

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN 1691/1

P 031012Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3659  
INFO RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN 1335  
RUEHCR/USINT BAGHDAD 1010  
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 5593  
RUEHEM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 0706  
RUQMEB/AMCONSUL DEAHRAH 2264  
RUCMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 2798  
RUSBQE/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3779  
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 4030  
RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5194  
RUQMKN/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4928  
RUDTIC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4290  
RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1359  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1440  
RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0787  
RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3437  
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3722  
RUDKBT/AMEMBASSY RABAT 0354  
RUFERO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1341  
RUQMNS/AMEMBASSY SANA 0303  
RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 1619  
RUGMTI/AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI 0544  
RUEEXR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0304

CHRG: STATE 2/2/78  
APPRV: MIN: CWNALS  
DRFTD: POL: GBLAMERAKI  
CLEAR: NONE  
DISTR: POL 3 AMB MIN  
ECON-2 PM ICA  
OR ADM SY  
DAG AFOSI CERO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 TEHRAN 01691

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/2/85 (LAMBRAKIS, GEORGE B.) OR-P  
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR  
SUBJECT: (U) IRAN: UNDERSTANDING THE SHI'ITE ISLAMIC  
MOVEMENT

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: THOUGH BASED ON INCOMPLETE EVIDENCE, OUR BEST ASSESSMENT TO DATE IS THAT THE SHIA ISLAMIC MOVEMENT DOMINATED BY AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI IS FAR BETTER ORGANIZED, ENLIGHTENED AND ABLE TO RESIST COMMUNISM THAN ITS DETRACTORS WOULD LEAD US TO BELIEVE. IT IS ROOTED IN THE IRANIAN PEOPLE MORE THAN ANY WESTERN IDEOLOGY, INCLUDING COMMUNISM. HOWEVER, ITS GOVERNING PROCEDURES ARE NOT CLEAR, AND PROBABLY HAVE NOT BEEN TOTALLY WORKED OUT. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE PROCESS OF GOVERNING MIGHT PRODUCE ACCOMMODATIONS WITH THE ANTI-CLERICAL, INTELLECTUAL STRAINS WHICH EXIST IN THE OPPOSITION TO PRODUCE SOMETHING MORE CLOSELY APPROACHING WESTERNIZED DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES THAN MIGHT AT FIRST BE APPARENT. END SUMMARY

3. AS DEPT AND OTHER ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE, WE HAVE FOR SOMETIME BEEN LABORING WITH THE PROBLEM OF UNDERSTANDING THE FAITH AND DEPTH OF THE RENASCENT SHI'ITE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN IRAN BOTH FOR ANALYTICAL AND POLICY PURPOSES. WHILE OUR STUDY IS FAR FROM CONCLUDED, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO MAKE SOME TENTATIVE JUDGMENTS AT THIS CRITICAL STAGE IN IRAN'S ONGOING REVOLUTION.

4. FIRST, WE HAVE AMASSED ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO DATE TO BE

REASONABLY SURE THAT THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT HEADS THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION BOTH IN THE PERSON OF THE SYMBOLIC LEADER, AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI, AND IN THE ORGANIZATION, OR PERHAPS MORE ACCURATELY INTERLOCKING ORGANIZATIONS, WHICH SUPPORT HIM. IRANIAN GOVT SPOKESMEN HAVE FOR A LONG TIME PEDDLED THE CHARGE THAT KHOMEINI'S FOLLOWERS ARE FOR THE MOST PART CRYPTIC COMMUNISTS OR LEFTISTS OF MARXIST STRIPE. THIS BELIEF IS SHARED QUITE WIDELY BY OTHERWISE WELL-INFORMED IRANIANS, INCLUDING JOURNALISTS AND BUSINESSMEN AS WELL AS GOVT SERVANTS. TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT IT IS BASED ON A FAKE THAT COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN INFILTRATED AS YOUTHS INTO THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS AND NOW CONSTITUTE THE MULLAHS AND OTHER ORGANIZERS OF THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT. "PROOF" OF THIS IS DEDUCED FROM THE ASSUMPTION MADE GLIBLY BY MANY IRANIANS THAT THE RELIGIOUS PEOPLE, INDEED IRANIANS IN GENERAL, ARE TOO DISORGANIZED AND INCAPABLE OF PUTTING TOGETHER AN EFFICIENT MOVEMENT UNLESS THIS IS DONE FOR THEM BY "THE ONLY ORGANIZED GROUP IN IRAN" -- THE TUDEH PARTY.

