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Iran: The Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majles)

A Reference Aid

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November 1980*

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Questions and comments are welcome and should be
directed to the Chief, Southwest Asia Analytic
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**Iran: The Islamic
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Summary

The Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majles) is gradually beginning to perform as the legislative branch of the Iranian Islamic Republic. The process of getting established has been controversial and arduous. The elections were widely denounced as fraudulent; early debates have been characterized by disorder and high emotion; and the plan for a committee structure was discarded in favor of a new plan almost as soon as it was conceived. About 40 of the Majles' 270 seats are vacant because of controversies over election procedures, successful challenges of victorious candidates' credentials, and local disruptions that prevented voting. ☐ 25X1

The precise political makeup of the somewhat truncated Majles is unclear. Fundamentalists unquestionably dominate it: the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) holds the largest number of seats and can count on the support of other fundamentalists on a number of issues. Fundamentalist power was demonstrated in the initial stages of Majles organization, in the summer of 1980, when most of those denied seats proved to be outspoken critics of the fundamentalists' approach. But there is no sign of the development of party discipline in the Western sense; the IRP is loosely organized, and its members do not always vote as a bloc. ☐ 25X1

Political infighting is so intense that the Majles cannot deal with controversial issues without guidance from Ayatollah Khomeini or agreement among parliamentary leaders presumed to speak for him. The Majles handled the hostage issue expeditiously, but the outcome was predetermined. It gave responsibility to a special, elected committee, but the membership of the committee probably was manipulated by the leadership. Debate on the committee's recommendations was lengthy and heated, but it produced no changes. The final result was a set of terms for settlement of the issue and relinquishment of responsibility for their implementation to the Rajai government. The issue may be returned to the Majles, however, if the US response is considered inadequate. ☐ 25X1

Information on most individual members of the Majles is fragmentary. A compilation of significant data on the members appears in the appendix. ☐ 25X1

Constituencies of Majles Members



Iran: The Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majles) ☐

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Constitutional Provisions

The constitution of the Iranian Islamic Republic established a single-chamber, 270-member Consultative Assembly (Majles) as the legislative branch of the new government. The executive and judicial branches are charged with implementing the directives of this branch. The constitution gives the Majles the power to:

- Initiate "resolutions" and introduce legislation, on the initiative of 15 members.
- Enact laws and ratify treaties, contracts, and accords negotiated by the executive.
- Approve the appointments of the prime minister and the cabinet.
- Censure and remove the prime minister, government, or a single minister through a vote of no confidence, apparently supported by a simple majority.
- Establish investigatory bodies to monitor any aspects of national affairs.
- Approve employment of foreign nationals, which is "prohibited unless deemed necessary." ☐

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The Assembly cannot enact any law that contradicts Islamic or constitutional principles. A Council of Guardians, composed of six clerical jurists named by Khomeini and six secular legal experts, was established by the constitution to review all legislation and declare null and void whatever it determines is unacceptable. One of the first acts of the Assembly was to select the Council's secular legal experts from a list presented by the High Court of the Judiciary. The Council's presence during the hostage debate sealed the Majles decision as both constitutional and Islamic. Less urgent matters are reviewed by the Council during the first 10 days after the approval of a bill by the Majles. ☐ 25X1

The constitution also forbids any changes, except minor adjustments, in the national borders or grants of foreign concessions for "commercial, agricultural, industrial, or mineral affairs and services." Assembly members wishing to propose "bills that would result in the reduction of public income or the increase of general expenses" must include in them provisions "to remedy the reduction or secure funds for the new expenses." ☐ 25X1

The Assembly is not allowed to impose formal martial law. In wartime, the Majles can "approve" government regulations establishing "temporary restrictions" lasting a maximum of 30 days. The Majles must approve any extensions of such restrictions. Members cannot transfer their individual responsibilities, and the Assembly as a whole cannot delegate its power to make law. The Majles cannot debate an "urgent project or bill"—the implementations of which cannot be delayed for the customary 10-day Council of Guardians' review period—unless the Council is present during the debate and presents its views on the acceptability of the text under consideration. ☐ 25X1

The constitution also provides that legislative sessions be open to the public and press unless a closed session is called at the request of the prime minister, a cabinet member, or 10 Assembly members. Three-fourths of the members must approve any measures adopted in closed session, two-thirds in open session. The Majles may require the president, the prime minister, or any minister to attend a session to answer questions and may allow them to make statements in support of their positions. ☐ 25X1

Members of the Assembly serve a four-year term and are considered accountable to the whole nation. They are authorized to address all domestic and foreign issues, but they are not liable to prosecution or arrest for their remarks during debate or for their votes. Any member who decides to resign is given 15 days to reconsider—a provision carried over from the Shah's era. ☐ 25X1

Structure

The Assembly's major officers—elected by the membership—include the speaker, three assistant speakers, six secretaries, and three "supply and procurement" officers. The Assembly also has a public relations office. ☐ 25X1



Assembly Speaker Ali Akbar
Hashemi-Rafsanjani

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X1 The Majles meets three days a week for debate—Sunday, Tuesday, and Wednesday (occasionally Thursday)—and three days for committee work. The combination of routine absences and those of clerics returning home for the next day's religious services makes obtaining a quorum (180 members) difficult on Thursdays. Friday is a holiday. The speaker holds a press conference from 1600 to 1800 each Monday. A typical Majles session opens with "preagenda" announcements and speeches that often raise parochial issues, followed by readings from the Quran, remarks by the speaker, and the items on the day's agenda. []

