or so frustrate nationalism that the masses would become disenchanted with their incnt 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 groues, the leaders of the conventional armed forces, the Westernized managers and terhnicians, the liberal politicians, the leaders of the hardline leftists, ethnic and regional leaders, studerts 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-revalution 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
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 interbreted as so formidable that USICA is hopelessly hamstruns. Vie are not "hunkered down" or dispirited. On the contrary, more onportunities for uceful action present themselves than we can cope with comfortably with our reduced resources and only partly reorganized oncration. in recent weeks, we have, for cample:

- Placed Science Report and Vision on the national T V 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 teachins: English.
--Responded to a Foreign Ministry request for material on Cuba's relations with other Latin American countrics -presumedly this was part of the Foreign Ministry's attempt to get ready for the Non-digned Conference in Havana.
--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 outlct: created signs for the consular operation which helned reduce disorder; laid ugly rumors and misunderstandinns to rest by engaging in long discussions with editors which resulted in helvful stories; installed a loudspeaker system outside the consular operation so we cais talk directly with the crowds.
--Developed a plan which will in the next few weeks reinstitute programming at IAS Tehran: a film scijes, 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 Ninistry
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.
--Talkedwith 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 rigbts violations, including summary executions; expulsion of American journalists; bans on much of the domestic press; mistreatment of minorities such as the Kırds 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 lranian 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

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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 onportunity. (The revolution and its afterinath 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 1 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 representa tive 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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## I. Revolution

The causes of the revolution were:

1. Corruption:
a. The personal courption of tos shah
b. The corruption ot his fanijy (including phalavi foundation)
c. The corruption of his ninisitres
d. The corrdption of his frimis - the so-called "51 lesiing indestrialists":
e. The corruption of the militung
2. Social/Ecchonic Upheeval:
a. "rise sillion doplar inotustrial syndrome"
b. Firsuive modern amament - frua boa to dozuka in five years
c. Suncintotiore oil paice
d. Lack of trainea managers, ekillaz technictants
e. Cuitural shock.
f. To embicuture inprovernat
g. U.s. costrine of "regional cooperation"
3. Stah bzinc too rebote, misxead his people: Mjetzok quiescerce for stability.

Tha revolution is political, not scaial, in mature. Nute that only $1 / 3$ of the population of Iran speak Farti at home.

## II. Factions Involved

1. Religious - Ayatollans and mujhilias. It fas always been the function of the religious leaders to protect the comnon weople from the govemment, i.e., oppression. There has never been a participant govermert in the long history of persia. The holis the hyatollalis have over the comon people is far greater than that which the popes had over Europe in the Midde Ages.
2. The Buzate. Unlike the sy-canled "5? leading industrialists", these merchants aze of the old school, shun western ways, are deeply religious, are suspicivas of modernization, and are angzy at the government and private corruption.

* All of whom have either sled the country or have been shit.


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The religious Muslim alweye titho.. sis putsvast sums of many at the disposal of the religjous, :So dispersc it to the poor. Unlike the govermont, the religioss are honest - no rials sticis io their fingers.
3. Technocrats. Nout $12 \%$ of the li.m people are educated in western ways. They are the midalc-managers, the scientists, and the professionals. Nost are young and jitaxai. They saw the shah's clique grow wealtiny whice jnflatinn took away any monetary gains they may have made. Tris yroup as essential to run the country.
4. The Universities. Perhaps the rast proninent group before the revolution vere students and younc instructors. Liberal to radical in belief, sed or used, by undergrond political leaders, they were visual and vocal adherents of the revolution in Teheran.
5. Unrecognized political parties including minority ethnic groups (Arabs, Kurds) and commenists.

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

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

1. CIA mid-1978 "all is well" report
2. House of Representatives Staff Report
3. 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
2. Little o: no knowledge of the culture and traditions of the country. Example: The press reported the executions in detail. Yet a sumuary of those executed (about 300 ) reveal:
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83% were secret police, security personnel, torturers
    9% criminals, mostly tuurders and rapists
    7% politically elite inder the Shah
    1* prominent industrialists
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IV. present Situation

 they cannot govern. But they are the ony force that can rola the country together at this time.