5. THESE DETRACTORS APPEAR TO BE LABORING IN AN IGNORANCE OF THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT WHICH IS IN SOME CASES GREATER THAN THAT OF WESTERN OBSERVERS. WESTERNIZATION IN IRAN ACHIEVED A STATUS AND LEGITIMACY UNDER THE TWO PAHLAVI MONARCHS WHICH HAS PRACTICALLY WIPED OUT MEMORIES OF THE ISLAMIC PAST FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO WENT TO SCHOOL IN THE WESTERNIZED IRANIAN SCHOOL SYSTEM AND DID THEIR HIGHER STUDIES FOR THE MOST PART ABROAD. FOLLOWING THE MODEL OF KEMAL ATATURK IN TURKEY AND CONTINUING INTO THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD, THE PAHLAVI SHAHS HAVE SOUGHT TO SPAND THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT AS AN IGNORANT REACTICKARY REMNANT OF THE PAST WHICH IS FAST BECOMING OBSOLETE. STEPS WERE TAKEN TO RENDER THIS A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY. THE GOVT HAS MADE EFFORTS TO CUT OFF THE MULLAHS FROM DIRECT FINANCIAL SUPPORT BY THE PEOPLE AND TO MAKE THEM DEPEND ON GOVT SALARIES. BY KEEPING THE MULLAHS AS FAR OUT OF PUBLIC SIGHT AS POSSIBLE, SEEKING TO RIDICULE THEM, LOCKING UP MANY OF THE LEADERS IN SAVAK PRISONS, AND

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 INFO RUEHAM/AMEMBASSY AMMAN 1337  
 RUEHCR/USINT BAGHDAD 1811  
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 RUEHEM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 2707  
 RUOMDH/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN 2265  
 RUQPCD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 2799  
 RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3780  
 RUCMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 4231  
 RUSEBK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5195  
 RUQMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4929  
 RUETC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4291  
 RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1360  
 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1441  
 RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0788  
 RUSEAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3438  
 RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3723  
 RUDKBT/AMEMBASSY RABAT 0355  
 RUPHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1342  
 RUOMNS/AMEMBASSY SANA 0304  
 RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 1620  
 RUQMTI/AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI 0545  
 RUDKKE/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0305  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 TEHRAN 01691

INSISTING ON NON-RELIGIOUS MODELS OF THE FUTURE FOR IRAN, THE SHAHS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PUSH IRAN THROUGH A PERIOD OF WESTERNIZATION INVOLVING A SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE WHICH TOOK CENTURIES TO DEVELOP IN EUROPE.

6. NEVERTHELESS, IT HAS BECOME OBVIOUS THAT ISLAM IS DEEPLY IMBEDDED IN THE LIVES OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE. IN ITS SHI'ITE FORMAT, IT HAS OVER THE CENTURIES BECOME STRONGLY IDENTIFIED WITH IRANIAN NATIONALISM, EVEN BEFORE THE AGE OF MODERN NATIONALISM PENETRATED THE EAST. THE PAHLAVIS ATTEMPTED TO SUPPLANT THIS ANCIENT NATIONALISM WITH A MODERN VERSION BASED ON A RETURN TO TRADITIONS, LEGENDS AND GLORIES OF THE PRE-ISLAMIC PAST. THAT EFFORT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IF ALLOWED TO CONTINUE UNCHALLENGED FOR MANY MORE DECADES OR CENTURIES. ITS SUCCESS DEPENDED ON CREATION OF INSTITUTIONS WITH ROOTS AMONG THE PEOPLE TO COMPETE WITH THAT OF SHI'ITE ISLAM.

