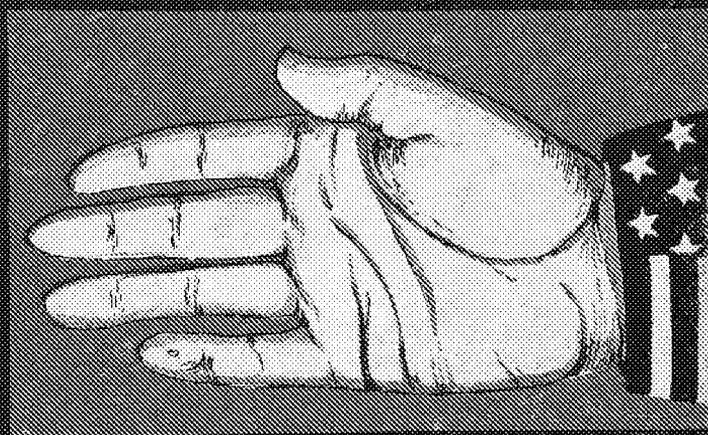


استاد لانه چا سووی

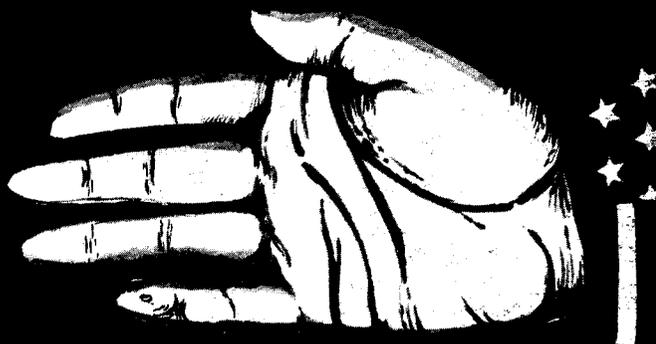
شماره (۱۸)



دانشجویان مسلمان پیرو خط امام

استاد لانه چا سووسی

شماره (۱۸)



دانشجویان مسلمان پیرو خط امام

طی اردلان

CONFIDENTIAL
PROG 7/24/79
CHG:LBLAINGEN
ECON:MJOHNSON
NONE
ECON-3 CHG, POL RF CHRON

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, PRIORITY

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/24/85 (JOHNSON, MARK) OR-E
TAGS: EFIN, EGEN, PEPR, IR
SUBJECT: CALL ON MINISTER OF FINANCE ARDALAN

1. (C- ENTIRE TEXT)

2. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY VISITING DEPTOFF, CALLED ON MINISTER OF FINANCE ALI ARDALAN JULY 23. ARDALAN WAS JOINED BY DEPUTY MINISTER DR. IBRAHIM-ZADEH WHO INTERPRETED.

3. CHARGE OPENED CONVERSATION BY EXPLAINING OUR UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE REVOLUTION. WE WERE WILLING TO WORK WITH IRAN IN THE TASK OF REBUILDING OUR RELATIONS AND STOOD READY TO COOPERATE IN THOSE AREAS WHERE IRAN FELT WE COULD PLAY A USEFUL ROLE. CHARGE SAID WE SHARED COMMON INTERESTS AND ASSETS, SUCH AS OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIPS, WHICH COULD AID THIS REBUILDING.

4. ARDALAN REPLIED BY OFFERING HIS VISITORS A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE LONG AND FRUITFUL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. THE MEMORIES OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO WORKED IN IRAN IN THE EARLY YEARS AFTER IRAN'S CONSTITUTIONAL UPRISING WERE CHERISHED BY IRANIANS. ARDALAN SPOKE FONDLY OF DR. JORDAN, AN AMERICAN WHO HELPED ESTABLISH ALBORZ COLLEGE WHERE MANY IRANIANS HAD GOTTEN THEIR FIRST TASTE OF HIGHER EDUCATION. SIMILARLY, IRANIAN PATRIOTS REMEMBERED PEOPLE LIKE MORGAN SHUSTER AND HOWARD BASKERVILLE IN TABRIZ WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE. HE AGREED THAT THESE PAST RELATIONSHIPS WOULD INFLUENCE THE FUTURE. ARDALAN HOPED THAT THE NEW GROUP OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD HAVE THE SAME FEELING TOWARD IRAN.

5. TURNING TO SUBJECT OF BANK NATIONALIZATIONS, THE MINISTER EMPHASIZED THAT FOREIGN INTERESTS WOULD BE PROTECTED AND RESPECTED. THIS WAS REQUIRED BY BOTH

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ISLAMIC TRADITION AND GOVERNMENT LAW, HE SAID. NO TIME-TABLE EXISTED YET FOR THIS COMPENSATION AS THE PGOI, WORKING THROUGH A SPECIAL INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE, WAS STILL INVESTIGATING THE VARIOUS BANKS. IBRAHIM-ZADEH ADDED THAT THE COMMITTEE IS NOW IN THE VERGE OF MERGING THE NATION'S 36 BANKS INTO A FEW MAJOR BANKS, PERHAPS FIVE OR SIX.

6. CHARGE THEN RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF REACTIVATING THE U.S.-IRAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OR THE BUSINESS COUNCIL AS A WAY OF IMPROVING THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN AMERICAN AND IRANIAN FIRMS. ARDALAN SAID HE WAS IN FAVOR OF DOING THIS ALTHOUGH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATTERS LIKE THE CHAMBER OR COUNCIL RESTED WITH THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE. ARDALAN'S MINISTRY WOULD BE WILLING TO BACK UP ANY PROPOSAL PUT FORTH BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE. LOOKING FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD, DID THE MINISTER SEE ANY ROLE FOR THE JOINT COMMISSION? THE CHARGE SAID WE WERE NOT PUSHING THE COMMISSION BUT WANTED TO SEEK ARDALAN'S VIEWS. THE MINISTER FELT THAT IDEA WAS BASICALLY GOOD, BUT HE HAD NO PARTICULAR VIEWS ON TIMING. THIS SUBJECT WOULD NEED STUDY BY THE INTERESTED PARTS OF THE PGOI.

7. CHARGE USED CASE OF GTE AS ILLUSTRATION OF WHAT WE WERE ATTEMPTING TO AVOID. MINISTER WAS BASICALLY AWARE OF PROBLEM BUT HAD NO REAL INVOLVEMENT IN THIS DISPUTE, WHICH HE HOPED COULD BE SOLVED THROUGH DIALOGUE RATHER THAN COURTS. ARDALAN THEN WENT ON TO MAKE WHAT WAS PROBABLY HIS CENTRAL MESSAGE DURING MEETING: U.S. SHOULD AVOID FORMING IMPRESSIONS OR DRAWING CONCLUSIONS ABOUT IRAN BASED ON THE RUMORS BEING FLOATED IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE BY IRANIANS WHO HAD FLED DURING THE REVOLUTION. ARDALAN SAID THESE PEOPLE--"ANTI-REVOLUTIONARIES"-- WERE TRYING TO UNDERMINE IRAN'S CREDITWORTHINESS BY SPREADING LIES. ARDALAN EMPHASIZED THAT "WE ARE GOING TO PAY EVERY PENNY WE OWE."

8. REFERRING TO ARDALAN'S COMMENTS ON "IMAGE," CHARGE EXPRESSED REGRET OVER EXPULSION OF NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT YUSSEF IBRAHIM. CHARGE SAID THIS KIND OF ACTION CANNOT CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE. THE PICTURE OF THE REVOLUTION WILL BECOME LESS BALANCED IF IRAN CONTINUES TO EXPEL JOURNALISTS. ARDALAN TOOK NOTE OF THESE REMARKS BUT OFFERED NO SUBSTANTIVE REPLY, SAYING ONLY THAT IT SHOULD BE RAISED WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY.

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3

9. ALTHOUGH MEETING WAS SOMEWHAT SHORT ON SUBSTANCE, IT WAS VERY CORDIAL IN TONE. THE MINISTER CONVEYS A PROFESSIONAL IMAGE AND DOES NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING A FORCEFUL PERSONALITY. WE SUSPECT THAT HE LOOKS TO HIS ARTICULATE AND ENERGETIC DEPUTY, IBRAHIM-ZADEH, FOR DIRECTION. ZADEH, FOR INSTANCE, SEEMED MORE POSITIVE ON THE WORK OF THE BANKING COMMITTEE AND ON THE REJUVENATION OF THE BUSINESS COUNCIL.

10. COMMENT: MEETING ENDED ON A PERSIAN NOTE. AS WE WERE TAKING OUR LEAVE, IBRAHIM-ZADEH DREW DEPTOFF ASIDE. HE SAID HE HAD SOME FRIENDS. THEY NEEDED VISAS. COULD WE DO ANYTHING FOR THEM... END COMMENT. LAIGEN##

CONFIDENTIAL BIOGRAPHIC DATA

NOTE.—Consult *Diplomatic Serial 3355 of April 10, 1941*, and references therein. Forms are to be prepared on typewriter in triplicate, one copy for files and two for Department.