Future situation: Each speaker had a dirferent cenclueion.

## 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
4. The liberal religious leaders are the bridge between the comon people, the new nilitary, the Bazaar merchants, and the rostern cducated. A goverment far mors liberal than the present one, but. still adhering to Islamic beliefs, will be formed incorporating these four eiencats - Jin Bill.
5. The present government will not remain in power. As in so many cases, the highly disciniined commonist minority will simply insert itself into what had boun a poner vacuium. Saudi Arabla is most fearfial of this action - Frark Menwicer.
6. 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 comanistic. 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.

Busiress opportunities are good. Motto now is think small.
Gernans and Japanese are back in force, sending their best men.
Priorities have changed. Food, raw materials for basic industry, low cost housing, construction, and comunications are now high priority.

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


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Q: JR. "No, I Ginnly anestio raricl boycctt as mow constiduted wiuh offices ir Deratoッに"


Q: JR. "Gentlens, $\because \because$ !uve iu: firished tulling us to ruch back into Irar, coen tiond re- c"oblishitig our frosence will be verz expensive, even twont no-r-torn prosits ave vers iffy. Now suppore we foucht tho coxner office. won, re-encered Iran, and


A: DN. "Don'r you belaf... in cirtonze courage."
Q: JR. "At what age."

## VII. U.S. Government

Busiress can expect no help fron our covernment. fis pointed out iron the floor, the sapanese government is gharanteeing every yen investerd b.r its consanies in Iram. The current Iranian government is, naturaly, much opposed to our goverament. Current government policy is "very low profile." worst move since Jamury 1 was Jevits Resolution. No ambassador in sight.

## VIIT. Legal

1. The U.S. has recogrized the new government of Iran.
2. The Iranian courts are stil: working but in a political context. This is no time to sue.
3. Of the U.S. State Department list of about 22 Iranian lawyer.i, only seven are stili practizing and they are very busy.
4. The Teheran bar Associetion is evaluating all its members. keligious affiliation will be a problem.

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

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The Dupont rolyacryl plant in Isfaifan is not cparating. It lau been at start-up stage before the revcoutiol. It was extruding, but only to the waste stage. Capacity was about 200 M lbs.fyar of polyfil, polystaple, and acrylic staple. FOY was to De crawa fortured at Iran Knitting in Goshvin. Duront enterod this project with a 403 holcing and four mard members out of an 11 man board. A $75 \%$ vota was nocessary for any approvals; 508 interest vas held by 5 of the 51 leading Iranian indsstrialists; the remaining $10 \%$ by the Iranian ecovernment.

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The five DuFon: partners have eithar fles the country or have been shot. Dupont has $a$ new partner, the Islamic government, represented by the worrers conmittce.

Somehow, Dupont can get mok its 40 z holding by paying $\$ 100,000$ ? mis I believe is to pay the worbers for not working.

The purpose of this comercial intelligence is not to gloat over the misfortunes of a competitoc, especially one as honozable and capable as Dupont, but simply to errhasize tho macertainties of making capital in vestrente in cevelopirg countries.

In 1973 when it was rumored that Dupont was going to build in Iran, we had the distince feeling that Dupont had outninnvered us. Since they hai firm contacts with the industrial laaders, our strategy (if you can call. a vague feeling in the pit of the stonacn strategy) was to work with the smaller mills, all of whon were bazaar merchants.

By good luck, not good managerent, our approach seems successful. Wh have a large and reafy market for prowicts until the Polyacryl situation is resolved. Our customers are alive, well, and most vocal in demand for product, as the last month has anply demonstrated. Cpportunistic business perhaps, but business nevertheless.

We have formed a vague hypothesis over the last seversl 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 vo being axiomatic.