7. HOWEVER, THE REFORMING PAHLAVI MONARCHY WAS CHALLENGED EARLY ON BY ANOTHER WESTERN IDEOLOGY -- COMMUNISM. ITS INFANT PARLIAMENTARY AND OTHER GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS CAME CLOSE TO BEING TAKEN OVER IN THE LATE 1940S AND EARLY 1950S BY THE COMMUNIST METHOD OF WESTERNIZATION. THE PRESENT SHAH'S SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE AGAINST THE CHALLENGE AND HIS ABSORPTION IN THE CREATION OF A MODERN, SECULAR AND INDUSTRIALIZED IRAN BLINDED HIM TO THE MORE ANCIENT CHALLENGE OF ISLAM AND ITS HOLD ON THE PEOPLE. WHILE HIS EFFORTS TO CREATE A NEW IRANIAN IDEOLOGY BASED ON "2500 YEARS OF IRANIAN KINGSHIP" AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE

"WEST CIVILIZATION" WERE DIRECTED PERSONALLY AND APPEARED TO BE MAKING SOME HEADWAY. IT IS CLEAR TODAY THAT THEY DEEPENED THE RESENTMENT OF SHI'ITE ISLAM AND BROADENED THE OPPOSITION TO HIS REGIME AMONG MORE AND MORE CLASSES OF PEOPLE WELL BEYOND THOSE STRICTLY PRACTICING RELIGION. TODAY, EVEN THE SHAH'S USE OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE IS RIDICULED. IT SEEMS THE SHAH REGULARLY MAKES ERRORS IN HIS USE OF THE LANGUAGE, WHICH ONLY REINFORCES THE CHARGE THAT HE IS AN IMPLANT OF FOREIGN INTERESTS SERVING FOREIGNERS RATHER THAN HIS OWN PEOPLE.

8. HISTORICALLY, ISLAMIC SCHOLARS HERE TRACE THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHI'ISM IN TERMS OF ITS RESISTANCE TO AUTHORITY AT SEVERAL STAGES. ORIGINALLY A MARK OF PERSIAN RESISTANCE TO ARAB AND MONGOL INVADERS, IRANIAN SHI'ISM SPLIT AND THE MAJOR DIVISION IN A SENSE "WENT UNDERGROUND" AFTER THE SAFAVID RULERS ADOPTED IT AS THE OFFICIAL COURT RELIGION. THESE POWERFUL PERSIAN RULERS TRANSFORMED SHI'ISM INTO A TYPE OF SUNNISM, PERSIAN SCHOLARS TELL US. THAT IS, THEY DEMANDED AND GOT SUBSERVIENCE OF A PART OF THE SHI'A ESTABLISHMENT TO THE KING. ACQUIESCENCE WAS GIVEN TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF THE "HIDDEN 12TH IMAM," THE KING COULD MAKE NECESSARY TEMPORAL DECISIONS. CONCURRENT WITH THIS OFFICIAL ("SAFAVI") STRAIN, HOWEVER, WAS THE UNOFFICIAL STRAIN OF SHI'ISM ("ALAVI") WHICH BELIEVED AND PREACHED RESISTANCE TO UNJUST AND CORRUPT RULERS AND LIE BEHIND THE ANCIENT SHI'ITE DOCTRINE OF CONCEALMENT.