Name BAZARGAN Mehdi
(Surname) (Given names)
Nationality Iranian Title, if any Engineer
Date and place of birth about 1907, in Tehran
Head of Provisional Board of Management,
Position Nationalization Board Date appointed June 6, 1951
Party affiliations National Front
Previous career See below
Languages spoken Persian, French
Attitude toward and service in the United States
Family details Father is Haji Abbas Qoli Bazargan, prominent bazaar merchant.
Family highly religious. Married, one son.

REMARKS: (Should present a brief word picture of the individual, including race, religion, fraternal affiliations, education, reputation, personality, influence, attitude toward other nations, etc.)

Education: School of Technology, University of Tehran.
Central Technical College, France.

Career:

1931: Completed his studies in Iran and left for France.
1931-36: Studied at Central Technical College, France.
1936-date: Professor of Higher Engineering, University of Tehran.
1942-date: Dean of Engineering College, University of Tehran.
1943-45: President of the "Union of Engineers," Iran.
May 16, 1950: Under-Secretary of Education (Technical)
May 13, 1951: Elected to head Provisional Board of Management, Nationalization Board.

Remarks:

Bazargan is a highly religious man, almost verging on fanaticism, who observes all Moslem rites assiduously and writes profusely on religious matters. He is a devotee of Kashi and is close to other members of the National Front.

Though narrow-minded on subjects relating to Islam and its precepts, Bazargan is otherwise an intelligent man of some vision, well-versed in engineering and conscientious about his work. One British source who had worked with him at the University reported that he was easy to work with, receptive to new ideas, and constructive in his own ideas.

Bazargan has no strong antipathies toward foreigners, but is considered anti-Communist; interested in ridding the University of Tudeh influences.

Prepared by Mary Ruth Parrish/ Kurish Shahbaz

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SUPPLEMENTARY BIOGRAPHIC DATA

May 6, 1952

BAZARGAN, Mehdi

Supplementing Embassy's CRD of June 21, 1951.

Career:

May 7, 1952: Resigned as Head of Provisional Board of Directors, NIOC.

Remarks:

Bazargan's resignation reportedly came about as a result of serious differences with Husein MAKI, member of the Joint Oil Committee and influential in the entire nationalization movement. It is believed that the two men had been at odds for some time, and that in meetings of the Committee MAKI accused Bazargan of incompetence and inefficiency. MAKI reportedly also resented the fact that Bazargan was supporting Dr. Baghai's candidate for election to the Majlis from Abadan rather than his own.

Bazargan remains in his position as Dean of the Engineering College, University of Tehran.

W.F.H./mfp
May 8, 1952

مهدی بازگان - ۳

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SUPPLEMENTARY BIOGRAPHIC DATA

October 28, 1952

BAZARGAN, Mehdi

Supplementing Embassy's CBD of June 21, 1951; and Embassy's Supplement of May 8, 1952.

Career:

While Bazargan was serving on the Provisional Board of Directors of the NIOC, Abdel Hosen Khalili officiated for him as Dean of the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Tehran. In the Spring of 1952 it was decided that Khalili should hold this position on a permanent basis; consequently Bazargan is now simply a member of the Engineering Faculty.

Organizations:

President, Union of Engineers of Iran.

MRParriah/mrp

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BAZARGAN, Mehdi

thus lost all credit in the clerical milieu but still has some prestige as a former Mosadegh deputy; Dr. Ali Akbar Asjad FAYAZ, a former dean of the faculty of letters in Mosadegh and former deputy, who is regarded as a good scholar; Mohammad SHAIKHOL-LOLALI, who teaches principles of Sunni jurisprudence and whose influence is limited by his Sunni background; Dr. Majtaba KILAMI, regarded as one of the best Islamic scholars in Iran but also as erratic and eccentric; and Dr. Abdol Hossein ZARINCOBI, an honest, hard-working scholar with no outside interests and respected as such.

5. Other Faculties: The most "political" faculty at the University of Tehran has long been the Faculty of Technology whose stormy petrel, Professor Mehdi BAZARGAN, leader of the Freedom Movement of Iran, is currently in jail after having been convicted on charges of treason. According to all reports, Bazargan is still highly popular at the Faculty of Technology, even among students who generally remain aloof from political matters. Two other professors at that faculty, Abdol Hossein KHILALI and Hossein SAHRAI, have also been identified as National Fronters (A-351). On the other hand, Professor Abdol HADJI, who broke with Mosadegh in 1952 and became one of his leading opponents, is also respected for professional competence and personal courage.

The university has a Council for Scientific Research on which are found some of its more important scientists. Its chairman is Chancellor Jalal and its vice chairman is Professor Hossein Mirza (see Law Faculty). One of the most respected members is Professor Mohammad Hossein KATIBI-SHARAFI, a research scholar in parasitology and head of the Institute of Public Health Research. A modest man, he does not on brief acquaintance give evidence of the exceptional qualities that some of our university contacts attribute to him. (One of them said he is "very popular and highly respected," another said "you can put him in charge of any organization.") Dr. Amanatollah ROZDAN-FALSI, another member of the Council, and the head of the Department of Physics, is said to be much respected and interested in socio-political ideas. Dr. Ali Asqar AZAD, Professor of the Science College and Chief of the Atomic Center of the University, is a respected scientist but a poor administrator. Dr. Nader SHARI, Dean of the Faculty of Pharmacology, is a respected constitutionalist and may speak out if the climate changes even slightly. Dr. Hossein RAHMATI of the Cancer Research Institute, is said to have latent influence due to his integrity, his courage, and his known interest in political and social problems. Professor Mohsen KASHTRUDI, a leading mathematician and member of the Council, has philosophical interests extending beyond his discipline. He has been noted, and continues to be noted, as one professor who has repaid the hostility shown to him in the Soviet Union with panegyrics about the advanced state of mathematics in that country, comparing that progress favorably with the status of the science in the United States.

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page 9, Desp. No. 486
from: AmEmbassy Tehran

Mehdi BAZARGAN was active in the petroleum affairs of the Mosadeq government and in a number of other projects involving his engineering talents. Today he is one of the four or five most active and trusted nationalists and should be classified in the young activist group. He is a partner in three construction firms: No Kar, YAD and the new Arbel Company. All three companies hire many of the active nationalists among Tehran's engineers. The YAD Company title is an abbreviation for the Farsi which means Eleven University Professors and is an excellent example of the nationalist ties between the old Mosadeqists, the construction industry and the University. Bazargan is a strongly religious man and is a leader of the Anjomane Fatimate Islami (Society for Islamic Instruction), an organization which meets for religious observances from time to time and which has obvious political undertones. Finally, Bazargan is again on the engineering faculty of the University of Tehran. He was one of a group of about a dozen professors removed from the faculty for political reasons in 1954, but he was reinstated and has been teaching again for almost three years.

BAZARGAN, Mehdi

p8

CONF ٦ - مهدی بازرگان

See A-351 from Tehran Dec. 21, 1963: The Iranian
Intellectual Community (filed under Mahdavy, Hossein)

FORM FS-498
4-23-57

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NO FOREIGN DISSEM

Chief, Political Section

7 November 1965
P-21/65

CAS

Trial of PFI Leaders

The following is for your information and whenever you may wish to make of it within the security limitations designated. Any reporting by you of this information need not cite CAS as the source. The source is a former official (B) in the Kowad government with good contacts among opposition leaders from a Freedom Movement of Iran leader (P).

1. Since the government was not allowing outsiders to attend the trial against Mohd Namayeg, Ayvallah Seyd Mahmod Taleghani, Yavallah Sabahi, and others, the Freedom Movement of Iran (PFI) leaders refused to speak anyone at the trial. They also told their lawyers that they were not to defend them anyone. The PFI leaders were particularly unhappy about the lack of newspaper coverage.

2. The government then brought in a few newspapers from small newspapers, who reported only what the prosecutor said. The PFI leaders decided to continue their silence. The government insisted that in a military trial the accused had no right to demand their defense lawyers. At this point, retired General Bahramah, lawyer for the defense, said that Namayeg as the PFI leaders had demanded him he would be unable to defend them anyone. At this point the trial was postponed. (Comment: See P-15/65 for an account of the trial session on 29 October in which the PFI leaders refused to speak or allow the defense counsel to speak for them.) General Hoshia Zameh, the 12 other judges, continue to appear regularly for the PFI leaders and explain that he must do his duty.

3. The government continues to put out feelers to the PFI prisoners, and has said that if they would forgive their opposition to the trial, the government might let the trial either stop. Namayeg, Taleghani, and Sabahi have rejected such proposals.

4. During the trials, Taleghani has not spoken at all. Namayeg has spoken only about the court's being incompetent to try them and has condemned the lack of a jury. (Comment: A number of sources report that the PFI leaders are gaining popularity in opposition circles through this trial and their unswerving attitude toward the government.)