The Majles' interim operating rules first provided for the division of the membership into 10 committees of 22 members, each led by a five-man subcommittee. Many of those elected to the subcommittee posts were IRP members or supporters. The responsibilities of the 10 committees are not known. On 6 August—two weeks after opening for debate—the Assembly announced its reorganization—apparently by lottery—into 28 committees of seven to 11 members each. These

committees deal with administration and equipment, Revolutionary Council affairs, roads and transportation, national guidance, health and welfare, cultural revolution plans, reconstruction crusade affairs, housing and urban development, foreign affairs, defense, economics and finance, justice, interior, oil, and Article 90 (investigation of complaints against the operations of the Majles, judiciary, or executive). The duties of the other 13 committees are not known. Several of the committees named have asked for comments and suggestions from the public. A seven-member committee was elected on 2 October to study the hostage issue. []

Elections and Factions

Like the other steps the Khomeini regime has taken toward a new form of government, the Assembly elections—held in March and May 1980—were controversial. Critics complained that the two-round format favored the fundamentalist Islamic Republic Party, that the national media and Friday prayer sessions touted IRP candidates, that local pro-Khomeini officials indiscriminately filled out ballots for the illiterate in favor of fundamentalist candidates, and that voting results were altered. Official inquiry commissions were set up after both rounds, but an objective review never took place. []

Unrest in minority-populated regions and other areas resulted in the cancellation of voting in some constituencies. Only about 240 of the 270 seats were filled. Several members were later removed, when voting in their constituencies was nullified or their credentials were rejected during the first sessions of the new Assembly. Most of those removed were outspoken critics of the fundamentalists. Prime Minister Rajai told an interviewer on 2 November that there may soon be an announcement about holding byelections in unrepresented constituencies not in the war zone. But the approval of the credentials of M. A. Tatari from Zahedan in early September suggests that some sort of selection process may already be occurring. []

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Islamic fundamentalists who are either members of the Islamic Republic Party or are sympathetic to it dominate the Assembly. The factional breakdown—before expulsions—was approximately as follows:

IRP and supporters	130 to 140
Other fundamentalists and independents	40
Secular moderates, coalesced around former Prime Minister Bazargan	10
Leftists and minorities (including two Armenians and one representative each for Zoroastrians, Jews, and Christians)	20
Unknown	30 to 40 (u)

Seats are now held by 228 members. IRP members and supporters still number 170 to 180, of whom about a dozen are said to be extreme hardliners. Minority representation has been reduced, but moderates number about 30 and have mustered the support of as many as 90 members on some matters. []

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Debates

According to a Majles member, "Recent chaotic sessions show the Majles to be a place, not of rational discussions between rational men, but a place of humdrum accusations and counteraccusations pouring on members from all sides." []

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The initial sessions of the Assembly, which opened for debate in mid-July after several weeks of procedural discussions including reviews of members' credentials, have been characterized by disorder and high emotion. They have been punctuated by parliamentary maneuvers by Assembly leaders which have been designed to impart some organization to the proceedings. Most members are inexperienced and feel compelled to play to what they believe are Khomeini's desires, to underscore their own revolutionary credentials, and to discredit political rivals. Debate has been heated; individual members have occasionally come to blows. []

Political rivalries and insecurities are so intense that the Assembly cannot either address substantive issues on their merits or make decisions on controversial

matters without explicit guidance from Khomeini or behind-the-scenes direction from parliamentary leaders. Control of the Assembly is made more difficult because even the pro-Khomeini Islamic Republic Party faction is not well organized or cohesive. Ayatollah Beheshti, the leader of the IRP faction—although he is not a Majles member—has publicly admitted that he cannot impose parliamentary discipline on the IRP delegates, much less on the party's sympathizers. []

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The first Assembly sessions indicate that Beheshti and his allies are relying instead on Ayatollah Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majles, to control the course of debates—which he has done, in part, by turning off members' microphones. He seems to settle most disputes by citing the constitution or the Majles' interim operating rules—the permanent "constitution" of the Majles is still under study. Rafsanjani has prevented some representatives from raising local problems that would highlight to the television audience the regime's inability to cope with many of the people's problems. []

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The Majles schedule has been dominated by consideration of the hostage issue and, lately, by the war with Iraq. Its work has been interrupted by members' trips to the front. In addition to these two main concerns, issues before the Assembly have included the investigation of Iranian embassies and news reports issued by all organizations, the status of the Army and Revolutionary Guard, elimination of income taxes for military personnel, pensions for retired government employees and military personnel, irrigation regulations for fallow land, regulations for the purchase of needed equipment, formulas for resolving land ownership disputes, administration of the national media, bank loans for development in tribal areas, and regulations for foreign trade. []

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The Hostage Debates

Despite warnings that the issue might be drawn out over weeks or months, the Majles dealt with the US hostage issue expeditiously—probably because of Ayatollah Khomeini's 12 September outline of conditions for their release and guidance by Rafsanjani

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*Hojjat-ol Islam Mohammad
Musavi-Khoeiniha*

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and other clerical and lay figures close to the central power structure, who led the debate in favor of setting terms for their release. The most vocal opponents were little-known backbenchers. [] 25X1

The Majles decided to address the hostage issue through a seven-member special committee—operating under “terms of reference” set by the legislature—without contacts with representatives of the United States and mainly in sessions open to the public. The guidance provided by the Assembly required the committee to examine the nature of relations with the United States over the past 20 to 30 years and the activities of each of the US hostages during their tours of duty in Iran. [] 25X1

The committee was chosen by secret ballot from a list of 40 nominees—a procedure that allowed the Majles leadership to manipulate the results. Those chosen were well-connected fundamentalists likely not only to agree among themselves, but also to be in tune with the plans of Khomeini’s closest advisers. The committee’s spokesman, Musavi-Khoeiniha, had been Khomeini’s personal link with the militants at the US Embassy.