9. THE EXISTENCE OF BOTH STRAINS IN SHI'ISM IS MARKED BY PARALLEL SYSTEMS OF MOSQUES, DATING ESPECIALLY FROM THE TIME OF FATHI ALI SHAH QAJAR, IN MANY IRANIAN CITIES -- THOSE BUILT BY THE SHAH AND SUPPORTED BY HIM, THOSE BUILT BY THE PEOPLE AND PRAYED IN BY THEM. THE "IMAM JOM'EH'S" APPOINTED BY THE GOVT TO PRESIDE OVER THE SHAH MOSQUES WERE NOT RESPECTED BY THE BELIEVERS WHO SOUGHT OUT THEIR OWN MULLAHS AND MOJTAHEDS, TO WHOM THEY RENDERED OBEDIENCE AND PAID THEIR PITNES. THIS UNDERGROUND "ALAVITE" STRAIN CAME TO THE SURFACE IN THE 19TH CENTURY WITH THE TOBACCO

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 RUEHCR/USINT BAGHDAD 1012  
 RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 5595  
 RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 0708  
 RUEKLE/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN 2066  
 RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 0900  
 RUSFGD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3781  
 RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JEDDA 4032  
 RUSBLX/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5196  
 RUEKXV/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4930  
 RUETC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4292  
 RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1361  
 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1442  
 RUQMYT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0789  
 RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3439  
 RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3724  
 RUEKBT/AMEMBASSY RABAT 0356  
 RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1343  
 RUQMNS/AMEMBASSY SANA 0305  
 RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 1621  
 RUQMTI/AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI 0546  
 RUEKXR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0306

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 TEHRAN 01691

REBELLION, WHEN THE CLERGY SUCCESSFULLY LED A BOYCOTT AGAINST THE KING'S GRANT OF A TOBACCO MONOPOLY TO THE BRITISH. IT WAS THE KEY FORCE BEHIND THE REVOLUTION AT THE TURN OF THIS CENTURY WHICH PRODUCED THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION IN 1906 AND 1907. FORCED AGAIN INTO AN INACTIVE ROLE BY THE PAHLAVI SHAHS, THE ALAVITE STRAIN IS THE HEART OF THE SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION TODAY.

10. IF ONE EXAMINES IRAN FOR POLITICAL STRUCTURES TODAY, ONE IS STRUCK BY THE APPEARANCE OF A WASTELAND. MODERN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY HAS HAD LITTLE SUCCESS IN THE SHORT PERIOD WHEN IT HAS BEEN TRIED, AND IT IS AN ADAGE HERE THAT THE ONLY RELATIVELY EFFECTIVE POLITICAL PARTY IN THE PAST HAS BEEN THE COMMUNIST, OR TUDEH, PARTY. NOTABLES AND OTHER POWERFUL PERSONS, INCLUDING MANY MULLAHS, HAVE BEEN REPRESENTED IN THE PARLIAMENT AS INDIVIDUALS WITH PERSONAL FOLLOWINGS, WHO MAKE TEMPORARY ALLIANCES WITH EACH OTHER BUT HAVE DONE PRECIOUS LITTLE TO ADVANCE THE INSTITUTION OF DEMOCRATIC GOVT AS UNDERSTOOD IN THE WEST. THE ONE PRIME MINISTER WHO ACHIEVED A DEGREE OF POWER TO CHALLENGE THAT OF THE SHAH, MOSSADEQ, OPERATED IN A PERSONALIZED AUTHORITARIAN WAY WHICH LEFT A MEMORY AND A POLITICAL LEGACY IN IRAN, BUT NO POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OR PROMISE OF FUTURE INSTITUTIONALIZATION. IN SHORT, A CENTRAL POWER WITH A GRIP ON THE PEOPLE HAS ALWAYS BEEN NECESSARY TO RULE IRAN.

11. THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT HAS DRAWN RENEWED VIGOR FROM THE LITERACY AND EDUCATION DRIVES WHICH HAVE TRANSFORMED SO MUCH OF THE IRANIAN POPULATION OVER THE PAST

FOUR OR FIVE DECADES. MOSLEM LEADERS CAN CALL ON EDUCATED MOSLEM YOUTH, MANY OF WHOM HAVE LEARNED WESTERN ARTS OF PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION IN THEIR U.S. OR EUROPEAN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES. THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT ITSELF, WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY TAKEN BY SURPRISE BY THE ONSLAUGHT OF MARXIST IDEOLOGY, HAS OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE DECADES DIGESTED AND APPARENTLY GONE FAR TO IMMUNIZE ITSELF AGAINST THIS WESTERN IDEOLOGY. MEANWHILE, IT HAS MOVED TO MODERNIZE ITS OWN PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD AND OF THE ROLE SHI'ISM CAN PLAY IN GOVERNING IRAN.

12. AS EXPLAINED BY SCHOLARS HERE, SHIA ISLAM TEACHERS NOT ONLY ADHERE TO THE UNCHANGING VALUES EMBODIED IN THE KORAN AND IN THE SUNNA (TRADITIONS OF THE DEEDS AND SAYINGS OF THE PROPHET) BUT ALSO THE NEED FOR REINTERPRETATION TO KEEP UP WITH CHANGING TIMES. THE PRINCIPLES OF ISLAMIC LAW THAT ARE CONCEIVED AS DYNAMIC IN THIS SENSE ARE "IJTEHAD," OR PHILOSOPHICAL REINTERPRETATION OF THE ETERNAL VERITIES, AND "EJMA" OR "CONSENSUS," I.E., AGREEMENT BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS THAT CERTAIN NEW INTERPRETATIONS ARE SANCTIFIED AND HAVE THE FORCE OF THE LAW. WHAT THIS AMOUNTS TO IS A CONTINUING GRIP ON THE IRANIAN POPULATION BY A CLERICAL ORDER WHICH IS NUMEROUS, AT LEAST PARTIALLY MODERNIZING, SUPPORTED BY ITS OWN SOURCES OF FUNDS, AND ORGANIZING ITS OWN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION AMONG THE FAITHFUL. IT HAS BECOME CLEAR BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT MOST OF THE BAZAAR MERCHANTS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP WITH LARGE AND REGULAR CONTRIBUTIONS. MILLIONS OF DOLLARS PASS THROUGH THE HANDS OF THE TOP AYATOLLAHS EVERY DAY OR WEEK. THESE GO FOR A VARIETY OF GOOD WORKS AND SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT."

13. AN EXAMPLE OF ORGANIZATION IN THIS REGARD IS A RELIGIOUS SCHOOL SYSTEM BEGUN 32 YEARS AGO BY AN AYATOLLAH WHO IS STILL ALIVE, WHICH HAS GROWN TO 1500 SCHOOLS SPREAD ALL OVER IRAN. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IS ENTIRELY SUPPORTED BY BAZAARI FUNDS, AND STUDENTS FROM PROMINENT RELIGIOUS, BAZAARI AND OTHER FAMILIES TAKE NOT ONLY THE

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 RUQMTI/AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI 0547  
 RUQDKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0307

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 TEHRAN 01691

REQUIRED GOVT COURSES, TAUGHT IN GOVT SCHOOLS, BUT ALSO SOME RELIGIOUS COURSES WHICH THE GOVT HAS BANNED IN ITS SCHOOLS. AN EFFORT BY THE GOVT TO TAKE THESE SCHOOLS OVER A FEW YEARS AGO WAS SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED BY THE RELIGIOUS/BAZAARI ESTABLISHMENT. ENOUGH UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AND OTHER LEARNED PERSONS VOLUNTEER THEIR SERVICES TO SUCH SCHOOLS SO THAT THE STUDENTS GRADUATE WITH SUFFICIENTLY RESPECTABLE KNOWLEDGE AND CREDENTIALS TO ASSURE THEIR SUCCESS IN THE UNIVERSITIES. WE HAVE SEEN A WIDE VARIETY OF PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS PRODUCED FOR USE IN SUCH SCHOOLS WHICH INDICATE THE EXTENT OF ORGANIZATION IN THE MOSLEM COMMUNITY.

14. THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PROMINENT RELIGIOUS MILITANTS MUCH IN EVIDENCE ARE CRYPTO-COMMUNISTS. ALTHOUGH SUCH ILK MAY WELL HAVE INFILTRATED THE KHOMEINI CAMP FURTHER ICWN. THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT IS NEITHER AS WEAK NOR AS IGNORANT AS THE SHAH'S GOVT AND SOME WESTERN OBSERVERS WOULD PORTRAY IT. IT HAS A FAR BETTER GRIP ON THE EMOTIONS OF THE PEOPLE AND ON THE MONEY OF THE BAZAAR THAN ANY OTHER GROUP. IN MANY WAYS IT SUPPORTS A REFORMIST/TRADITIONALIST VIEW OF IRAN WHICH IS FAR MORE ATTRACTIVE TO MOST IRANIANS AT THIS TIME THAN THE MODEL'S OF COMMUNISM REPRESENTED BY THE SOVIET UNION OR MAINLAND CHINA.

15. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS NOT GUARANTEED TO OPERATE IN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRATIC FASHION AS WE UNDERSTAND IT IN THE WEST. IN FACT THE IDEA OF MERITOCRACY ("TAQVASALARI") IS SAID TO BE IMBEDDED DEEPLY IN ITS APPROACH. ELEMENTS

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OF AUTHORITY APPEAR TO BE COLLECTIVE (AS SUGGESTED BY THE PRINCIPLE OF "EJMA"), RATHER THAN REPOSING IN A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL, EVEN ONE MORE EQUAL THAN THE OTHERS, SUCH AS "IMAM" KHOMEINI. A GOOD DEAL OF AUTHORITY IS LIKELY TO BE EXERCISED BY AN "ISLAMIC COUNCIL," THOUGH THE MAKE-UP OF SUCH A COUNCIL IS STILL NOT CLEAR. UNDER THE MOVEMENT'S PROGRAM, POLITICAL LEADERS RATHER THAN MULLAHS WOULD APPEAR DESTINED TO PLAY THE PREPONDERANT ROLE IN MAKING AND EXECUTING GOVT POLICY. THE IDEA THAT EXPERTS SHOULD BE JUDGED BY THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP AND THEN REINFORCED IN APPLYING THEIR EXPERTISE TO VARIOUS AREAS OF THE ECONOMY IS PART OF THE PROPOSED GOVERNING PROCESS, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT. THUS, ON THE SURFACE, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE WESTERNIZED PROCESS OF POLITICAL PARTIES VYING IN PARLIAMENT TO SET POLICY WOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY A MORE INFORMAL AND TRADITIONAL PROCESS TO DECISION-MAKING THROUGH VARIOUS GROUPS ACHIEVING CONSENSUS.

16. ALL THIS IS VAGUE AT THIS STAGE, HOWEVER, AND WE SUSPECT THE MOSLEM ESTABLISHMENT WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE ABLE TO AVOID MAKING SOME ACCOMMODATIONS WITH WESTERNIZED IDEAS OF GOVT HELD BY MANY IN THE OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. THIS WOULD BE LIKELY TO APPEAR OVER A PERIOD OF TIME RATHER THAN IMMEDIATELY. MEANWHILE, WE CAN EXPECT THAT THE ROLE OF A POST REVOLUTIONARY SHI'A ISLAMIC MOVEMENT WOULD HAVE BROAD POPULAR SUPPORT. IT WOULD PROBABLY RESIST COMMUNISM AS AN ALIEN IMPORT TO THE BEST OF ITS ABILITY, AS WELL AS RESISTING MANY OTHER ASPECTS OF WESTERNIZATION. SULLIVAN FT

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