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مهدی بازگان - ۷

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SECRET

Memorandum NOFORN/INTERNAL USE ONLY

TO : Chief, Political Section

DATE: 21 January 1964

P-59/64

FROM : CAS *fw*

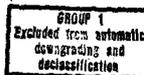
SUBJECT: Refusal by Dr. Mehdi Bazargan of Special Visiting Privilege

The following is for your information and whatever use you wish to make of it within the security limitations designated. Any reporting by you of this information must cite the control NOFORN but need not cite CAS as the source. The source is a former member of the National Front Central Council.

On 20 January 1964 it was arranged through Police Chief General Nasiri that Mrs. Mehdi Bazargan and her five children, the youngest one ten months of age, could go to the jail and meet with Dr. Mehdi Bazargan, recently sentenced to ten years in solitary confinement in the Freedom Movement of Iran (FMI) trials. Mrs. Bazargan and children went to the jail and waited to see Dr. Bazargan. After over an hour of waiting Dr. Bazargan sent the family a note stating that there were nine persons sentenced for FMI activities, and if he visited with his family, it would mean that he had accepted a special privilege, which he refused to do. None of the prisoners have been permitted visitors.

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[REDACTED]

ARMISH-MAAG MISSION

ARMISH-MAAG MISSION

LEADS

U.C. 10065: CDS 3/20/60 (SULLIVAN, WILLIAM H.) -
Topic: MASS, IR
SUB: DISCUSSION WITH PRINCE ENTENZAM OF
ARMISH-MAAG MISSION

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)
2. ONE OF PRINCIPAL ITEMS WHICH I RAISED IN MARCH 19
RELATIVE WITH BAZARGAN AND ENTEZAM WAS STATUS AND FUTURE
OF OUR ARMISH-MAAG MISSION. I REMINDED THEM THAT IN
OUR LAST CONVERSATION BAZARGAN HAD ASKED ME TO RETAIN
THE NUCLEUS OF THE MISSION HERE IN TEHRAN WHILE HIS
GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED HOW IT WISHED TO PROCEED. NEARLY
FOUR WEEKS HAD GONE BY WITHOUT ANY ACTION AND I SAID
I WOULD APPRECIATE HIS CURRENT THOUGHTS.
3. I POINTED OUT THAT GENERAL GAST AND MR. LAMBANIS
HAD MET WITH MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND HIS COLLEAGUES TO
DISCUSS THIS SAME SUBJECT, BUT RECEIVED NO HP; NO CLEAR
INDICATIONS OF GOI THINKING. I REVIEWED FRUSTRATION,
AND HARASSMENT MILITARY MISSION WAS UNDERGOING IN ITS
EFFORTS TO OBTAIN ACCESS TO ITS RECORDS, U.S. GOVERN-
MENT PROPERTY AND PERSONAL POSSESSIONS, AND SAID THESE
MATTERS NEEDED SPEEDY RESOLUTION.
4. BAZARGAN SAID HE REALIZED HE HAD BEEN SLOW IN GIVING
ME SOME GUIDANCE ON THIS SUBJECT AND THANKED ME FOR OUR
PATIENCE. HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT IRAN NEEDED TO HAVE
SOME SORT OF CONTINUING MILITARY LOGISTICS RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE UNITED STATES, BUT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT
YET DECIDED WHAT FORM IT SHOULD TAKE. HE ASKED ME TO
RETAIN OUR SMALL ARMISH-MAAG GROUP THROUGH THE NEW RZ
HOLIDAY PERIOD AND PROMISED TO HAVE SOME FURTHER DIS-
CUSSIONS ON THE SUBJECT AFTER THAT PERIOD.
5. HE THEN EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT ARMISH WAS STILL
HAVING PROBLEMS ON ACCESS AND OTHER SIMILAR MATTERS.
HE GAVE ENTEZAM SOME INSTRUCTIONS IN FARSI AND TOLD ME
THAT HE HOPED TO HAVE AN EARLY RESOLUTION OF OUR PROBLEMS.
6. HE AND ENTEZAM THEN SAID THEY WERE HAVING GREAT
DIFFICULTY GETTING A HANDLE ON OUTSTANDING CONTRACTUAL
OBLIGATIONS BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. ON MILITARY EQUIP-
MENT. THEY WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE TRUST
FUND AND HOW IT WORKED. IT SEEMED THAT SOME "KOMITAY"
HAD TAKEN ALL THE RECORDS FROM GENERAL TOUFANIAN'S
OFFICE AND NOBODY IN THE GOVERNMENT KNEW WHERE THEY WERE.
7. I SAID THAT GENERAL GAST HAD DISCUSSED THESE SUBJECTS
WITH MINISTER MADANI AND HAD LEFT HIM SOME DOCUMENTS.
HOWEVER, UNTIL ARMISH COULD HAVE ACCESS TO ITS FILES,
IT COULD NOT BUT NOT PROVIDE GREATER DETAILS.

SULLIVAN

PP RUEHC
DE RUONHR #2846 3701305
ZNR UUUUU ZZH
P 111145Z MAR 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 282
BT
UNCLAS TEHRAN 2846

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PDIP, ASMR, AFIN, IR
SUBJ: ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR DAMAGES SUSTAINED DURING
FEB 14 ATTACK ON EMBASSY

WE RECEIVED ON MARCH 11 A LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER
BAZARGAN DATED MARCH 1 EXPRESSING REGRETS FOR THE FEB 14
ATTACK ON THE EMBASSY AND GOI WILLINGNESS TO REIMBURSE
US OFR THE DAMAGES SUSTAINED. THE FULL TEXT OF THE
LETTER, COMPLETE WITH SPELLING AND OTHER ERRORS, FOLLOWS:

QUOTE THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF IRAN
PRESENT THEIR COMPLIMENTS TO THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, AND WHILE EXPRESSING THEIR DEEP REGRET
AT THE INCIDENT WHICH OCCURRED ON FEB 14, 1979, WOULD
LIKE TO STATE THAT THE SAID REGRETTABLE OCCURRENCE WAS
INSTIGATED BY ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS. THE GOVERN-
MENT HAVE MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO PREVENT SERIOUSLY THE
REPETITION OF SUCH INCIDENTS.

QUOTE IT IS REQUESTED THAT THE REGRETS OF THIS GOVERN-
MENT BE COMMUNICATED TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

QUOTE FURTHERMORE, THIS GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO DECLARE
THEIR READINESS TO INDEMNIFY THE DAMAGES CAUSED BY THE
ABOVE INCIDENT.

QUOTE THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF IRAN
AVAIL THEMSELVES OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW THE
ASSURANCES OF THEIR HIGHEST CONSIDERATION. END QUOTE.

(SIGNED) MENDI BAZARGAN, PRIME MINISTER.

SULLIVAN

BT
#2846

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 449
E.O. 12065: GDS 3/20/85 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P
TAGS: PGOV, IR

SUBJECT: March 30th Referendum

1. C - entire text.
2. During meeting with Prime Minister March 19, Ambassador asked if timing and form of forthcoming referendum will remain as advertised, ██████████. Bazargan replied affirmatively ██████████ ██████████ but noted he himself is not involved in preparations for the referendum. They are being handled by Interior Minister with the assistance of a special commission. He implied that he could not be absolutely categoric but believed the referendum would go through on March 30th with a single question to which voters would be asked to reply Yes or No.
3. Bazargan agreed there were many people sniping at the format of the referendum, but he said as far as he knew referenda are always Yes or No propositions to a single question. He hoped to explain all this to the critics and reduce the political controversy on the question.

SULLIVAN

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SECRET (CLASSIFIED)
REF ID: A699 070000
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~~SECRET~~

TO: SECSTATE WASHDC DIRECT 121414Z 411
INFO RUEKFC/AMBASSY CANA WASHINGTON CII
RUEKIV/EMBASSY TEL AVIV 0000000000
BT
SECRET TEHRAN 3099

LINBIS

1. O. 120000: GDS 3/20/80 (SULLIVAN, WILLIAM)
FROM: PROV, PERS, IN, PERS, US, WSEC
SUB: MEETING WITH PRINIM BAZARGAN, MARCH 17

2. (S - EMIRE TEXT.)

3. I MET FOR MORE THAN AN HOUR AFTERNOON MARCH 17
WITH PRINIM MINISTER BAZARGAN. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ENTEZAN AND I BROUGHT ALONG
POLITICAL COUNSELOR LANBRAXIS.

4. WE WERE SURPRISED ON OUR ARRIVAL TO FIND TWO
PHOTOGRAPHERS AND AN MIPTV CAMERAMAN IN ATTENDANCE.
IN AN OBVIOUSLY PRE-ARRANGED MOVE, BAZARGAN CREEPED ME
EFFUSIVELY "ON CAMERA" AND CLEARLY WENT OUT OF HIS WAY
TO DEMONSTRATE WARM PERSONAL RELATIONS. WHILE THE
CAMERAMEN WERE STILL IN THE ROOM, I CONGRATULATED HIM
ON HIS SUCCESS IN STOPPING SUMMARY EXECUTIONS, BUT
I DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE THERE WAS A SOUND RECORDING
OF OUR CONVERSATION.

