



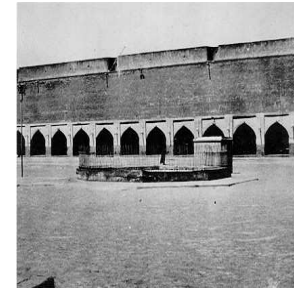
# WHO WILL GOVERN THE IRAQI SHIA?

## The fight for Najaf

***Najaf***– the oldest and biggest seat of learning for Shiites



Ali Mosque



Kufa Mosque

**RECENT REPORTING:**

**DOI:FEBRUARY 2003 SERIAL: TD-314/20227-03--KARIM ((MAHUD)) AKA ((ABU HATIM)) WAS THE HEAD OF THE MILITARY WING OF IRAQI HIZBALLAH; ABU HATIM ALSO STATED THAT IRAQI HIZBALLAH CONSULTED WITH UNNAMED "ULAMA" FOR APPROVAL ON ASPECTS OF ITS OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY. THE GROUP WAS SECRETIVE ABOUT ITS MEMBERSHIP, SUPPORT MECHANISMS, AND ITS TIES TO IRAN.**

**DOI: MID MARCH 2003 TD-314/16313-03--U.S. AND COALITION FORCES COULD FACE OPPOSITION FROM A GROUP KNOWN AS THE "JAMA'T MUHAMMAD SADIQ AL-SADR," WHICH NUMBERS IN THE THOUSANDS AND HAS MEMBERS ALL OVER SOUTHERN IRAQ. THE GROUP HAD ONE SCHOOL IN AL-NAJAF KNOWN AS THE "JAMIA'T AL-SHAHEED AL-SADR" (UNIVERSITY OF THE MARTYR AL-SADR)...**

**DOI: 29 MARCH 2003 TD-314/18452-03--AT 2030 ZULU ON 29 MARCH 2003, A SHI'A RESISTANCE LEADER IN AL-'AMARAH REPORTED THAT HE EXPECTED A POPULAR UPRISING TO BREAK OUT AGAINST THE REGIME IN AL-'AMARAH AT ANY POINT FROM THE NIGHT OF 29/30 MARCH ONWARD. THE ((ABU HATIM)) GROUP WOULD BE TAKING ACTION....**

**DOI: MARCH 2003 TD-314/20920-03 IRANIAN SUPREME LEADER ALI HOSEINI-((KHAMENEI)) ORDERED (SCIRI) LEADER MUHAMMAD BAQR AL-((HAKIM)) NOT TO JOIN THE COALITION ATTACKS AGAINST THE IRAQI REGIME....., KHAMENEI'S OFFICE SENT A MESSAGE TO AYATOLLAH MUHAMMAD ALI HUSAYNI-((SISTANI)). SISTANI WAS TOLD THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT THE ARRIVAL OF SCIRI AND BAQR AL-HAKIM FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF HOSTILITIES IN IRAQ. HE WAS TOLD THAT BAQR AL-HAKIM HAD THE FUNDING AND A NETWORK OF IRANIAN CLERICS TO SUPPORT HIM AND THAT SISTANI DID NOT HAVE A CHOICE IN THE MATTER.**

**31MAR03 TD-314/19524-03--- LEBANESE HIZBALLAH SEEN IN AL KUT (J-18366)**

**31MAR03 TD-314/19524-03-- – HIZBALLAH FIGHTERS ARRIVE IN NAJAF AND KARBALA (J-18366)**

**TD-314/22521-03 01APR03– IRAQI HIZBALLAH CHOSEN FROM BADR CORPS; CONTROLLED BY IRANIAN INTELLIGENCE**

**04APR03 TD 314/20336-03– ABU HATIM SPENT TWO MONTHS IN IRAN FUNDRAISING**

**08APR03 CIR-TFT-CIHOC-03-006 – SAYEED ALI “LIBERATES” AL KUT WITH “HIZBALLAH” (J-24616)**

**DOI: MID-APRIL 2003 TD-314/21653-03**

**PROMINENT SHI'A SAYYID 'ABD AL-MAJID AL-KHO'I WAS ATTACKED BY A CROWD THAT HAD GATHERED IN THE MOSQUE IN NAJAF. THESE INDIVIDUALS WERE BELIEVED BY THE MEMBERS OF KHO'I'S ENTOURAGE TO BE AFFILIATED WITH MUQTADAH ((SADR)). THEY SHOUTED ANGRILY AT DR. RIFA'I, CALLING HIM “A SPY FOR ((SADDAM)) HUSAYN.”**