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## ExDIS

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B.0. 12065: GDS 10/1/79 (LAINGEN, L.B.) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, UNGA, PINR, IR subject: bilateral with iranian foreign minister, OCTOBER 3

## 1. (CONPIDENTIAL-ENTIRE text.)

2. IOD MEET YITH YAZDI AT $\triangle$ TIME TRAT MAY MAR: A Significant vatershed in iranian internal affairs. geile If IS IMPORTANT FOR ani ObSERDER TO AVOID HASTY JUDayENTS asout this place, it is hard to atoid the conclus iov that the clerics are now in tar yood to steamrolier Tirtually any and all oppositicy to their designs for an gSSENTIALEY ThEOCRATIC STATE, WITR ISLeM as tre ideolocy and the islamic repjelican pabty possibly providing CONTROLLING Party apparatus. iteys:
A. the gurdish "rebelition" has been pur down in a WAT intended to serve an object lesson por OTHER MINORITIES.
B. the national femocratic front and its leadership have been branded counter-revolutionaries and other opposition mlements similarly warned.
C. A CLERIC-DOMINATED COUNCIL IS RAMRODDING THROUGG a CONSTITOTIONAL REVIEW PROCESS TAT woold SEEM to institutionalize an irov-clad shia islamic CONTROL OF teE governmental apparatus.
D. Executions are continding, even of common Criminals, despite talk of amesti. qum seems determined to avoid any show of judicial mercy OR COMPASSION.
e. the bead of phe revolution-tcrn pasdarans
("guardians of the revolution") has just ta:Ey cuef as Minister op defense.
F. Nazen's ouster at nioc is a forceful and very pJblic heminder to fer secularists of qJy's determination to pretent ant lessening of its control ofer veat matters, including tee oil SBCTOR.

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- G. AKIND OF PaRanoia persists over an alleged
- CONSPIRACY BY THE WESTEEN PRESS AGAINST TAE
- IRANIAN REVOLUTION. (THERE ARE NO AMERICAR
- JOURNALISTS NOW RESIDENT HERE.)
- H. TEE U.S. CONTINOES TO BE DENOUNCED BY उHOMEINI
- THROUGHOUT THE AREA IN THE STRJGGLF FOR PAEESTINIGN
- RIGHTS.

3. THERE IS MORE, BUT TEIS IS ENOUGH TO UNDERSCORE THR POINT THAT FOR THE MOMENT TEE CERRICS ARE IN A PLOOT TIDE OP ASCENDANCI. THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE NOTIING TFAT WILL PREVENT THEIR SOLIDIFIING THEIR POLITICAL CONTROL IN TEE
EVOLVING CONSTITETIONAL STRUCTURE - NOT TER MILITARY, NOT
BAKHTIAR FROM PARIS, NOT POPOLAR DISILLUSIONMENT OVER T才G
LACX OF MOCH BREAD AND BTITTER RETURNS FROM THE REVOEUTION, NOT BAZARGAN AND OTGER MODERATES IN TEE PGOI. (BATARGAN IS QUOTED IN AN INTERVIEW IN TODAY'S PRESS WITH ORISNA FALLACI AS SAYING"... PROM AN OFFICIAL POINT OF VIEW TTE GOVERNMENT RUNS THE COUNTRY BUT IN AN ILEOLOGIUAL AND REYOLUTIONARY SENSE KHOMEINI AND HIS COUNCILS CONTROL. TRUE INDEED.)
4. UEAT COULD ARREST THE TREND PEREAPS, BUT ONLI WITH TIME, WOUED be A GREATER APFGECIATION TEAN NOW EIISTS OF THE PROBLEMS OF GOVERNING A PIURALISTIC BOII POLITIC ANE A PARTIALLY MODERNIZED ECONOMY SUCE AS IRAN'S UITB RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS TEAT SEEM TO PROVIDE SO LITTLE ROOM FOR PARTICIPATION SY THE SECULAR ELEMENTS OF THIS COJNTRT.
5. THE QUESTION IS UHETHER KHOMEINI APPRECIATES TEIS AT ALL, AND TEERE THE RETURNS ARE NOT ENCOURAGING EVEN IF EE DOES THERE IS A REAL QDESTION•WEEPGFA EVEN HE COULD PREVAIL AGAINST A SUBSTANTIAL TIDE NOU RUNNING AND an entooragr in quM that bi all accounts is even more OBDURATE TEAN KHOMEINI.
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6. THE RASY ANSWER IS THAT AN INEXOGABLE PROCESS IS