5. OUR DISCUSSION THEN RANGED OVER A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS
WHICH WILL BE REPORTED BY SEPARATE TELEGRAMS. HOWEVER,
ONE OF MY PRINCIPAL POINTS CONCERNED THE NEED FOR ASSIST-
ANCE IN PHYSICAL SECURITY OF EMBASSY CONTINGENT AGAINST
ATTACKS GENERATED BY PLO AND PEDAYEEN IN THE WAKE OF
AN EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI PEACE TREATY. BAZARGAN SAID HE
COULD PASS WORD "INDIRECTLY" TO LOCAL PLO REPRESENTATIVE
THAT GOVERNMENT DID NOT WANT ANY FURTHER HOSTILITIES
AMERICAN EMBASSY. HE ALSO SAID THAT IN THE PROTECTIVE
FORCES WERE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO REMAIN IN A DEFENSIVE
AND PREVENT DIFFICULTIES.

6. AS OTHER REPORTING CABLES WILL INDICATE, CONVERSATION
WAS FRIENDLY AND CONSTRUCTIVE THROUGHOUT. BAZARGAN
BAZARGAN AND ENTEZAN DISPLAYED A CLEAR INTEREST IN
SOVIETS AND DESIRE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH U.S.
AT SAME TIME, DISCUSSION REVEALED ONE ISSUE IS THE
GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE FUTURE OF
IS ITS FUTURE. SOLUTION

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DRAFTER:GBLambrakis

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 455
 INFO: AMEMBASSY AMMAN 006 RUEHAM
 AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 002 RUQMBE
 AMEMBASSY CAIRO 012 RUEHEG
 AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 005 RUEHDM
 AMEMBASSY JIDDA 011 RUQMRB
 AMEMBASSY LONDON 020 RUDTC
 AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 004 RUEHTV

TAGS: PEPR, XF, IR
 LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 3/20/99 (Lambrakis, G.B.) OR-P

TAGS: PEPR, IR, XF
 LIMDIS

SUBJECT: Iranian Position on Middle East Negotiations

1. C - entire text.

2. During meeting with Prime Minister Bazargan and his deputy Amir Entezam, March 19, Ambassador adverted to President Carter's efforts in the Middle East and said he had been asked to inform the Prime Minister that chances were good for signing of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in the coming week or so. Bazargan replied that he and his government have been too busy with internal affairs to keep up even with the newspapers and therefore have not really taken a position on the treaty. Amir Entezam broke in to say he had not yet had a chance to brief the Prime Minister because of the press of business, but Amir Entezam, as spokesman, had told the press this morning that Iran opposes any treaty or other moves which are against the interests of the Palestinians.

4. The Ambassador then went over the arguments in favor

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of the peace process, noting that the PLO and some others do not seem to appreciate the value of an autonomous Palestinian state on the West Bank as a step toward permanent solution of the Arab-Israeli problem. Bazargan did not reply directly, but asked what provisions this treaty process would make for the plight of the Shias in southern Lebanon who feel themselves between the Palestinian and Israeli guns and are getting hurt. The Ambassador noted that Pol Counselor Lambrakis, who was accompanying him, had spent time in Lebanon and was aware of the Shia problem there. The Ambassador and Lambrakis then noted that, while there is nothing specific about the Shias in Lebanon ~~in~~ in the present negotiations, ^{a Treaty} ~~their success~~ will help create an environment which should minimize friction in southern Lebanon, we hope. In any case, we are aware of Iran's interest in the Shia situation in Lebanon.

Bazargan said in passing that another reason GOI has not focused on the problem has been the illness of Foreign Minister Sanjabi. He has a slipped disk in his back and tried coming back to work March 18, but has had to return to his bed, where he needs a long rest. This appears to conflict ~~with~~ with newspaper reports that Sanjabi delivered a speech as planned at the NIOC Building in Tehran March 19, and with ~~the newspaper reports~~

from head of MFA American Dept. that Sanjabi worked a full day (until 2:00 p.m.) at MFA March 19 and may 'be delivering a political speech March 20. Is Bazargan misinformed, or is he anxious to squelch reports of Sanjabi's tendered resignation?)

6. Comment: Awareness in GOI of Lebanese Shias is something USG should keep in mind. It is possible this will give us a handle to interest GOI in the Middle East problem on behalf of the ongoing peace process, countering to a certain degree the hold Palestinians have gained over the Islamic movement here.

SULLIVAN 

CONFIDENTIAL

مهدی بازگان - ۱۴

CONFIDENTIAL
STATE
CHG: CWNAAS
POL: JDSTEMPEL
NONE
POL(3) CHG ECON ICA OR

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMCONSUL DHAHRAN
AMEMBASSY DOHA
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANANA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY RABAT
USLO RIYADH
AMEMBASSY ROME
ANEMBASSY TOKYO
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USCINCPAC

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 5/6/09 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINS, IR
SUBJ: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT) THIS IS A REPORTING CABLE.
2. SUMMARY: CHARGE REVIEWED U.S. DESIRE TO NORMALIZE U.S.-IRAN TIES, NOTED PROPAGANDA AGAINST USG, AND STRESSED U.S. IS NOT IN ANY WAY INTERVENING IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. BAZARGAN STRESSED HIS PERSONAL

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COMMITMENT TO GOOD U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS, AND STRESSED PGOI DESIRE FOR GOOD, EVEN EXPANDED, ECONOMIC TIES WITH U.S. PM SOUGHT FAVORABLE USG ATTITUDE TOWARD PROBLEMS OF CONTRACT TERMINATION AND CONTINUANCE. BAZARGAN OPINED IT WOULD TAKE ANOTHER ONE/TWO MONTHS TO HAVE A DRAFT CONSTITUTION READY, BUT SAID ELECTORAL LAW FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HAS JUST BEEN COMPLETED. BAZARGAN-ENTEZAM BIO NOTE. END SUMMARY.

3. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY ACTING POLCOUNS STEMPEL CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN MORNING MAY 6. DEPUTY PM AMIR ENTEZAM WAS PRESENT AND TRANSLATED, THOUGH IT WAS APPARENT THAT BAZARGAN UNDERSTOOD MOST OF WHAT WAS BEING SAID IN ENGLISH. MEETING OPENED ON WARM NOTE OF GREETING ALL AROUND. CHARGE SPOKE IN TERMS TO THOSE HE HAD USED WITH OTHER MINISTERS: U.S. ACCEPTS RESULTS OF IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND WISHES NEW PGOI SUCCESS. USG STRONGLY DESIRES TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS TO EXTENT AND AT PACE PGOI DESIRES. U.S. SUPPORTS IRAN'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC STABILITY.

4. NOTING THAT THERE HAS BEEN MUCH ANTI-U.S. PROPAGANDA IN SPEECHES AND MEDIA, CHARGE STRESSED THAT U.S. IS NOT INTERVENING AND WILL NOT INTERVENE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF IRAN. PRIME MINISTER WELCOMED CHARGE'S STATEMENT WITH THANKS. CHARGE SAID IF EVER DOUBT AROSE ON THIS SCORE, BAZARGAN OR SENIOR OFFICIALS SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO CALL CHARGE OR AMBASSADOR, WHEN HE ARRIVES. TIMELY FRANKNESS WAS GOOD WAY TO MINIMIZE MISUNDERSTANDING.

5. BAZARGAN RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT HE PERSONALLY FAVORED GOOD U.S.-IRAN TIES, ALLUDING TO VALUE OF HIS PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH AMB SULLIVAN AND POLOFF. GOOD RELATIONS WITH U.S. WERE PERSONAL BELIEF FOR PRIME MINISTER, AND WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER YAZDI'S APPOINTMENT WAS BEING CONSIDERED, PM HAD QUESTIONED YAZDI ON THIS POINT HIMSELF UNTIL HE WAS ASSURED THAT YAZDI SUPPORTED FRIENDLY TIES WITH U.S. PGOI FEELS U.S. DOES INDEED WANT IRAN TO BE A STRONG POWER, AND BAZARGAN JUDGED U.S. WAS SINCERE IN WANTING GOOD RELATIONS. IF U.S. AGREES THAT IRANIAN INTERPRETATION OF U.S. INTENTIONS IS CORRECT, QUOTE WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR NEW AMBASSADOR WILL BE ABLE TO HELP US. UNQUOTE BAZARGAN THEN SAID IF USG HAD ANY INFORMATION THAT WOULD HELP IRAN DEFEND ITS INDEPENDENCE FROM ITS ENEMIES, QUOTE WE WILL APPRECIATE IT IF YOU CAN PASS IT TO US. UNQUOTE HE INDICATED DEPUTY

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PM ENTEZAM SHOULD BE CONTACT FOR THIS PURPOSE.