**DOI: MID-APRIL 2003 TD-314/22031-03**

**AS OF 12 APRIL 2003, IRAQI HIZBALLAH LEADER KARIM MAHUD AL-((MUHAMMADAWI)), AKA ABU HATIM, CLAIMED TO BE PROVIDING ALL OF THE SECURITY FOR THE AL-AMARAH CITY CENTER. HE EXPRESSED SOME FRUSTRATION THAT OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS, SUCH AS SHAYKH MUHAMMAD ALI AL-SHARIF AL-((‘IBADI)), WERE TRYING TO CLAIM THAT THEY HAD LED THE OPPOSITIONIST EFFORT IN THE CITY. MUHAMMADAWI EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE FACT THAT AL-‘IBADI WAS AN “OUTSIDER,” WHO HAD ONLY RECENTLY RETURNED TO AL-AMARAH AFTER OVER 10 YEARS IN IRAN. MUHAMMADAWI BELIEVED THAT AL-‘IBADI HAD SOME KIND OF EXTERNAL BACKING FROM IRAN,**

**DOI: MID-APRIL 2003 TD-314/22672-03**

**ABU HATIM, WAS TAKING SUCH A LARGE ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY OF AL AMARAH.**

**DOI: 12 Apr 03 MX REPORT 205**

**AN IRAQI SHIA OPPOSITION GROUP IS LOCATED IN THE MARSHLAND EAST OF AL-AMARAH, KNOWN AS THE KHAWR AL HUWAZA. THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION GROUP IS KARIM MAHUD. MAHUD IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN IN IRAN DURING THE 1980S. THE OPPOSITION GROUP MAY HAVE TIES TO THE IRANIAN BADR CORPS**

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**15APR03 TACREP N107-022 – “SADR PROBLEM IS FIXED” (J-26403)**

**15APR03 TD-314/24229-03– HIZBALLAH BUYING WEAPONS FROM SADR(J-28483)**

**151745ZAPR03 CIA WASHINGTON DC- AS OF EARLY APRIL 2003, IRAQI HIZBALLAH WAS A SHI'A MUSLIM ORGANIZATION WHOSE GOAL WAS THE DEFEAT OF THE IRAQI REGIME AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC IN IRAQ. IRAQI HIZBALLAH WAS PART OF THE BADR CORPS AND MOST OF ITS MEMBERS WERE STUDENTS FROM THE SHI'A ISLAMIC INSTITUTE, AL-HAWZA, IN AL-NAJAF, IRAQ. IRAQI HIZBALLAH MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO IRAQI HIZBALLAH MEMBERS. IN ADDITION, THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT USED IRAQI HIZBALLAH TO CONFRONT THE IRAQI-SPONSORED MUJAHADIN E-KHALQ (MEK) TERRORIST GROUP. MEMBERSHIP IN IRAQI HIZBALLAH WAS CAREFULLY COORDINATED WITH IRANIAN INTELLIGENCE. ALTHOUGH THE MEMBERS WERE EXTREMISTS, MANY WERE ATTRACTED BY THE FINANCIAL MOTIVATIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO WERE REFUGEES IN IRAN. THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAQI HIZBALLAH AND LEBANESE HIZBALLAH WAS NOT CLEAR BUT THERE WERE OFFICES FOR IRAQI HIZBALLAH IN LEBANON, DAMASCUS, SYRIA, AND TEHRAN, IRAN.**

**THE IRAQI RESISTANCE ISLAMIC LABOR ORGANIZATION WAS DIRECTED BY IRAN AND WAS LOCATED IN DAMASCUS. THIS ORGANIZATION FORMED AN ALLIANCE IN SYRIA WITH IRAQI HIZBALLAH THAT WAS LED BY ABU HATIM AL-((MAHMADAWI)). THE ALLIANCE INCLUDED A NUMBER OF RETIRED SHI'A MILITARY OFFICERS. IRAN INFILTRATED THOUSANDS OF IRAQI HIZBALLAH MEMBERS FROM THE BADR CORPS INTO POSITIONS IN NORTHERN IRAQ BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR THROUGH THE AREAS CONTROLLED BY JALAL AL-((TALIBANI)).**