[] 25X1

In late October the Majles received the committee’s report, and on 2 November—after several debates as well as failure on two occasions to achieve a quorum—it adopted terms based on Khomeini’s guidance without a formal rollcall vote. Debate had been heated, with members calling for trials and the execution of guilty hostages, a US apology for its activities in Iran, withdrawal of US radar planes from the Persian Gulf area, as well as indefinite postponement of the hostage debate. In the end, however, recalcitrant hardliners were unable to prevent a vote or to add conditions to those originally laid down by Khomeini. [] 25X1

The Majles resolution passed further responsibility for the hostages to the government of Prime Minister Rajai. The issue may be returned to the Assembly, however, if the government decides the US response to the Iranian terms is inadequate [] 25X1

Appendix

Members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly *

This appendix lists the names of all individuals believed to have been elected to the Majles, including those known to have been expelled. Since only 228 members now hold seats, several others included in this list and not designated as expelled are believed to have lost their seats or resigned. ☐ 25X1

* Notations indicating that members hold leadership positions in committees numbered from one to 10 refer to the Majles' first structure, which was changed in August. Information on the officers, membership, and duties of the 28 committees established after the change in structure is fragmentary. Spellings of names reflect the recommendation of the Office of Central Reference, but they may not be linguistically authentic because they were compiled from translations from several languages. Some variant spellings have been included. Spellings of place names are generally those approved by the US Board of Geographical Names. Those marked with an asterisk could not be located. ☐ 25X1

Name	Constituency	Comments
Abas-Fard, Mohammad Reza	Kuhdasht	Secretary, committee eight.
Abasi, Mohammad Reza	Kuhdasht	
Abasi, Sheikh Abas	Minab	
Abd al-Karimi, Seifollah		Secretary, committee four.
Abdiput, Qadr	Sar Dasht and Piran Shar	
Abedinzadeh, Kamal	Khvoy	Critical of regular military and gen-darmes for not helping the Revolutionary Guard also critical of the Fedayeen, Mojahedin, and Tudeh.
Abu-Torabi-Fard, Seyyed Abas	Qasvin	
Afshar, Ali Itaiqat	Berizak	
Akmadi-Froshadi, Seyyed Mehdi		
Alamalhodai, Baha-ed-Din	Ardebil	Credentials investigated.
Alifur, Asadollah	Ilam	
Alizadeh, Ahmad	Qaemshahr *	Spokesman, committee nine; Secretary General of outlawed party associated with Ayatollah Shariat-Madari; "the people demand a decision on the hostages as soon as possible."
Alviri, Morteza	Damavand	Secretary, committee three.
Amiri, (First name unknown)		Secretary of Majles.
Amin-Nasiri, Mohammad Reza	Astaneh *	
Ansari, Hosein	Neyshabur	
Ansari, Majid	Zarand *	"War with the US is permanent"; return the Shah's relatives, who are plotting, and Iran's wealth, and the hostages will be released; critical of Bani-Sadr's provisional government; but spoke in favor of setting terms for the hostages' release.
Anvari, Hojjat-ol Islam/Ayatollah Muhi-ed-Din	Hamadan	Resigned because of "polarization and intimidation," but stayed at Rafsanani's request; pro-Bani-Sadr; imprisoned 13 years under the Shah.
Aqa-Rahimi, Abol Hamid	Shahr-e Babak	
Ardabili, Hojjat-ol Islam (First name unknown)		Probably the same as Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili.
Ardalan, Ali	Tuysarkan	Former Economy and Finance Minister under the Khomeini regime.
Asadinia, Abdol Reza	Ahvaz	Accused Ayatollah Shariat-Madari of complicity in mid-1980 military plot; said Bazargan and other "nationalists" fear Islam.
Astaki, Rahman	Shahr-e Kord	
Atari, (First name unknown)	Arak	
Ayat, Seyyed Hasan	Tehran	IRP hardliner; head, committee eight; anti-Bani-Sadr; not ready to negotiate on the hostages "because the US is an infidel"; if the US "persists, we will try the hostages." Even if they are not all guilty, "we would have a duty" to consider them guilty "because they are US agents."