6. PM NOTED THAT U.S. AND IRAN HAD HAD GOOD ECONOMIC AND MILITARY RELATIONS. NEW PGOI WANTED SAME, PERHAPS EXPANDED, ECONOMIC TIES. MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WOULD OF COURSE CHANGE. WEAPONS PURCHASES WOULD STOP, BUT PGOI NEEDED TECHNICAL HELP AND SPARE PARTS. PGOI HOPED AND EXPECTED TO HAVE FAVORABLE USG HELP IN SETTLING QUESTIONS OF CONTRACT TERMINATION AND RENEWAL. ENTEZAM ADDED THAT PGOI WANTED USG QUOTE NOT TO BE AGAINST US UNQUOTE ON DECISIONS WHETHER TO RENEW CONTRACTS OR NOT. ENTEZAM NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION; THAT \$8 MILLION IN SPARE PARTS WAS STILL WAITING IN TEXAS FOR SHIPMENT TO IRAN, AND URGED SOME ACTION ON THIS MATTER. CHARGE SAID HE WOULD CHECK ON IT, BUT THOUGHT SHIPMENT OF WHOLE \$8 MILLION WORTH HAD BEGUN SOME DAYS EARLIER. (MISSION BELIEVES AT LEAST ONE PLANELOAD HAS ALREADY ARRIVED; DETAILS WILL BE FORWARDED TO PGOI.) ENTEZAM ASKED FURTHER QUESTION ABOUT REPORTED ARRIVAL OF NINE U.S. MILITARY PLANES. CHARGE SAID THESE WERE NINE CARGO PLANES TO TAKE OUT BACKLOG OF HOUSEHOLD SHIPMENTS AND THAT PLANES WERE COMING AT RATE OF ONE OR TWO PER DAY, NOT ALL AT ONCE. ENTEZAM NOTED THIS WITH SATISFACTION.

7. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM CHARGE, PM DEVOTED A FEW MINUTES TO BROAD BRUSH OVERVIEW OF REVOLUTION, NOTING THAT HE WAS MERELY ELABORATING ON HIS RECENT TV TALK. IRANIAN REVOLUTION HAS SUCCEEDED VERY RAPIDLY. THIS BROUGHT MANY DIFFICULTIES, BUT PGOI WAS TRYING TO GET TOGETHER AND BEGIN TO MEET ITS PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY SECURITY. ENTEZAM ADDED THAT PGOI HAD SUPPORT OF QUOTE 99 PERCENT OF PEOPLE UNQUOTE WHO ARE WILLING TO GIVE UP A GREAT DEAL TO MAKE REVOLUTION SUCCEED. CONCERNED THAT RECENT KILLINGS OF ISLAMIC MOVEMENT LEADERS (GEN GARANI AND AYATOLLAH MOTAHARI) HAD INCREASED ANXIETY, BAZARGAN SAID THESE PROBLEMS WOULD BE OVERCOME. NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION WAS BEING WORKED ON, BUT IT WOULD TAKE ONE TO TWO MONTHS FOR IT TO BE READY FOR RELEASE TO PUBLIC IN FINAL FORM. MEANWHILE, NEW ELECTORAL LAW HAD JUST BEEN COMPLETED, SO ADMINISTRATIVE PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WERE WELL ALONG. TWO OR THREE MONTHS MORE WOULD PROBABLY BE

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NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THIS PROCESS; THIS WAS EXAMPLE OF PROBLEM WHICH GREW FROM RAPID SUCCESS OF REVOLUTION. (COMMENT: BAZARGAN AND ENTEZAM APPEARED SINCERELY POSITIVE, BUT THEY WENT TO SOME MODEST PAINS TO PAINT GOOD PICTURE OF REVOLUTION GRADUALLY CONSOLIDATING ITS GAINS. SINCE DISCUSSION CAME AT END OF MEETING, CHARGE DID NOT PUSH FOR THEIR REACTION TO HARD QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. VIEW GIVEN ABOVE IS PROBABLY AS CLOSE TO AN APPROVED QUOTE PARTY LINE UNQUOTE FOR THE ISLAMIC PGOI AS CAN BE FOUND.)

8. ENTEZAM AND BAZARGAN: ENTEZAM IS NOW CLEARLY PM'S RIGHT HAND MAN. HE HAS BEEN CLOSE TO BAZARGAN FOR SOME YEARS, BUT REALLY CAME INTO HIS OWN JUST BEFORE AND JUST AFTER SUCCESS OF REVOLUTION. DEPARTURE OF YAZDI FROM PRIME MINISTERIAL ENTOURAGE HAS GIVEN ENTEZAM GREATER ROLE IN GENERAL POLITICS OF PGOI, INCLUDING FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHICH WERE VIRTUAL YAZDI PRESERVE. ENTEZAM IS ABOUT 48, A 1963 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BERKELEY PHD IN ECONOMICS, AND HAS HAD HIS OWN PRIVATE CONSULTING FIRM FOR SEVERAL YEARS. WITHIN LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI) HE ROSE TO POSITION ON CENTRAL GOVERNING BODY OVER PAST TWO YEARS AND WAS ONE OF THOSE CHOSEN BY BAZARGAN FOR GOVERNMENTAL POSITION BECAUSE OF HIS MODERATE VIEWS. HE WAS CHIEF CHALLENGER OF CURRENT TEHRANMAYOR TAVAKOLI, WHO REPRESENTED THE LEFTIST FACTION OF THE LMI. BAZARGAN CHOSE ENTEZAM TO REPLACE TAVAKOLI AS THE LMI'S PRINCIPAL DAY TO DAY CONTACT WITH THE EMBASSY SEVERAL WEEKS PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTIONS SUCCESS.

9. BOTH ENTEZAM AND BAZARGAN SHARE A WESTERN INTELLECTUAL VIEW OF THE WORLD AND THE WAY OF LIFE SHOULD BE ORIENTATED. THOUGH RELIGIOUS (BAZARGAN MORE SO THAN ENTEZAM), BOTH IMPLICITLY BELIEVE MORE IN WESTERN RATIONALIST CONCEPTS THAN THEIR THEOLOGICAL ALLIES IN THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT. DURING THIS MEETING BAZARGAN LOOKED HEALTHY AND ALERT. NAAS##

مهدی بازرگان - ۱۵

Tehran, Iran

May 24, 1979

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As you know, a series of large demonstrations to protest the recent resolution by the United States Senate are planned for this afternoon and tomorrow. I am deeply disturbed that at no time since the preparations of the demonstrations were announced have I seen any action or appeal by the Provisional Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to ensure that the public actions will be peaceful. I urge that the Provisional Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran take whatever steps are necessary to call for calm and a peaceful atmosphere.

Your Government is aware that the U.S. Administration has been making a maximum effort to improve relations, restore our ties to a normal course, and limit to the extent possible emotional or misinformed responses. We have no ability to control statements from the American press or the U.S. Congress. We have done our best, however, to present a factual picture of events in Iran and to describe to all interested American parties the mutual interest and concerns we share with Iran.

We are concerned by the phenomenon of increasing anti-Americanism in Iran, much of which seems to be based on a popular misunderstanding of the attitude of this Administration.

I have been instructed by my Government to express its concern that the demonstrations today and tomorrow

His Excellency,
Eng. Mehdi Bazargan,
Prime Minister,
Tehran.

may threaten the safety of American Embassy personnel in Tehran. We would like the Provisional Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to consider additional measures to provide protection in the emotionally-charged circumstances. The United States Government expects the Provisional Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to fulfill its internationally recognized responsibilities to protect the lives and property of foreign diplomatic personnel.

In order to reduce the possibility of violence, I would like to suggest that the demonstrations be routed away from the Embassy and prevented from approaching the walls of the Embassy.

Mr. Prime Minister, as I had expressed to you personally, our two countries and peoples have much in common to provide a firm foundation for a good relationship in the future based on mutual respect. I sincerely hope that your Government will take whatever steps are necessary to cool the present atmosphere so that both of us can go about our work in improving our relations in the interest of both of our peoples.

With high esteem,

Sincerely,

Charles W. Naas
Charge d'Affaires, a. i.