**20APR03 TACREP N111-018– KAZEEM AL HA'IRI IS TO CONTROL SADR (J-27486)**

**23APR03 2547-03-- SHI'A CLERIC ABU MUSTAFA SHEIBANI RETURNED TO BAGHDAD FROM TEHRAN ON APRIL 22, 2003. SHEIBANI REPORTEDLY PLANNED TO DEPART BAGHDAD LATER THAT SAME DAY, AND WOULD LIKELY TRAVEL TO EITHER KARBALA OR AN NAJAF. (J-27951)**

**232000ZAPR03\_1 UK ARMD DIV\_INTSUM 126.DOC 220738ZAPR03) SHI'A CLERIC TO CONFRONT SAYYED MUQTADAH\_AL-SADR. SHI'A CLERIC ABU ZEINAB WAS DETERMINED IN LATE APRIL 2003 TO CONFRONT SAYYED MUQTADAH AL-SADR FOLLOWING ANOTHER BOLD STATEMENT THAT ALLEGEDLY ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A COMMITTEE FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF IRAQ THAT NAMED ABU HATIM AS ITS LEADER. SAYYED MUQTADAH AL-SADR'S OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUÉ REPORTEDLY ALSO NAMED IRAQI HIZBALLAH SPIRITUAL LEADER AYATOLLAH KAZEM AL-HA'ERI AS THE SPIRITUAL LEADER. ABU HATIM HAD MET PREVIOUSLY WITH AZIZ HAKIM WHEN HAKIM CAME INTO IRAQ TO GO TO KARBALA (MB 0910) ON 19 APR 03.**

**THERE ARE THREE DISTINCT POWER GROUPINGS WITHIN THE AL AMARAH (QA 0325) AREA. THESE ARE THE BADR CORPS, THE AL HAW'ZA AL-EL MEYYA MOVEMENT AND THE POPULARITY MOVEMENT. THE POPULARITY MOVEMENT IS BELIEVED TO BE LED BY KARIM MAHOD AND THE AL HAW'ZA AL-EL MEYYA GROUP IS APPARENTLY LED BY ALI AL SISTANI, THOUGH IT IS REPORTED THAT MOQ'TADA MOHAMMED BAQR AL-SADR IS MAKING A CONCERTED POWER PLAY FOR LEADERSHIP. MOQ'TADA ADVOCATES A POLICY OF NON CO-OPERATION WITH COALITION FORCES AND IT IS ALSO ALLEGED THAT MOQ'TADA MAY HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF THE PRO-CF LEADER, AL KHO'IE, IN AN NAJAF (MA 3740). THE BADR CORPS AND THE AL HAW'ZA MOVEMENT SHARE A SHIA, ISLAMIC BASIS AND IT IS BELIEVED THAT SOME CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO EXISTS. MUQTADA SADR IS BELIEVED TO NO LONGER BE THE LEADER FOR THE SADR GROUP AND HAS BEEN USURPED BY IRAQI HIZBALLAH SPIRITUAL LEADER AYATOLLAH KAZEM AL-HA'ERI WHO HAS BEEN SENT TO KEEP SADR IN CHECK BY IRAQI HIZBALLAH.**

**23APR03 TACREP N113-014**

**SHI'A CLERIC ABU MUSTAFA SHEIBANI MET WITH SHI'A CLERIC SAYYED MUQTADAH AL-SADR PROBABLY IN AN NAJAF ON 22 APRIL 2003. THE DISCUSSION REPORTEDLY REVOLVED AROUND MUQTADAH'S INSISTENCE THAT HE WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND WOULD DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM THE SHI'A SEEKING HIS ASSISTANCE. IT WAS ALSO NOTED THAT 24 OF MUQTADAH'S OFFICE PERSONNEL WERE WANTED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE 9 APRIL MURDER OF SHI'ITE CLERIC SAYYED ABDUL MAJID KHOI. THAT ALSO WAS AN INCENTIVE FOR MUSTAFA NOT TO GET INVOLVED IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS.**