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Name	Constituency	Comments
Azami-Ostani, Morteza	Khorramabad	
Baba-Safari, Mohammad Reza	Barkheh and Mayamey	
Bahonar, Hojzt-ol Islam Mohammad Javad	Tehran	Spokesman, committee five; member, cultural revolution committee; IRP founding member; was Revolutionary Council member.
Baksh, (First name unknown)	Baluchestan	
Baqani, Asqar	Sabzevar	
Bayat, Hojjat ol-Islam Asadollah	Maheh	IRP member; Majles secretary; "The hostage issue is unimportant so long as the war with Iraq goes on; [Iran must] continue to oppose the US. No negotiations with the US while the Assembly is debating the hostage issue."
Bazargan, Mehdi	Tehran	Former Prime Minister; leads Majles' moderates; voted against Rajai becoming prime minister.
Bebehani, Mohammad Zeyd	Bardav-e Mahshahr	Resigned in early September.
Beheshti, Ahmad	Fasa	Deputy head, committee five.
Belayati, Ali Akbar		See Ali Akbar Valayati.
Besharat, Mohammad Taqi	Semirom	
Besharati, Ali Mohammad	Jahrom	Secretary, committee eight.
Behzadi, Mohammad Hasan	Benab	
Blurian, Qani Mohammad	Mahabad	Former deputy chief of Kurdish Democratic Party; pro-Tudeh; expelled from Majles.
Borumand, Mohammad Hadi	Borujerd	Majles "will never allow the hostages to escape justice."
Chamran, Mostafa		Member, Supreme Defense Council (military adviser to Khomeini); responsible for Khuzestan defenses; former Defense Minister and Revolutionary Guard leader.
Cheraqzadeh-Dezfuli, Ali Reza	Ramhormoz	
Dahemi, Mohsen	Khodabandeh *	
Danesh, Mohammad Kazem	Andimeshk and Shush	
Danesh, Qolam Reza		Spokesman, committee two.
Dastqeb, Gohar al-Sharia	Tehran	Spokesman, committee three; female.
Dehqan, Ali Akbar	Torbat-e Jam	
Dehqan, Yadollah	Ahar	
Dialameh, Abdol Hamid	Mashhad	Member of Majles "presidium"; wanted closed hostage debate; "the people" should attend hostage trials as observers"; opposed forming a special hostage committee.
Didegah, Nazar Mohammad	Iranshahr	
Dori-Najafabadi, Hojjat-ol Islam Qurban Ali	Ardal, Mizdal, * and Tiyar *	Secretary, committee six.
Emami-Kashani, Hojjat-ol Islam Mohammad Aqa	Kashan	Member of Majles committee to choose the prime minister; possible member, foreign affairs committee.

Name	Constituency	Comments
Erani, Mohammad Hosein	Tabriz	
Erfani, Seyyed Yunis	Hashtpar and Tavalli	Accused Majles of "creating more problems" than it solves.
Esfahani, Reza	Varamin	Deputy Agriculture Minister in April 1980; advocated army purge after summer 1980 plot.
Eshkevari, Hasan		
Farahmandpur, Ishaq	Jewish	Credentials rejected; had been secretary, committee nine.
Fardpur-Machiyani, Mohammad	Astara	
Farpur, Qasan		Former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh was arrested for "telling only one-thousandth of the truth"; Rafsanjani has been preventing me from addressing the Majles; former Director of the national broadcasting media.
Fazel-Ali, Morteza	Garmsar	
Fazel, Mohammad	Babol	
Fedai, Esmail	Sarband	Spokesman, committee four.
Ferdowsipur, Esmail	Ferdows	Secretary, committee one.
Foruhar, Daryush		Minister of Labor under Bazargan; Minister of State in Bani-Sadr interim cabinet; Mellat Party leader.
Fumeni-Hairi, Mostafa	Fumeh *	
Golzadeh-Qasuri, (cleric) Ali		Boycotted the hostage debate.
Guktapeh, Beyt Oshana	Assyrian and Chaldean Christians	
Habibi, Hasan Ebrahim	Tehran	Former Revolutionary Council spokesman; IRP member; former Culture and Higher Education Minister under Khomeini; candidate for prime minister; a moderate.
Hadi-Najafabadi, Mohammad Ali	Tehran	"We should pay more attention to foreign affairs"; spoke in favor of setting terms for releasing the hostages.
Haerizadeh, Seyyed Abolhasan	Birjand	
Haj Seyed Javadi, Ahmad Sadr	Qasvin	Former Interior and Justice Minister under Khomeini regime.
Hamidi, Seyyed Hashem	Hamadan	Secretary, committee one; spoke in favor of setting terms for release of the hostages.
Hamudi, Seyyed Abu Taleb	Golpayegan	
Hamjani, Mohammad Reza		See Mahmud Rezai-Hanji.
Haqani, Hojjat-ol Islam Qolan Hosein	Bandar Abbas	Called for purge of army after summer 1980 plot; critical of Foreign and National Guidance Ministries.
Haqshenas, Mazaher	Aliabad-e Gorgan	
Hasani, Jojjat-ol Islam Qolan Reza	Urumiyeh	Critical of security in the northwest and of the Kurdish Democratic Party; leading local pro-Khomeini cleric; claims "99 percent of the members of the Majles" want hostage trials; called for "delay of the hostage debate to frustrate President Carter's reelection plans."