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مهدی بازرگان-۱۶

TEHRAN 4703

R 070839Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1289
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 04703

CHRG: STATE
APPRV: CHG: CWNAAS
DRFTD: POL: JDSTEMPEL
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL(3) CHG OR
ICA ECON RF

NEA FOR AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN

E.O. 12065: IDS-4 5/7/89 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PGOV, IR
SUBJ: MEETING WITH BAZARGAN

REF: TEHRAN 4579

DURING CHARGE MEETING WITH BAZARGAN (REFTEL), PRIME
MINISTER ASKED ABOUT AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN AND SAID HE
HAD WANTED TO SEE AMBASSADOR BEFORE HE LEFT. HE
REMINISCED BRIEFLY ON HIS MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR IN
VERY FLATTERING TERMS, WAS GENUINELY PLEASED THAT
AMBASSADOR HAD RETURNED SAFELY, AND ASKED AMBASSADOR
BE GIVEN HIS PERSONAL BEST WISHES. NAAS

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CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 4703

مهدی بازگان-۱۷

NNNNV ESB080BRA767
RR RUQMR
DE RUEHC #9918 1931737
ZNY CCGCC ZZH
R 121723Z JUL 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 3424
BT

Pol
CHG
ELON
RF
CH200

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

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 179918

E.O. 12065 N/A

TAGS: PDIP, US, IR

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO FOURTH OF JULY MESSAGE TO THE
PRESIDENT FROM PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1977-293-923

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM PRIME MINI-
STER BAZARGAN FOR THE PRESIDENT: QUOTE ON BEHALF OF THE
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN I
WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, MY SINCERE
CONGRATULATIONS ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE
UNITED STATES. THE FOURTH OF JULY INVOKES THE MEMORY OF
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AN OCCASION THAT I DEEM FIT TO
SEIZE TO CONVEY, THROUGH YOU, OUR GOOD WISHES FOR THE
PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. UNQUOTE

2. FOLLOWING RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER SHOULD BE
DELIVERED TO PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN: QUOTE DEAR MR. PRIME
MINISTER: YOUR KIND MESSAGE OF BEST WISHES TO COMMEMORATE
THE ANNIVERSARY OF OUR INDEPENDENCE IS DEEPLY APPRECIATED.
THANK YOU-ON BEHALF OF THE-AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR YOUR THOUGHT-
FUL EXPRESSION OF FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL. SINCERELY,
JIMMY CARTER. UNQUOTE

3. NO RELEASE INTENDED, BUT NO OBJECTION IF RECIPIENT
WISHES TO DO SO. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL. VANCE
BT
#9918

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مهدی بازرگان-۱۸

Tehran, July 15, 1979.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have been asked to deliver to you the following text of President Carter's response to your gracious message of congratulations on my country's Independence Day:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Your kind message of best wishes to commemorate the anniversary of our independence is deeply appreciated. Thank you, on behalf of the American people, for your thoughtful expression of friendship and goodwill.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

I take this opportunity, Mr. Prime Minister, to express my own appreciation of your message and to record my gratitude for the warm welcome I have had since my arrival from both the government and people of Iran.

Sincerely yours,

L. Bruce Laingen
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

His Excellency
Mehdi Bazargan,
Prime Minister of Iran,
Tehran.

مهدی بازگان ۱۹

TEHRAN 59701

P. Clever

010000Z 11 AUG 79 224 00

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3172

INFO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASH DC IMMEDIATE

BT

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STATE R/12
AFPRV: CHG:LBTAINGEN
RFRVD: POL:VLTOMSETH/BJH
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL CHG RP

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 09970

F.O. 12065: GIS 8/12/85 (TOMSETH, V.L.) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, SOPN, MASS, CVIS, IR, ASEC
SUBJ: MEETING WITH PM BAZARGAN

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

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2. SUMMARY: I CALLED ON PM BAZARGAN AUGUST 11. PM YAZDI WAS PRESENT AS TRANSLATOR. FOLLOWING OPENING REMARKS ON OUR MUTUAL DESIRE FOR A FRUITFUL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, BAZARGAN SAID THAT THE PCOI IS DISAPPOINTED THAT U.S. PROMISES HAVE NOT BEEN BACKED UP BY ACTIONS. HE RAISED THREE PROBLEM AREAS: MILITARY SPARE PARTE, VISAS AND LACK OF A REPLACEMENT FOR AMBASSADOR CUTLER. I RESPONDED BY DETAILING WHAT WE HAVE DONE IN THE MILITARY SUPPLY AREA, POINTING OUT THAT THERE ARE ACTIONS WHICH THE PCOI MUST ALSO TAKE TO RESUME THE FLOW. I SAID THAT WE, TOO, ARE DISAPPOINTED BY OUR CONTINUING INABILITY TO GAIN ACCESS TO PROPERTIES AND RECORDS RELATED TO OUR PAST MILITARY PRESENCE IN IRAN AND ASKED FOR HIS HELP IN THIS REGARD. ON VISAS, I TOLD BAZARGAN WHAT WE HAD BEEN DOING AND WHAT WE WERE PREPARED TO DO, BUT AGAIN SAID WE NEEDED PCOI COOPERATION IN REMOVING THE IRREGULAR SECURITY PRESENTLY ON OUR COMPOUND. I RAISED PCOI TREATMENT OF U.S. CORRESPONDENTS AS AN IRRITANT IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. YAZDI RESPONDED WITH HIS NOW FAMILIAR CHARGES OF A CONSPIRACY IN THE U.S. MEDIA TO SLANDER THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. BAZARGAN WAS MORE DISPASSIONATE IN HIS VIEW OF THE PRESS. THE MEETING ENDED WITH AN APPEAL FROM BAZARGAN FOR CONCRETE ACTS ON OUR PART TO DEMONSTRATE U.S. GOODWILL TOWARD IRAN. I SAID WE HAD TRIED AND WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO DO THIS, BUT URGED IRAN TO LOOK TO THE FUTURE RATHER THAN TO DWELL ON THE PAST AND TO STATE WHAT ITS REVOLUTION WAS FOR AS WELL AS WHAT IT WAS AGAINST. END SUMMARY.

3. I BEGAN BY THANKING BAZARGAN FOR RECEIVING ME AS CHARGE WHICH I TOOK AS AN INDICATION OF THE PCOI'S DESIRE TO WORK WITH THE USG TO BUILD A BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP THAT TOOK ACCOUNT OF THE NEW REALITIES IN IRAN. I EXPRESSED MY GOVERNMENT'S WARMEST REGARDS AND RESPECT FOR HIM PERSONALLY AND THE PCOI. WE WANTED TO WORK WITH IRAN, I TOLD HIM, ALTHOUGH WE UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WOULD TAKE TIME AND PATIENCE TO DEVELOP A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP. WE HOPED THAT IN PURSUING THAT GOAL THERE WOULD BE RESTRAINT AND UNDERSTANDING ON BOTH SIDES. I SAID THAT I HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SAY THAT WE WERE READY TO HELP IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE THAT MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO IRAN'S STABILITY AND THE WELL-BEING OF ITS PEOPLE. I TOLD HIM THAT I WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT WE COULD MAKE PRO-

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TEHRAN 59701

...PRESS IN BUILDING OUR RELATIONSHIP BECAUSE IT WAS THE DESIRE OF BOTH OUR PEOPLES THAT WE DO SO. WHILE WE HAD SOME PROBLEMS TO WORK OUT, WE HAD STRONG CONTINUING MUTUAL INTERESTS. ON OUR SIDE WE REGARDED THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, THE INDEPENDENCE AND THE STABILITY OF IRAN AS IMPORTANT TO US BEFORE THE REVOLUTION AND JUST AS IMPORTANT TO US IN ITS AFTERMATH. I WOULD BE RETURNING TO WASHINGTON TOWARD THE END OF AUGUST AND WOULD BE HAPPY TO CARRY ANY MESSAGE HE MIGHT HAVE.

4. BAZARGAN RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT HE HAD HEARD FROM OTHERS IN THE PGOI WHOM I HAD SEEN THAT I HAD SHOWN UNDERSTANDING AND GOODWILL TOWARD THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND HIS GOVERNMENT. HE ESPECIALLY WELCOMED HEARING OF OUR SUPPORT FOR IRAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. HE, TOO, HAD BEEN OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE RESTORATION OF GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. HE AND MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET, HE TOLD ME, HAD ALWAYS BEEN IN AGREEMENT ON THE DESIRABILITY OF CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE U.S., AND CONSEQUENTLY HAD BEEN PREPARED ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS TO STAND UP PUBLICLY TO DEFEND IRAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH US, NOTWITHSTANDING THE HIGH LEVEL OF EMOTIONALISM IN THE REVOLUTION'S AFTERMATH AND ACCUSATIONS ABOUT U.S. INTERFERENCE IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

5. UNFORTUNATELY, FROM IRAN'S POINT OF VIEW, BAZARGAN SAID, THE U.S. HAD NOT RESPONDED IN ANY POSITIVE WAY THAT THE PGOI COULD USE TO DEMONSTRATE THE WORTH OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH US TO THE IRANIAN PEOPLE. "YOU HAVE ONLY GIVEN LIP SERVICE TO BETTER RELATIONS," HE SAID, "AND WE HAVE ONLY HEARD PROMISES FROM YOU." AS AN EXAMPLE, HE CITED ASSURANCES GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN AND CHARGE NAAS THAT MILITARY SPARE PARTS WOULD BE DELIVERED. "NOTHING HAS HAPPENED," HE SAID, "NOT EVEN A DATE WHEN WE MIGHT EXPECT DELIVERY HAS BEEN GIVEN US. THERE WAS ALSO A PROBLEM INVOLVED IN CLEARING IRAN'S MILITARY ACCOUNTS. - IRAN HAD RECEIVED NO INVOICES ON WHAT IT HAD BOUGHT AND PAID FOR SINCE 1966, HE CLAIMED. THE PGOI CONSEQUENTLY HAD NO IDEA OF WHAT ITS FINANCIAL POSITION WAS IN THIS AREA. SOME FIGURES HAD BEEN PRO-

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TEHRAN 8970/1

REF ID: A667002 224 **
ZNY 00000 228
O 121052Z AUG 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE #ASHDC IMMEDIATE 3173
INFO RUPJCS/SECDEF WASH DC IMMEDIATE
BT

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CFRGE: STATE 6/12
APPRV: CHG: LBLAIGSEA
TRFDT: POL: VLTO4SETH/BJJ
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL CHG: RF

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF TEHRAN 0807Z

VIDE IN FEBRUARY, BUT THERE WERE STILL CASES OUTSTANDING FROM 13 YEARS BEFORE.