UNDERYAY THAT WILL SWEEP ASIDE THE MODERATE FORCES IND THAT WILL EVENTUALLY ALSO SEP BAZARGAN OUSTED, IN TEE MANNER OF NAZE AT NIOC.
7. I AM NOT SO SURE. I FIND MOCH LESS GROUND FOR OPTIMISM THAN A MONTH AGO, BUT KHOMEINI IS NO POOL POLITICALLY AND MAT YET APPRECIATE THE NEED FOR SOME ACCOMMODATION TO THE MODERATES (WHICH BAZARGAN WEAKLY BUT STILL GAMELY REPRESENTS) TO ASSURE CONTINUED POLITICAL STABILITY AS HE SEEKS TO ASSURE WHAT MATTERS TO HIM, AND THAT IS PRIMACY OR ISLAM IN TEE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FABRIC OP FUTURE IRAN.
8. YOU MAT UISA TO PRJBE ITH YAZDI HOW FT SEES FUTURE TRENDS IN THIS AREA. HE IS A LEAP BELIEVER, A REVOLUTIONARY WHO IS AS CLOSE AS ANT IN THE PGOI TO kHOMEINI BUT WYO MAY APPRECIATE TEE NEED TO BALANCE HIS IDEALISM WITH REALISM. RE HAS SAID AS MUCH TO ME, AND I AM PREPARED TO BELIEVE HIM. YOUR CONVERSATION WITE HIM, TH T FIRST HIGH LEVEL CONTACT WE GAVE GAD WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP, IS CRUCIAL TO OUR PURPOSES HERE. IN AFFIRMING TC BIM THAT WE ACCEPT THE NEW REALITIES IN IRAN, AND INDEED THAT WE WISH IRAN WELL IN DEVELOPING ITS NEW INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, YAZDI SHOULD ALSO SNOW THAT WE ARE TROUBLED DI A RIGIDITY $A N D$ AN ABSENCE OF A HUMAN FACE IN TEE REVOLUTION TEAT SEEMS TO LEAVE SO LITTLE SCOPE FOR TEE RIGHTS OR INTERESTS OF YORE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN TODAY'S IRAN. KHOMEINI CARES LITTLE ABOUT IRAN'S IMAGE IN THE UNITED STATES BUT THERE ARE OTHERS, LIKE YAZDI, WHO DC. LAINGEN BT

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MEMORANDUM TO:


FROM:
subject:

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NEA - R. T. Cuman $K_{\text {. }}^{\text {C. }}$


STATE/NEA - Mr. Harold Saunders

The recent impressions of IC A Country Affairs Officer McAfee's visit to Iran
(Tehran and Shiraz) and subsequent events there tend to confirm the Embassy
judgment that the current religious-dominated pattern of government will continue
ha fran for the foreseeable future. At the same time the civil government, be \# Bazargan's or a successor, seems likely to become even further weakened as competent professionals decline to serve in the government. McAfee's confersations and contacts further document that Khomeini is firmly backed, indeed venerated, by the majority of Iran's poor, Persian-speaking population. Life goes cm. 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 prison 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 IC A to focus its public diplomacy efforts on our long term relationship. While present circumstances require circum- election, 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 an the following:

The U.S. has been associated with the Iran America Society since its founding in Tehran over fifty years ago. Its institutional respectability, its widelydesired English language teaching capability, and, acknowledged D.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 Lsfahan IAS library. We bave 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 leaderahip both directly and through sensitizing our ICA and State officers in the field.

- Consider the assignment of an " $\mathrm{R}^{\prime}$ 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 seiminar 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 lslamic 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, economica and agriculture.
- Explorat'on of some institutional affiliations (nct necessarily bilateral) involving Iranians and Iranian institutions.
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It was Eid-e-Gerben, an Islanic holiday celebrating the feast of sacrifice. And bely such there was a large s-rmon and prayer meeting spheduled here and in most of the citid of Iran. Well enough, but the day alse coincided with a growing surge of government and clerical stimulated criticism of the US for our admission of the Shah for medical treatnent in Now York. And se the prigura Eid celebr: tions alse became a day to mount a strong public agitation againet us. Here in Tehran it had bpen eamesunced that after the big rally in thernilu south of the city the crowd weuld wove in precession to the US EyPasy where tpeeches againtt us midxx would be delivered amd where slegans wou d be mounted. So we were prepared for up to a aillime denonstratigns in the streets around the pabassy. That meant getting all membessential perse mel off the compound, the marines concentrated inaide the Chancery to protect it, and these of us whe we'e meeded inside the Chancery anong ther reasons te destroy recorde and come equipment if we were againf invadd and to leep in touch with washington by phe and caable ... and alse to reep in touch with the lecal government authorities to be gure that we had some Ind of protectie frul then. lime marimes af course were in battle dress and eager te defend the place....