Name	Constituency	Comments
Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ayatollah Ali Akbar	Tehran	Speaker of Majles; head, committee three; IRP founding member.
Hashemian, Hosein		
Hejazi, Hojjat-ol Islam Fakhr ed-Din	Tehran	Former editor and preacher; IRP member; critical of USSR for supplying Iraq and of UN call for cease-fire.
Hemati, Ahmad	Moshgin	
Herai-Tarshiri, Mohammad	Rasht	See Mohammad Khazai-Turshizi.
Herati, Hosein	Sabzevar	"Assembly completely supports the militants at the Embassy."
Heydari, Abas	Bushehr	
Heydari, Mohammad Ali	Nahavand	
Hojati, Seyyed Sajad	Mianeh	
Hojati-Kermani, Mohammad Javad	Tehran	Friday prayer leader in Kerman; active in anti-Shah movement.
Hoseini, Abol Hasan	Minudasht *	
Hoseini, Seyyed Mohammad Hasan	Marv Dasht	Same as Seyyed Ahmad Hoseini-Arsanjani?
Hoseini, Mohammad Taqi	(Baluchestan va Sistan Province)	
Hoseini-Arsanjani, Seyyed Ahmad	Marv Dasht	
Hoseini-Khamenei, Hojjat-ol Islam Seyyed Mohammad	Mashhad	Deputy head, committee two; member of seven-man hostage committee; member, assembly of experts that reviewed the draft constitution; brother of Ali Khamenei, Assembly member for Tehran.
Hoseini-Lavasani, Mohammad Bakr	Tehran	
Hoseini-Miyandahi, Abol Qasem	Bandar Anzali	
Hoseini-Naini, Shams-ed-Din	Nain	
Hoseini-Rameshi, Mohammad Hosein	Esfahan	
Hoseini-Tabatabai, Mohammad Taqi	Zabol	Head, committee 10.
Hoseini-Vaez, (First name unknown)	Ramiyan *	
Jafari, (First name unknown)		Spokesman, committee 10.
Jalali, Abdol Hosein	Neyshabur	"Continuation of the hostage issue is not in our interest . . . reach a speedy decision."
Javadi-Shajuni, Jafar	Karaj	Spokesman, committee eight.
Javanmardi, Asadollah	Mianeh	Credentials rejected.
Kachaturian, (First name unknown)	Armenians (Esfahan and south)	
Kamalnia, Mohammad Taqi	Quchan	Secretary, committee six.
Karami, Fuad	Ahvaz	Spokesman, committees one and two; member economic and finance committee; the "first duty of Majles is the hostage debate"; "we are waging all-out war on the US"; some members of the assembly are "un-Islamic."
Karimi, Mohammad Reza	Dasht-e Azadegan *	
Karimi-Bizhani, Emad-ed-Din	Now Shahr, Alamdeh, and Chalus	
Katirai, Mostafa (Morteza?)		Majles procurement officer; former Minister of Housing and Urban Affairs under Khomeini regime.

Name	Constituency	Comments
Kashdi, Seyyed Jafar Hojjat	Neyriz and Estahban	Secretary, committee five.
Kermani, Ayatollah/Hojjat-Ol Islam Hosein	Badeh	Khomeini's representative in Kordestan and Kermanshahan Provinces.
Khalatian, Heraybr	Armenians (north)	
Khalili, Mohammad	Baft	
Khalkhali, Ayatollah Sadeq	Qom	Controversial Islamic judge; in charge of antidrug action; "all the hostages are spies"; they should be freed in return for spare parts before 4 November; "the army deserves respect" (29 July).
Khalkhali, Qafur		The Fedayeen are "an insult to Islam"; complained officially about IRP paper "slandering" of Majles members.
Khamenei, Ayatollah/Hojjat-ol Islam Seyyed Mohammad Ali	Tehran	Member, seven-man hostage committee; may be on nine-man foreign affairs committee; Tehran Friday prayer leader; member Supreme Defense Council (Military adviser to Khomeini); was Deputy Defense Minister under Khomeini regime; IRP founding member; brother of Seyyed Mohammad Hoseini-Khamenei, Majles member from Mashhad.
Khani, Hosein	Bandar Anzali	Credentials Rejected.
Khamenehi, Seyyed Mohammad		See Seyyed Mohammad Hoseini-Khamenei.
Khatami, Seyyed Mohammad	Ardakan *	Secretary, committee five.
Khazai-Turshizi (Torshidi? or Herai-Tarshiri), Mohammad	Rasht	Secretary, committee eight; "Hostages represent US interference in Iran and deserve a 'severe decision.'"
Khoiniha, Hojjat-ol Islam Seyyed Mohammad (Khoeinina, Khoeni)	Tehran	See Seyyed Mohammad Musavi-Khoeinina.
Khudai, Mohammad Hadi (Abd-?)	Mashhad	"The hostages are spies."
Khoshnevis, Esmail	Ardebil	Secretary, committee two.
Kiavosh, Seyyed Mohammad	Ahvaz	Deputy head, committee six; defended army after summer 1980 plot; member, Assembly of Experts that reviewed the draft constitution; father-in-law of new Petroleum Minister Ebrahimi.
Kumaleh, Abdol Karim	Langarud	Opposed forming a special committee on the hostages.
Lahuti-Eshkuri, Ayatollah/Hojjat-ol Islam Hasan	Rasht	Head, committee six; headed Revolutionary Guards until late November 1979; a moderate who is pro-Shariat-Madari.
Lamalnia, Mohammad Taqi	Quchan	
Madani, Ahmad	Kerman	Former Defense Minister, navy head, and Khuzestan governor; credentials rejected; now in exile and opposed to Khomeini.
Mahmudi, Morteza	Qasr-e Shirin	Called for stronger defenses in western Iran.
Malani, Mohammad	Tabriz	
Malikpur, Parviz	Zoroastrians	