6. TURNING TO ANOTHER AREA, HE SAID THAT WE WERE NOT MEETING VISA NEEDS OR EVEN INDIVIDUALS NEEDING MEDICAL ATTENTION. SOME PEOPLE WHO HAD HAD OPEN HEART SURGERY AND WHO HAD MADE APPOINTMENTS FOR CHECK-UPS IN THE U.S. HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET VISAS. YAZDI INTERCEDED TO SAY THE PGOI WAS UNDER GROWING PRESSURE TO ALLOW STUDENTS TO GO TO THE USSR FOR STUDY. THIS WAS SOMETHING THE PGOI DID NOT WANT TO DO, HE SAID, BUT WHICH IT MIGHT HAVE TO ACCEDE TO (IF WE DID NOT ISSUE VISAS TO THEM TO GO TO U.S. SCHOOLS BEING THE THREAT LEFT UNSAID). BAZARGAN SAID THAT THERE WAS ALSO THE QUESTION OF OUR FAILURE TO NAME A REPLACEMENT FOR AMBASSADOR CUTLER. YAZDI REPEATED HIS EARLIER CONTENTION THAT YOUR CHARGE TOLD US WITHIN 24 HOURS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD ACCEPTED OUR DECISION, ADDING THAT THEY WERE SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD THAT IT WOULD TAKE ONLY FIVE OR SIX WEEKS TO COMPLETE THE PROCESS.

7. I RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT I WELCOMED BAZARGAN'S FRANKNESS, PARTICULARLY SINCE SOME OF THE THINGS HE RAISED I HAD PLANNED BRINGING UP MYSELF. I WAS UNAWARE THAT IRAN HAD RECEIVED NO INVOICES FOR ITS MILITARY PURCHASES SINCE 1966; QUITE FRANKLY I FOUND SUCH A CONTENTION HARD TO BELIEVE. I NOTED THAT IN EARLIER DISCUSSIONS WITH FM YAZDI AND MOND RIAHI I HAD DEALT AT SOME LENGTH ON THE COMPLICATED NATURE OF OUR PAST MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP. I ASSURED HIM THAT OUR PURPOSE WAS NOT TO STOP THE FLOW OF ESSENTIAL SPARE PARTS TO IRAN, BUT RATHER TO DEAL WITH THE ENTIRE RELATIONSHIP IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO JEOPARDIZE OUR ABILITY TO BE IN POSITION TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP IRAN MIGHT WANT FOR THE FUTURE.

8. THROUGH PATIENT EFFORT WE HAD REACHED A POSITION WHERE WE WERE NOW ABLE TO RESUME DELIVERY OF SPARE PARTS IN THE PIPELINE. THIS HAD BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE MOND AND THE MEA TWO WEEKS AGO, AND WE WERE NOW WAITING FOR IRAN TO MAKE SHIPPING ARRANGEMENTS SO THAT DELIVERIES COULD BE EFFECTED. SEVERAL PLANE LOADS OF SPARE PARTS HAD BEEN DELIVERED DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS THROUGH ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE MAAG AND THE IJAF AND, FURTHER, WE WERE READY TO CONSIDER NEW ORDERS, INCLUDING THAT FOR COBRA/TOW CALIBRATION SERVICES. I SAID THAT AN OFFICER WOULD BE HAND CARRYING AN LOA FOR THIS CASE TO IRAN ON AUGUST 13.

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TEHRAN 0900/2

9. I ALSO SAID THAT WE HAD BEEN URGING A MEETING OF
1901, MAJ3 AND EMPASSY OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH THE
MILITARY SUPPLY ISSUE FOR SOME TIME. SUCH A MEETING,
WHICH WOULD DEAL WITH PROCEDURES, WOULD, IN OUR VIEW, HELP
DEVELOP BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THIS COMPLICATED SUBJECT.
(BAZARGAN GOT ON THE PHONE--TO BIAHI I BELIEVE--AND
AFTER A BRIEF CONVERSATION AGREED THAT SUCH A MEETING
SHOULD BE CONVENED. HF AND YAZDI SET AUGUST 14 AT THE
MFA AS THE DATE AND VENUE.) ON THE MATTER OF ACCOUNTING,
I TOLD BAZARGAN THAT THERE WAS A MEETING SCHEDULED IN
WASHINGTON AUGUST 22-24 FOR THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF
DELVING INTO THIS MATTER. A GREAT DEAL OF WORK WAS
GOING INTO PREPARATIONS FOR THIS MEETING AND OF PAI URGED
THE PGOI TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO IT. THE MEET WOULD
BE REPRESENTED IN ANY EVENT, AND COULD BRIEF PGOI OFFICIALS
LATER, BUT WE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE FAR PREFERABLE FOR THE
PGOI TO HAVE ITS OWN REPRESENTATIVE PRESENT. I URGED
BAZARGAN TO CONSIDER THIS.

10. BOTH BAZARGAN AND YAZDI APPEARED TO BE TAKEN ABACK
BY MY STATEMENT THAT IT WAS UP TO THE PGOI TO MAKE
ARRANGEMENTS FOR DELIVERY OF ITS SPARES. YAZDI ASKED IF
WE DID NOT DELIVER THESE ITEMS FOR IRAN. I EXPLAINED
THAT WAS ONLY IN CERTAIN INSTANCES, AND THAT THE USUAL
PRACTICE WAS FOR THE PURCHASER TO MAKE ITS OWN ARRANGE-
MENTS. I AGAIN SAID THAT THE MEETINGS I HAD REFERRED TO
WOULD BE USEFUL IN HELPING THE PGOI TO UNDERSTAND THIS
WHOLLY VERY COMPLICATED SUBJECT AND URGED THAT IT SEND
SOMEONE TO WASHINGTON IN ADDITION TO PARTICIPATING IN
THE PROCEDURAL MEETING ON AUGUST 14.

11. I THEN RAISED A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS ON OUR SIDE.
I NOTED THAT WE HAD RETAINED A SMALL MILITARY MISSION IN
IRAN AND THAT THE BULK OF THOSE MEMBERS STILL WERE HAV
BEEN INVOLVED IN TRYING TO WIND UP IN AN ORDERLY WAY OUR
PAST MILITARY PROPERTIES IN IRAN. WE HAD HAD ONLY VERY
LIMITED SUCCESS IN GETTING ACCESS TO RECORDS AT GULF
DISTRICT, IN RECLAIMING COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT AND OTHER
PROPERTIES THAT BELONGED TO US, IN DISPOSING OF COMMIS-
SARY STOCES, EVEN IN RESOLVING SUCH MINOR MATTERS AS THE
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TEHRAN 8970/2

011178Z AUG 82
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEKHC/SFCSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3174
INFO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASH DC IMMEDIATE
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF TEHRAN 29273

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
OR GE: STATE 8/12
APPRV: CHG:LELAINGEN
REFID: POL:VLTCMSET/
CLEAR: NONE
ISTR: POL CHG 8F

MAIL ABANDONED AT THE APO. IT WAS NOT A QUESTION OF THE MONETARY VALUE OF WHAT WE ARE AFTER, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS INVOLVED IN THE COMMISSARY STORES ISSUE; WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRINCIPAL INVOLVED IN OUR CONTINUING INABILITY TO GAIN ACCESS TO WHAT IS CRUCIAL. I ASKED FOR BAZARGAN'S COOPERATION IN RESOLVING THESE ISSUES, NOTING THAT I WOULD BE SENDING A LETTER TO YAZDI IN A FEW DAYS ON THIS SAME SUBJECT RECOUNTING WHERE WE STOOD--WHICH, UNFORTUNATELY, WAS NOWHERE.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1977-282-493

12. ON VISAS, I TOLD BAZARGAN THAT IT WAS NOT IN OUR INTEREST TO STOP THE FLOW OF PEOPLE BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. I NOTED THAT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE ATTACK ON THE EMB WE HAD CONFRONTED A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS IN RESUMING FULL-SCALE CONSULAR OPERATIONS. THESE INCLUDED LACK OF AN ADEQUATE PHYSICAL FACILITY, A SHORTAGE OF STAFF AND INADEQUATE SECURITY. NONETHELESS WE HAD REDOUBLED OUR EFFORTS TO SEE THAT EVERY QUALIFIED AMERICAN WOULD GET A VISA IN TIME TO REACH HIS SCHOOL IN THE U.S. I TOLD HIM THAT WE WERE PRESENTLY PROCESSING 150 STUDENT VISA CASES A DAY AND THAT WE HAD PUT ON TWO SCHEDULES TO COMPLETE NEW CONSULAR FACILITIES THAT WILL BE AMONG THE MOST MODERN IN THE WORLD. I EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT THERE COULD BE INSTANCES OF INDIVIDUALS WHO REQUIRED MEDICAL ATTENTION NOT BEING ABLE TO GET VISAS, SINCE WE HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO SEE THAT GENUINE MEDICAL EMERGENCIES RECEIVED ATTENTION. I ASSURED BAZARGAN WE DID NOT WANT TO BE AN OBSTACLE IN THIS AREA, AND ASKED YAZDI TO LET ME KNOW OF ANY SUCH INSTANCES HE HEARD OF.