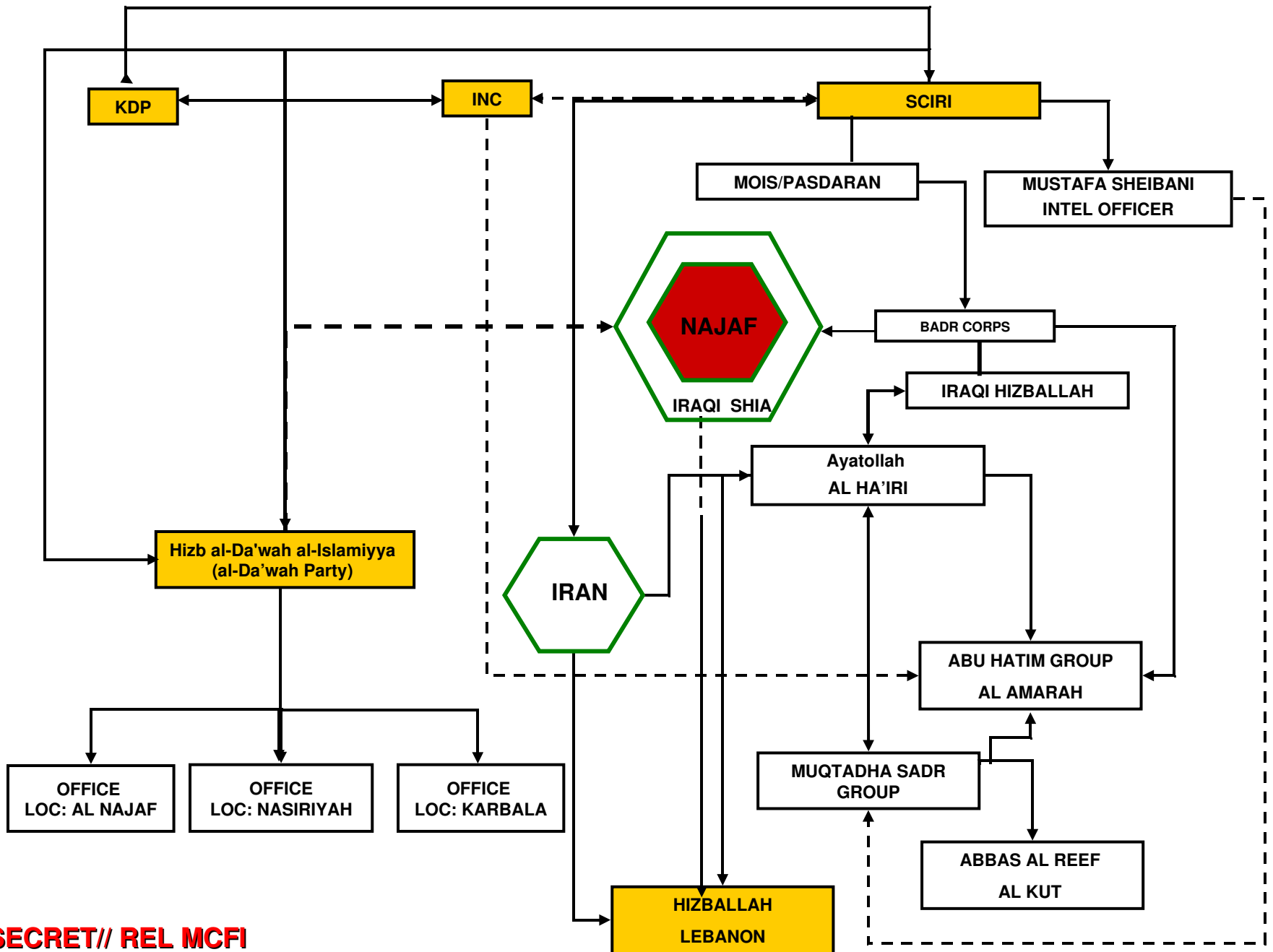
**IN OTHER MATTERS, SHEIBANI WAS AWARE THAT SUPREME COUNCIL FOR THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN IRAQI (SCIRI)-ASSOCIATED OFFICIAL MR. HEIDARI HAD BEEN ARRESTED POSSIBLY BY U.S. PERSONNEL. ADDITIONALLY, AYATOLLAH MUHAMMAD TAQI MUDARRESI HAD BEEN CAPTURED BY THE MUJAHEDIN-E KHALQ (MEK) AND PERSONNEL WERE HOPING THE U.S. COULD HELP NEGOTIATE HIS RELEASE.**