Name	Constituency	Comments
Malukuti, Ali	Sarab *	
Manuchehri, Abas Abu Saidi	Jiroft	
Masrollahi, Mohammad		Deputy head, committee nine.
Masumi, Ali Akbar	Emamshahr (Shahrud)	The Majles should send a formal communique to the US, and if it is rejected, try the hostages and execute those who are spies.
Mehdizadeh-Mahalati, Hojjat-ol Islam/Ayatollah Fazlollah	Mahallat	Spokesman, committee eight; may have been a member of selection committee for prime minister; Khomeini's representative to the Revolutionary Guard; "Majles should decide before the special hostage committee begins work whether a hard line should be taken"; (2 Nov) releasing the hostages is a "pardon" for them, not the US.
Mir-Moradzei, Barakat	Saravan	
Mir-Yunisi, Seyyed Abas	Harsin, Sahneh, and Kangavar	
Mirzapur, Muslim		Secretary, committee ten.
Moadikhah, Hojjat-ol Islam Abdol Hamid (Abdol Majid ?)	Tehran	Head, committee nine; IRP supporter; Islamic judge; said those who opposed the arrest of former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh are "counterrevolutionaries"; called for more purges of the military.
Moarefizadeh, Ali	Khorramshahr	
Mohajerani, Seyyed Ataollah	Shiraz	Embassy occupation was a "second revolution"; critical of secular political forces and Iran's foreign policy.
Mohammadi, Ali Aqa	Hamadan	Labeled "opposition deputy" by Tehran Domestic Service; "will regard the government as responsible only when it can carry out its duties; try [Roeder] first for bombing in Vietnam. . . Apply Muslim law to hostages . . . spying punished by death . . . only those who favored Embassy seizure should be on the special hostage committee."
Mohammadi, Jafar		The US is a "rat"; favors hostage trials and execution of those found guilty.
Mohammadi, Mohammad	Gorgan	"Struggling Muslims Movement" member; close to Embassy militants; objected to holding a closed Majles debate on the hostages' fate; accused of ties to Mojahedin; "trial of hostages should be trial of worldwide US actions."
Mohammadi, Yunes	Khorramshahr	
Moinfar, Ali Akbar	Tehran	Former Oil Minister and Planning and Budget Minister under Khomeini regime; a moderate.
Moini, Ali	Sahrud *	

Name	Constituency	Comments
Montazeri-Najafabadi, Hojjat-ol Islam Mohammad Ali	Najafabad	Deputy head, committee three; son of Ayatollah Hosein Montazeri; member of nine-man foreign affairs committee; alternate Majles representative to Supreme Defense Council; (2 Nov) release the hostages now, when Iran can get the largest concessions from the US.
Mostavafi-Kashani, Seyyed Ahmad	Nantaz * and Qamsar	
Motahari, Mohammad Taqi	Farmand	Credentials questioned;
Motaki, Manuchehr	Bandar Turkomen, Kord Kuy, Bandar-e, Gaz, and Gomishan	Secretary, committee four; member foreign affairs committee.
Movahedi, Mohammad Ali	Kerman	Spokesman, committee six; member National Oil Company board of directors; the Majles will add "secondary" conditions for the hostages' release to those set out by Khomeini.
Mozafar, Abas	Bojnurd	
Mullahzadeh, Ahmad	Gonabad	We "must not let the hostage problem scare us"; most are spies.
Musavi, Abdol Vahed	Larestan	
Musavi, Seyyed Fakhr-ed-Din	Ardebil	
Musavi, Seyyed Hosein	Tabriz	See Mir Hosein Musavi-Khamenei.
Musavi-Ardabili, Ayatollah Abdul Karim		Member of former Revolutionary Council; prosecutor general.
Musavi-Bojnurdi, Seyyed Mohammad Kazem	Tehran	Member of seven-man hostage committee; appointed Revolutionary Guard chief by Bani-Sadr in late June 1980, but quickly resigned; leader of anti-Shah Islamic Nations Party, had been sentenced to death in 1966; had Tudeh endorsement in second round voting for Majles; pro-Khomeini; any defects in Iranian society are the fault of the US.
Musavi-Jahanabadi, Hosein	Mashhad	Hostage taking is revolutionary.
Musavi-Khamenei, Seyyed Mir Hosein	Tabriz	Rajai's nominee for Foreign Minister, rejected by Bani-Sadr; IRP Central Council member; active in Islamic newspapers; member of former Revolutionary Council; was anti-Shah movement activist.
Musavi-Khurasani, Hojjat-ol Islam (First name unknown)		
Musavi-Khoeiniha, Hojjat-ol Islam Seyyed Mohammad (Ashgar?) (Musavi-Khoini, Khoiniha, and Khoeni)	Tehran	Assistant speaker of Majles; head of seven-man hostage committee; may be on nine-man foreign affairs committee; Khomeini's representative to the militants at the US Embassy; "Majles should decide before the special committee begins work whether to adopt a hard line on the hostage issue"; was in favor of setting terms for release of the hostages.
Musavi-Lorestani, Seyyed Javad	Dalga	
Musavi-Shazli, (First name unknown)	Tarem-e Safla *	