But all of that preved unnecessary in th. ead, happily. Late last evening it was anmouned on the radioj that the procession would net ge all the way to the mobassy, but that instead it would ge te a square about a mile or se abthof here whefe the speeches against us would be heard and the slegrens adopted. Furrx The reasen being that tie distance was far, it was Eid holiday, an: time wa: needed for prayers and vieits with fanilyes. Nemetheless we stuck to our contingency plang, and byigofacx 0900 we had our deneestrators, but wuch feverl in numbers. The grour, pessibly organized by the comunist party here, started at asbout 50 and eventually grew te about 4000 ....thetr tactices seened to be te keep us off balance and worried all day, since they gtuck with us until about four in the afterneon, marching, back ind forth around our conpound, chanting alogans and shoking their fists eqainst us all the while. (We've decided that for the mext weok ayme whi shows up ut the consulate and asks for a visa with a sore threat will be rejected on the spet!). The crow included a lot of wmen in chadors and evea some children is strellery At ne time did they try te come over the walls but they did manage to spray padid a lot more graffitti on our walls... we had enough as it was fr mprevieun demonstrationsl We kept in touch with werried $W$ eshington by telephone and stuck it out. The only real trouble developed late in the afternees as the thing was winding up... one of our secrrity officers decided to take down a large cleth banner that had been put up on the large iren grill gates at the Embassy's ceremenial eatrance... the banner said smething derogatory about Carter and praifed Komeimi... well, wone of the last of the crowd anw what was happening and didn't like it al all.... in fact the crowi got very angry and got the Irarian police (about 45-50 were guarding ehe mobassy teday, unarned, and fad buen pretty geod about keeping the lrowdmoving...)... get the pelice to jein them (!) in demodiing that the banner be put back on the gate... we said ax, provided it was hung
e e else. Nothing doing, said they, and if we didm't cooperate they were coning over $\therefore$ - ralle. Vell by that time we decided we would mot stand on our pride if it meant turing the police against us. So the banner went back up (much to the disgust of our marimes) and the re wis anolhitr hour of angry elogras against us... but wo violence....

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

You probably wender what tri; gered $2 l l$ of this, though I suspect you know. Guess I mentioned it abeve... the Shah. There is nounting irritation over this, and we are in for sone trouble if the Shah stays on for furbler treatment on an-out partient basis. We have emphasized, at the highest levels here short of the Ayetallah, that our adeission of the Shah was entirely on © humanitarian basis, we regari him without any pelitical chitherity in Iran, we eal with the present geverimntk, we renpect and suppert Iran's indepenamee and territiorial integrity, we have rominded the Shah'a panty that he cannot engage in pelitical activity while in the US, etc., ict. But that has mot aatiafied either the gover'ment or the press, which sees anme other purpose on our part in what we have done, regards the Shah as the basest of criminals and wants him back here for trial.
(rya)