**23APR03 TACREP N113-017-- IRAN REPORTEDLY MAY HAVE BEEN PREPARING TO ESTABLISH A NEW FACILITY IN BAGHDAD AS OF LATE APRIL 2003. THE HELP OF PROBABLY SHI'A CLERIC ABU MUSTAFA SHEIBANI WAS BEING SOUGHT TO HELP IDENTIFY A MORE REASONABLE FACILITY FOR USE BY THE IRANIANS. NO DETAILS ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE FACILITY WERE AVAILABLE. (J-27951)**

**25APR03 TACREP N115-010- A SENIOR IRANIAN OFFICIAL LEARNED IN LATE APRIL 2003 THAT SCIRI GENERAL ASSEMBLY LEADER SAYYED ABDUL-AZIZ AL-HAKIM PLANNED TO TRAVEL FROM AN NAJAF, IRAQ, TO BAGHDAD IN ORDER TO VISIT WITH SHI'A CLERIC ABU MUSTAFA SHEIBANI. (J-28273)**

**25APR03 TACREP N115-012- SUPREME COUNCIL FOR THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN IRAQ (SCIRI) GENERAL ASSEMBLY LEADER SAYYED ABDUL-'AZIZ AL-HAKIM UPDATED A SENIOR IRANIAN OFFICIAL ON HIS ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN IRAQ IN LATE APRIL 2003. ABDUL-'AZIZ AL-HAKIM PLANNED TO ATTEND A MEETING IN BAGHDAD HOSTED BY U.S. OFFICIALS ON 25 APRIL AND BELIEVED TWO IRANIAN-SPONSORED SHI'A CLERICS, ABU MUSTAFA SHEIBANI AND ABU ALI, SHOULD ATTEND AS WELL. ABDUL-'AZIZ AL-HAKIM PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO IRAN FOLLOWING THE BAGHDAD MEETING FOR A FEW DAYS AND THEN RETURN TO IRAQ.**

# DEPICTION OF RECENT REPORTING



**WHO WILL GOVERN THE IRAQI SHIA?**

**THE FUTURE OF IRAQ WILL DICTATE THIS AND ALSO TO SOME EXTENT THE ROLE IRAN WILL PLAY IN A POST- SADDAM RULE. IRAQI SHIA WILL ACCEPT A COMPREHENSIVE GOVERNMENT ROLE IN WHICH THEY PLAY PART. SOME SHIA LEADERS HAVE AND WILL LIKELY CONTINUE TO HAVE TIES TO IRANIAN BASED GROUPS.**

**REASONS:**

**THE REAL SCHOLISTIC, SCIENTIFIC, LITERARY, SPIRITUAL, AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES CENTER (AL-HAWZAH), OF SHIA ISLAM IS THE HOLY CITY OF NAJAF, IRAQ, NOT THE IRANIAN CITY OF QUM.**

**QUM BECAME RELIGIOUSLY IMPORTANT AS A RESULT OF SADDAM'S RULE OVER THE SHIA, WHILE KHOMEINI CREATED A SHIA THEOCRACY IN QUM, IRAN.**

**MOST IRAQI SPIRITUAL LEADERS IN NAJAF HAVE LONG OPPOSED KHOMEINI'S BELIEF THAT SHIA CLERICS SHOULD BE IN POWER.**

**IRAQI SHIA CLERICS VIEW POLITICS AS THE SOURCE OF CORRUPTION IN THE IRANIAN CLERGY, INFURIATING THE PEOPLE AND DISTANCING YOUNG SHIA AWAY FROM THE RELIGION.**

**AS SUCH, THE FIGHT FOR CONTROL HAS BEEN CREATED BETWEEN THE IRAQI SHIA LEADERS AND THE PRO-IRANIAN CLERICS WHO WANT TO ADMINISTER IRAQ.**



**IRAN'S CONCERN ABOUT NAJAF**

**IRANIANS KNOW IF NAJAF RE-EMERGES AS THE CENTER OF SHIA TEACHING, AND IF IT'S CONTROLLED BY IRAQI AYATOLLAHS WHO SEPARATE RELIGION FROM POLITICS, IRAN'S CLAIM AS THE CENTER TO SHIA'ISM WILL BE WEAKENED.**

**PRESENTLY, IRAN VIEWS THE IRAQI SHIA CLERGY IN NAJAF TO BE WEAK, FRAGMENTED, AND LACKING POWERFUL SENIOR CLERICS.**

**IN ORDER TO RE-EMERGE AND COUNTER THE IRANIANS, IRAQI SHIA LEADERS WILL HAVE TO EMERGE ON THEIR OWN.**