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Name	Constituency	Comments
Musavi-Tabrizi, Hojjat-ol Islam Mostafa		Secretary, committee nine; claims Khomeini told him Bazargan lied about getting permission for contacts with the US; (2 Nov) "This is not the time to release the hostages."
Musavi-Zargar, Musa	Robat Kavim	Minister of Health in November 1979 cabinet.
Nabavi-Rampur, Sadr	Kashmar	
Nasiri-Lari, Mehdi	Larestan	
Nasrollahi, Mohammad	Gorgan	Deputy head, committee nine.
Najafi, Qodrat	Shahreza	
Narafi, Ali (Naravi)	Khorasan Province	Accused the Khomeini regime of unjustly arresting former Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and claimed to have evidence of other "constitutional violations" and of torture of prisoners.
Naqavi, Ali Naqi	Qaen	
Nateq-Nuri, Hojjat-ol Islam Ali Akbar	Nureh	Member, seven-man hostage committee; IRP central council member; rejected by Bani-Sadr as Rajai's Interior Minister; if the US reaction to Iran's conditions for the hostages' release is positive, they will be freed; if negative, they will be tried.
Nazari, Seyyed Abdol Mohammad	Bandar-e Lengeh	
Nowruzi, Kazem	Amol	Assistant speaker of Majles; critical of US "interference" in Iran; hostage taking was in Iran's favor."
Nowruzi, Mohammad	Gonbad-e Qabus	
Oladi-Moselman, Habibollah Asgar	Tehran	Supervisor of the Endowment Organization in 1980.
Omid-Najafabadi, Fatollah	Esfahan	
Paknezhad, Seyyed Reza	Yazd	
Parvaresh, Ali Akbar	Esfahan	Assistant speaker of Majles; member, seven-man hostage committee; deputy head, committee seven; permanent Majles member of Supreme Defense Council; member of Assembly of Experts that reviewed the draft constitution; "the revolutionary offensive should continue"; favors hostage trials; "will take a harder line if the US persists in its course."
Oaimi, (First name unknown)	Babol Sav	Same as below ?
Oaimi-Amiri, Hasan Ali		Head, committee five.
Qafari, Hadi	Tehran	The people "demand resolution of the hostage issue as soon as possible," but not necessarily their release. "They should be subject to Islamic principles"; a hardliner, controls the Tehran morning newspaper <i>Azadegan</i> ; opponent of Mujahedin and Fedayeen; son of a famous Ayatollah killed under the Shah.

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Name	Constituency	Comments
Qafari, Mohammad	Shahpur	
Qafari-Qarabagh(i), Mir Ali Akbar	Urumiyeh	
Qazanfarapur, Ahmad	Langan	
Qasemi, Hojjat-ol Islam Abdol Wahab	Sari	
Qashqai, Khosro Khan	Eqlid	Qashqai tribal leader; anti-Khomeini; credentials rejected.
Rafian, Esmail	Marand	
Rahemi, Seyyed Fakhr-ed-Din	Pol-e Dokhtar	Hardliner, "spy-hostages should be tried and executed, nonspies tried and released with conditions"; Majles is "unhealthy" because of weak executive branch; "first Majles priority is implementation of constitution."
Rahmani, Ayatollah Hosein Ali (Rahabi or Rahahi, Mohammad Ali or Mohsen)	(Kordestan Province)	Moderate Shia Kurd, member of Assembly of Experts that reviewed the draft constitution; Majles' conditions for the hostages' release "will be acceptable to the US."
Rahmani, Qahreman	Takestan	Opposed Yadollah Sahabi's call during hostage debate for contacts with the US.
Rajai, Mohammad Ali	Tehran	Prime Minister; was head, committee seven; IRP member; Education Minister under Bazargan.
Ramazani-Khorshid-Dust, Reza	Rasht	Opposed secret Majles sessions on the hostages because it would be suspected of "collusion and compromise."
Ranjbar-Chuyeh, Mohammad Taqi	Sovme-Sara *	
Rashidian, Mohammad	Abadan	The US and Western Europe have "formed a united front to defeat Iran's Islamic Revolution."
Razavi-Ardakani, Seyyed Abu Fazl	Sepehran	Leftists and provocateurs are trying to create dissidence in tribes of the southwest.
Rehaian, Mohammad Javad	Zanjan	
Rezai-Hanji, Mahmud	Karaj	See Mohammed Reza Hamjani.
Rigi, Khosro	Khash	Baluchi tribal leader; credentials rejected; accused of ties with US; deputy for Zahedan under the Shah.
Ruhani, Hasan (Faridun ?)	Semnan	Spokesman, committee four; said he had more evidence related to summer 1980 military plot.
Sabaqian, Mohammad Hashem	Tehran	Vice Premier and Interior Minister under Khomeini regime; head of review group for proposals sent to former Revolutionary Council; a moderate.
Sadeqi, Mohammad Hosein	Dorud *	
Sadeqi-Givi, (First name unknown)	Khalkhal	
Sadeqi, Qasem	Mashhad	
Sadr-Mabavi, Rampur	Kashmar	
Safai, Latif	Eslamabad	Called for stronger defenses in western Iran.