Where this will all end is unclear at the moment but we are gadinx going to hove some he vy weather for a while I fear, resp cially if he remains in the US for extended minim. Pity, because up to now we had bean making some progress, however slowly, in gaining confidece here, in what in a real uphill straggle.
lives ines lives inez we cam. The mana ty has orgamzied volleyball league ("Laingel' british babasates, and verve had apaplladed Halloween dance, the latter organized by yours people in the Defense attache office. The weather cooperated, se wo could put tables out on the terrabes and so we were able to have something wore that 250 people for a magnificat dinner prepared by ur amazing Italian cook and dancing again until
tire in the morning. They organized dance congests... disco, wal ta, polka, and slew.. and a great time was had by all. In fact we are becrosing celebrated in the diplomatic cosumity for th parties at this embay sy. Never fear, we a re discr et toe. The Residence is far enough from the street so that we do not disturb the falanic fundagialists... few Iranians coal, but mainly it is the diplomatica and private conouity... all of which are frankly starved for auch;"taghooti" (corrupt) entertainment, iccausen one of it is occasionally at the ref restamant of the Sheraton Hotel.... there are a go number of fine hotel e heep but morass most of them have about 10-20\% ocupanof, given the total absence of tourists. And sene of the hotels have ban taken over by students this pal reek, grumbling about the absence of dormitory space... this poor government It has so all had so much to do with the overthrow of the shan.

Nothing further has developed on the question of the assigning of am ambassador here... again the time is a bit inappropriate, given the ruckus over the Shah... so I don't nowhere things stand at the momont....I was asker recently to take an acgigne $t$ consul Gen oral in Jrisalen, but 1 have asci activity in the Middle $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{st}$, what wit
 other players like Straus amd all the other cast of characters.... it would have been a comfortable place to live, prpaps, but not all that food for school for Jim, a prime consideration affecting wherger we ge next in this transient life that id the Fores Service of the United Stat
PS. Co called on a lealin mullah at the Senate build. last


 why asked my secant office: "Mhos bes in this" when trellitwos the
 what sher said sop sem elem ob out the inject of some o the progryent
 mean on which other efren to flat.

## (ras)


Ali li. Tzadi
Arricultural e-
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fanlavi jniversity
Shiraz, Iran
June 9,1078
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$\therefore$ Envei rens.

I studied years in the l.... before comine back ui Iran. Since coming back, however, I now feel after careful reflection that $I$ would like to go back and attempt to become a useful citize of the U.n. if jit is not very difficult to get in.

I have a in.J. and f.S. demrec in Amicultural oamics, a 3.b. decree in aricultural Fducation in addition to a S . . derree in Ceneral $\therefore$ wiculture. y capital assets are $\$ 500,000.00$. I have bad tuexty yeors associate experience mansine a laree fs alone with $\therefore$ coin ani rusesich in erriculture. I feel by imm: otin- to the ... I could occome an arset and certainly in the wo $=$ cuse not. lintility to tae country of my choice.

I inovired about the proger forms at the Shiraz arican Consulate and was told to complete tiae Gptional Form l\% Biozraphic $j$, ta for $\because i s a$ purposes and send it to the I.V. Section, rican embessy, r.e.jox 50 , Teheran Iran. I did this and sent the for on sept. 1977. I was also told that there was no assurance that a vi a would be issued. I was also told that the process takes betwis: 3 to 12 months and would receive a reply about this time.

At the present time $I$ have not received any wora concerning its prosress and am becoming a little worried since it is of great importance to me. I attempted to find out what progress has been made by calling the Immigration section in Teheran but found that they had no record of it. I then went personally to Teheran Immi tion and spent two days waitinc 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 we 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 jou would do this for me.


Sincerely,


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（3）PARIS 3こLこ5
1．AS REQUESTED IN REF B，KAZEMIAN WAS OUERIED ON ©CTCBER 15， 1979 REGARIING EIS KILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH ！OSSS OUTSIDE OF IRAN，PREPERABLY IN TUREEY．KAZEMIAN ：bIS IGREED TC SUCB A MEETING，BUT IS HESITANT ABOUT THE fMEETNG TAIING PLACE IN TJRKRY．IT IS XAZEMIAN＇S BRLIEP ？HAT THE COUNTERFEITING ORGANIZATION HAS GOOD CONTACTS IN fone ISH NaTIONAL POLICE AND TEAT KIS COOPBRATION WITH THE IUSG MIGHT BECOME SNOWN．KAZEMIAN STATES THAT GE WILL MEET YOUR AGENI IN ANY OTHER LOCATION，AT USSS EXPFNSE． （CCMYENT：GAZ JMIAN＇S NATIVE LANGUAGE IS FARSI，HIS ？ENSLISE IS LIMITED，BUT HE CLAIMS EB SPEARS TORRISH．）

