

DE RUQMR #0985 289 \*\*  
 ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 P 180809Z OCT 79  
 FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4263  
 BT  
 C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 10985

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL  
 CHRG: STAT 10/15/79  
 APPRV: CHARGE: LBLAINGEN  
 DRPTD: POL: EASWIFT: GO  
 CLEAR: NONE  
 DISTR: POL2 CHG ICA  
 CHRON RF

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/15/35 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P  
 TAGS: PINT, IR  
 SUBJECT: INTERNAL OPPOSITION FORMING?

*Pol 13 Gen*

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).
2. AT LUNCH OCTOBER 10, TEHRAN LAWYER A. K. LAHIDJI (PROTECT SOURCE) DISCUSSED HIS VIEWS ON POLITICAL SCENE IN TEHRAN WITH ACTING POL COUNSELOR. A MODERATE SECULAR SUPPORTER OF THE REVOLUTION AGAINST THE SHAH, LAHIDJI IS VERY DISAPPOINTED WITH KHOMEINI'S GOVERNMENT AND PLAINLY SEEKING A MEANS TO EXERCISE MORE INFLUENCE ON IT.
3. LAHIDJI SAID THAT KHOMEINI PRESENTLY CONTROLS THE MASSES IN IRAN AND THERE IS LITTLE MODERATE INTELLECTUALS LIKE HIMSELF CAN DO TO CHECK KHOMEINI'S CREATION OF A TOTALLY ISLAMIC STATE. KHOMEINI, LIKE THE SHAH BEFORE HIM, IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND SURROUNDED BY YES MEN. MOST OF HIS ADVISORS ARE WEAK LIKE BAZARGAN OR OPPORTUNISTS LIKE CHAMRAN AND SABAGHIAN. AYATOLLAH BEHESHTI WAS WESTERN ORIENTED BUT NOT VERY STRONG AND YAZDI IS ALSO VERY AMBITIOUS.
4. LAHIDJI POINTED OUT HE HAD ORIGINALLY SUPPORTED KHOMEINI BUT THAT KHOMEINI HAD CHANGED SINCE LAHIDJI VISITED HIM IN PARIS. AT THAT TIME, KHOMEINI TOLD THE MODERATES THAT THE CLERGY SHOULD STAY OUT OF POLITICS. LAHIDJI SAID THAT HE AND SEVERAL OTHER LAWYERS (INCLUDING THE NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE HASSAN HABIBI) HAD WRITTEN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT CONSTITUTION ALONG WESTERN LINES. HABIBI HAD TAKEN THE DRAFT TO KHOMEINI JUST BEFORE KHOMEINI LEFT TEHRAN FOR QOM. KHOMEINI SAID THAT HE LIKED THE DRAFT BUT WISHED TO DISCUSS IT WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN QOM. THESE LEADERS OBJECTED TO THE SECULAR DRAFT AND WHEN KHOMEINI RETURNED THE DRAFT TO THE LAWYERS SEVERAL WEEKS LATER IT HAD BEEN CHANGED TO GIVE IT A MUCH MORE ISLAMIC FLAVOR. THE LAWYERS INCORPORATED THESE CHANGES AND THE DRAFT, WHICH LAHIDJI FELT WAS ACCEPTABLE, WAS SENT TO THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS WHICH HAS NOW ALTERED IT OUT OF RECOGNITION. LAHIDJI FELT THAT KHOMEINI WAS DEFINITELY BEHIND THE MUCH MORE ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION BEING PRODUCED BY THE COUNCIL, AND, IN PARTICULAR, BEHIND THE IDEA OF VELAYAT-E-FAQIH. ABSOLUTE POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY AND KHOMEINI HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED HE MUST RUN THE COUNTRY HIMSELF.
5. LAHIDJI SAID THAT WHILE KHOMEINI'S SUPPORT OF THE MASSES STILL MAKES HIM THE MOST POWERFUL MAN IN IRAN,

HE HAS ALIENATED ALL THE MODERNIST GROUPS. OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS THESE GROUPS HAVE BEEN HOLDING TALKS AIMED AT CONSOLIDATING THEIR FORCES INTO ONE GROUP WHICH MIGHT THEN BE ABLE TO FORCE KHOMEINI TO RECONSIDER THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION. THE ORGANIZERS OF THE GROUP ARE HOPEFUL THAT THEY CAN PUT TOGETHER A FRONT OF ISLAMIC MODERATES AND SECULAR LEADERS. THEY DO NOT INTEND TO INCLUDE NON-ISLAMIC LEFTISTS OR FEDAYAN IN THEIR EFFORTS AS THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SHARIAT-MADARI'S SUPPORTERS AND THE LEFTISTS ARE TOO GREAT. THE NEW GROUP WOULD BE COMPOSED OF MODERATE MOSLEMS UNDER THE SHARIAT-MADARI CONNECTED MUSLIM PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE MODERATE SECULARISTS OF KAZEM HABIBI'S NATIONAL FRONT AND JOMBESH OF HASSAN JAVADI. IN ADDITION THESE GROUPS ARE TALKING WITH THE MUJAHEDIN-E-KHALQ AS THEY CONSIDER THE MUJAHEDIN ONE OF THE STRONGEST FORCES IN IRAN. COMMENT: EMBASSY HAS BEEN PICKING UP RUMORS THAT THE MODERATE FORCES WERE TRYING TO GET ORGANIZED. WE HAD NOT HEARD THAT THEY WERE TRYING TO BRING THE MUJAHEDIN IN UNDER THEIR UMBRELLA. THIS MAKES SENSE, HOWEVER, BOTH FOR THE MODERATES AND FOR THE MUJAHEDIN WHO LOST A MAIN SOURCE OF SUPPORT IN THE RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY AT THE DEATH OF TALEGHANI. THERE MAY WELL BE A GROWING SHARIAT-MADARI/MUJAHEDIN LINK AS REPORTEDLY THE MUSLIM PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY'S PAPER KHALQ-E-MOSALMAN IS NOW BEING PRINTED WITH MUJAHEDIN HELP. (EMBASSY CANNOT CONFIRM THIS REPORT.) A SHARIAT-MADARI/MUJAHEDIN/NATIONAL FRONT COALITION COULD BE QUITE FORMIDABLE. IT WOULD NEED LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, AND EMBASSY IS DUBIOUS THAT SHARIAT-MADARI WOULD BE WILLING TO COME DOWN FROM HIS MUD-BRICK TOWER TO FIGHT IN THE TRENCHES. EVEN IF HE WERE TEMPERAMENTALLY SUITED FOR LEADING A POLITICAL OPPOSITION, (WHICH HE IS NOT), HIS PAST RELATIONS WITH THE SHAH'S REGIME MAKE HIM VULNERABLE TO THREATS TO REVEAL THESE ASSOCIATIONS. FURTHERMORE, FEW CLERGYMEN ARE WILLING TO MAKE AN OPEN BREAK WITH KHOMEINI AND FACE CHARGES OF WEAKENING REVOLUTIONARY UNITY. LAINGEN

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