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Name	Constituency	Comments
Safai-Dezfuli, Iraj	Abadan	
Sahabi, Yadollah	Tehran	Moderate, close to Bazargan; often acted as Majles speaker before election of Rafsanjani; former Minister of State for Revolutionary Affairs; was Minister of State for Plan and Budget Organization under the Khomeini regime; "It is dangerous for us not to contact" the US during hostage negotiations.
Saheboz-Zamani, Fath Ali	Asadabad *	
Salamatian, Ahmad	Esfahan	Moderate, close to Bani-Sadr; labeled "opposition" member by Tehran press; was Foreign Affairs Ministry political undersecretary under Khomeini.
Salavati, (First name unknown)		
Salimi, Reza		Opposed to holding the hostages without "defining their fate."
Salmani-Zaraji, Mohammad Hosein	Songhor	
Sami-Kermani, Kazem	Tehran	Minister of Health and Welfare under the Khomeini regime; psychiatrist; heads Red Lion and Sun Society; political moderate; had Tudeh endorsement in second round Majles voting.
Sarukhani, Mohammad	Tabriz	
Sazegarnezhad, Mohammad Amin (Sazgarazadeh?)	Sarv	The US Government is "in no way concerned about the hostages" but is opposed to Iran; (2 November) this is not the time to release the hostages.
Seyfi, Mikail	Rudbar	
Shabastri, Mohammad	Shabestar	Possibly a Majles secretary.
Shabastri, Mohsen Mojtahed (Mohammad Mojtahed Shabestani?)	Tehran	
Shahabadi, Mehdi	Tehran	Deputy head, committee eight.
Shahcheraqi, Seyyed Hasan	Damgheh	Majles secretary; secretary, committee three.
Shahreki, Qolam Ali (Shahrohki)	Zabol	Wants better medical facilities for his constituents.
Shahrhi, Abdol Karim	Darab	Secretary, committee eight; wants counter-(US) espionage centers set up in mosques.
Shahrohki, Mohammad Taqi	Khorramabad	
Shahryari, Mir Bahzad	Rud Baran	
Shariat-Falavarjari, (First name unknown)	Falavarjan	
Shariati, Hasan	Boin Zahra *	
Sherafat, Seyyed Javad	Shushtar	
Shuquni, Hojjat-ol Islam (First name unknown)		Wants closer ties to Libya.
Shojai, Haj Mohammad	Zanjan	Resigned because of "polarization and intimidation," but stayed at Khomeini's request; may be Zanjan deputy labeled "opposition" member in Tehran press.

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Name	Constituency	Comments
Shojaian, Samad	Mamasani *	
Sobhanollahi, Mohammad Ali	Tabriz	
Tabatabai-Nezhad, Nurollah	Ardestan	"Enemies of Islam try to weaken Majles by infiltrating agents into positions of power."
Taheri, Rajab Ali	Kazerun	"Revolutionary Council was influenced by leftists"; may be Revolutionary Guard commander for Fars Province.
Tajgardan, Bahram	Gachsaran and Kohkiluyeh	
Taleqani, Azam Alai	Tehran	Mojahedin representative; daughter of late Ayatollah Taleqani; a moderate.
Tatari, Mohammad Ali	Zahedan	Credentials approved in early September. May have been elected in an unreported byelection.
Tavakoli, Ahmad	Bushehr	Rajai's Minister of Labor and Social Affairs; Majles secretary; deputy head, committee one; "Occupation of US Embassy vital to Iran because it exposed leftist aims. The hostage committee should investigate all agreements between the Shah and the US. Guilty hostages should be tried and the rest released. The first Majles task is to clarify government duties. Iran must have an Islamic prime minister"; had ties to Mujahedin; adviser to Revolutionary Guard.
Tavakoli, Jafar	Golpayegan and Komsar	Credentials rejected; had defeated Khomeini's representative in Komsar for the seat.
Tayebi, Mohammad Hosein	Asfarvarin	
Urumiyan, Ali	Maragheh	
Vaezi, Farajollah	Abhar	
Valayati, Ali Akbar	Tehran	Majles procurement officer; hardline IRP member; critical of Bazargan government's US contacts; says Iran is not supporting the Palestinians actively enough; "hostage-taking reinforced the spirit of Muslim and oppressed peoples."
Yar-Mohammadi, Ali Reza	Bam	Majles procurement officer; the conditions for the hostages' release will allow President Carter to be reelected.
Yazdi, Ebrahim	Shiraz	Head, committee four; spokesman of the Investigation Committee for Majles members' credentials; was Vice Premier for Revolutionary Affairs and Foreign Minister under Bazargan; "during hostage trials we should request social compensation, our billions in US banks, and the Pahlavi wealth"; a moderate who voted against Rajai's becoming prime minister; favored setting terms for release of the hostages.

Name	Constituency	Comments
Yazdi, Ayatollah/Hojjat-ol Islam Mohammad	Qom	Head, committee two; member, seven-man hostage committee; member of committee for selecting the prime minister and said Rajai was "self-willed and inexperienced"; "not all the hostages should be used. In itself hostage-taking is wrong," but "it is the right of the people to take custody" of spies "until their true position has been clarified."
Zanganeh, Abas	Shiraz	
Zarhani, Seyyed Ahmad	Dezful	
Zati, Abol Qasem	Tabas	
Zehn-Ali, Shokrollah	Behbahan	"My guess is that the Majles will vote unanimously for (hostage) trials."

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