2．KaZEMIAN WAS BRIEfRE ON REF B，PARA 10 AND BELIEVES PEAT 日E CAN FROVIDE THE ASSISTANCE MBNTIONED．IN REGARD PC A DATE FOR TEE PROPOSED MEETING，JAZEMIAN HAS INDICATED ghat he would lige to anve thb magting occur after the NbTT SEIPMENT OF DOLLAFS ARRIVES IN TERRAN．SOURGE BAS BERN INFCRMED THAT THE OUALITY OF THIS SBIPMENT IS TO．BE MCCA EETPEA THAN RECENT ONES．SOURCE STATED THAT HE TOLIL LIXF，TO BE ABLE TO BRING SAMPLESOF THESE NEV BILLS UTIE HIM WREN HE MEETS WITH YOUR AGENT．

3．TAZEMIAN WAS ONCE AGAIN STRONGLY DISCOURAGED FROM BE－ COMIV $A C T I V Z L Y$ INVOLVED IN ANY UNLAWFUL ACTIVITY． （CONMENT：RSO ERLIEVES THAT GAZEMIAN＇S INVOLVEMENT IN ming counterfilting operation goes beyond his claimed CASUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PRINCIPALS．SOURCE IS IN ALL PROBAEILITY YOFZING AS A FENGE／PASSER OP THE COUNTERPEIT CURRENCI．）

4．DURING RECEN：MEETINGS，KAZEMIAN HAS PROVIDED THE
POLLOWING INFORMATION：
（A）ONE COUNTERFEIT 1J，DDG RIAL NOTE（APPROXIMATELY
IRC DOLLARS AT TEE CURRENT EXCHANGE RATE）AND ONE 100 MARX NOTE，BEARING SERIAL NUMBER L12096360．USSS MAY BE INTEBSTEL IN PASSING $1 \varnothing O$ MARK NOTE TO GERMAN LIAISON．IF SO，GI WILL POTSEE EIRECTLY TO USSS PARIS．（CAVEAT：WE DO ST SISH TLAT ITFNTITY OF INFORMANT BE MADE KNOWN TO GERMANS

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(12 THAT THET MAY CHOOSE TO PURSUE OWH INEESTIGTION IN YTEREAN AEICH COUIE SORN SOUECE.
(a) COUNTEAFEIT CURRENCI IS BVING SMUGGLED INTO

GSTANBUL AND OHNED BY TRE DFRYA TOURISY COYPANX, ISAABUL. SURETY:
(c) SEBJECT IDENEIDIED AS HOLLIS WAS ALLEGEDET BOHM IT MAKAS, TUREEY ON AN UNKNOUN DAGE.
(D) SUBJECT IDENTIRIED AS SHARKI, PRESEATLI IA TOE E EY AHAITING YOHD TO SHIP THE NEXT SEIPMENT OF DOLLARS TO TRERAN.
(B) OM CCYOBER 3, APPROXIMATELY 506,006 DOLLARS IN

COUNTEREEIT DOLLARS ARRIVBD IN TEHRAN AS WPLL AS IPPROXICITELI ONE MLLLIOR FCLLARS WORTH OT OTAER CERERNCY TMGLUDING UST FERMAN MARES, RIALS AND SAUDI ARABIAN CURRENCI. TAF SAMPLE RIAL AND MART NOTES GAME PROM THIS OBIPMENT. SOUHES STAPFS THAT HE MAS TNAELF TO PROVIDF
 INEIVEUSES THPEATIng fRAN.
S. FII: OH OCTOBEE 1S, TEGEAN PRESS GARREBD STORY GLIGTING PJBLIC TO PEESENGE OF COUNTYRFIIT 10, 606 RIAL HOPES IN TEHRAN ON OCTORER 17, TRHRAN PRESS GARRIRD GRTICLE TEAT THREE BHEGARIAN NATIONALS URRE ARRESTD ON GCTGBER 15, 1579 IN TRHRAN POR PURGEASING JEAELS UITA
 OIVEN IN THE PGESS GHE SAME AS THAT GIVEN RSO BY SOUHCE. LAINGTN
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BANK MAFKAZI IRAN