13. I WENT ON TO POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAD BEEN FORCED TO WORK WITHIN CERTAIN CONSTRAINTS IN OUR EFFORTS TO RESUME FULL-SCALE CONSULAR OPERATIONS, INCLUDING THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF AN IRREGULAR SECURITY FORCE ON OUR COMPOUND. WE WERE GENUINELY APPRECIATIVE OF THE HELP ITS MEMBERS HAD PROVIDED, ESPECIALLY IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE FEBRUARY ATTACK ON THE EMB. BUT CONDITIONS HAD NOW CHANGED. IN OUR VIEW, THEIR PRESENCE WAS NO LONGER NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE. INDEED THE DEGREE TO WHICH THEY HAD INVOLVED THEMSELVES IN OUR INTERNAL OPERATIONS WAS DIRECTLY RELATED TO OUR ABILITY ACCORDINGLY, WE THOUGHT IT IMPERATIVE THAT THEY BE REMOVED AND REPLACED BY A REGULAR SECURITY FORCE OUTSIDE THE COMPOUND.

14. YAZDI SAID THE HEAD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS SUPPOSED TO TALK TO MASHALLAH KASHANI THAT VERY DAY WITH A VIEW TO HAVING HIM AND HIS PEOPLE LEAVE. THEY WOULD

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14. I SAID THAT PERHAPS IT MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE POSSIBLE TO REMOVE EVEN THAT GROUP. I SAID THAT WHILE WE WOULD TAKE CARE OF SECURITY ON THE INSIDE, WE WOULD NEED SOME KIND OF FORCE TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE CROWD CONTROL OUTSIDE THE CONSULAR SITION WHEN IT OPENED.

15. I THEN RAISED TREATMENT OF U.S. CORRESPONDENTS BY THE PGOI, SAYING THAT I UNDERSTOOD THE PGOI CONCERN THAT THE AMERICAN PRESS WAS NOT PRESENTING A BALANCED PICTURE OF IRAN. I HAD NOT COME TO LODGE AN OFFICIAL COMPLAINT ABOUT THE EXPULSION OF AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS BUT I DID WANT TO EXPRESS MY CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPACT SUCH ACTIONS WERE HAVING ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. WHILE OUR PRESS WAS NOT PERFECT, WE DID ALL WE COULD TO ENCOURAGE BALANCED REPORTING. I SUGGESTED THAT CORRESPONDENTS ARE MOTIVATED BY VERY HUMAN CONSIDERATIONS. THEY FOCUS ON THE SENSATIONAL BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT IS WHAT SELLS. BUT, WHILE A FREE PRESS MAY NOT ALWAYS PRINT WHAT WE MIGHT WANT IT TO, THE ONLY THING WORSE WAS A CONTROLLED PRESS.

16. I TOLD BAZARGAN THAT TO OUR PEOPLE THERE APPEARS TO BE AN EFFORT DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY AGAINST THE AMERICAN PRESS, A PERCEPTION THAT DOES NOT HELP THE CLIMATE IN WHICH THE PGOI AND WE MUST WORK IN OUR EFFORT TO REBUILD OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. I CITED THE REMARKS BY DR. MOMEN OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE TO THE EFFECT THAT AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS IN IRAN OFTEN SEEM TO BE SPIES FIRST AND JOURNALISTS SECOND. SUCH A STATEMENT, WITHOUT ANY FOUNDATION AND BY A SENIOR PGOI OFFICIAL, WAS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST.

17. WITHOUT WAITING FOR BAZARGAN TO RESPOND, YAZDI SAID THAT THE "PROBLEM WITH YOUR PRESS IS THAT IT IS MISINFORMING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC; IT IS SLANDERING US." HE CITED AN INTERVIEW HE HAD GIVEN TO GREGORY ROSE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT HE REPRESENTED NEW YORK MAGAZINE WHICH ROSE SUBSEQUENTLY BILLED AS AN INTERVIEW WITH BOTH YAZDI AND KHOMENI AND SOLD TO PENTHOUSE MAGAZINE. ANOTHER
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TEHRAN 8970/3

14. URGENT 8970 4
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF TEHRAN 08270

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
GRADE: STATE 1/12
PRV: CH3:LEBAINGEN
REFID: POL:VLSOMSPER/4
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL CH3 RF

17. EXAMPLE WAS THE NEWSWEEK FEATURE, "THE JOYLESS REVOLUTION." "DID YOU READ IT?" HE ASKED. WHILE YAZDI TURNED TO TRANSLATE FOR A SEEMINGLY PUZZLED BAZARGAN I BEGAN TO RESPOND TO HIS SPECIFIC REMARKS ONLY TO HAVE HIM RETURN TO THE SUBJECT WITH REPEATED BEAT. "SHOULD WE ROLL OUT THE RED CARPET FOR THESE PEOPLE?" HE ASKED. "WE HAVE NEVER TREATED US FAIRLY. THEY CALL US FANATICS AND BACKWARD. THIS SAME U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT (SIC) CALLED ME A COMMUNIST. I WROTE THEM A LETTER REBUTTING THE CHARGE, AND THEY WOULDN'T EVEN PRINT IT."

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1977-248-845

18. AT THAT POINT BAZARGAN QUIETLY OBSERVED THAT THERE WAS A TIME WHEN THE FOREIGN MEDIA HAD BEEN VERY SYMPATHETIC TO THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. EVEN BEFORE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD DECIDED TO STOP SUPPORTING THE SHAH, HE SAID, THE FOREIGN PRESS WAS PORTRAYING THE SITUATION IN IRAN AS IT REALLY WAS. AFTER THE REVOLUTION, TOO, REPORTING WAS FAIR. I SUGGESTED THAT THE TIME ARTICLE ON KHOMEINI, A COPY OF WHICH I HAD SENT TO YAZDI, SURELY HAD BEEN REASONABLY BALANCED. I ALSO SUGGESTED THAT "ABC," A VERY RESPECTABLE NEWS ORGANIZATION, WOULD HAVE TRIED TO BE BALANCED HAD IT BEEN GIVEN THE CHANCE.

19. YAZDI COUNTERED THAT THE NBC TEAM HAD BEEN EXPELLED BECAUSE IT HAD VIOLATED IRANIAN REGULATIONS GOVERNING FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS. I SAID THAT CORRESPONDENTS NEEDED TO KNOW WHAT THE REGULATIONS WERE IF THEY WERE TO AVOID BY THEM. YAZDI CLAIMED THAT THE NBC TEAM LEADER HAD BEEN BRIEFED BY DR. BEHZADNIA OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE THE LAST TIME HE HAD BEEN TO IRAN, BUT THAT HE CHOSE TO IGNORE THE RULES AND GO TO QOM INSTEAD WHERE HE GOT A LETTER FROM THE LOCAL COMMITTEE AUTHORIZING HIM TO GO TO KURDESTAN. I RESPONDED THAT THE PGOI, HAVING MADE ITS POINT, SHOULD NOW INVITE NBC BACK.

20. YAZDI IGNORED THIS, ASKING INSTEAD IF I DID NOT SEE A CLEAR PATTERN IN THE AMERICAN PRESS TREATMENT OF IRAN. I SAID I DID NOT, ALTHOUGH I DID SEE A CLEAR PATTERN OF ACCUSATION IN THE IRANIAN MEDIA THAT THE U.S. WAS INTERFERING IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SUCH ACCUSATIONS WERE WITHOUT BASIS. YAZDI CONCEDED THAT, BUT QUICKLY ADDED THAT THERE IS A HISTORICAL BASIS FOR IRANIAN JOURNALISTS' SUSPICIONS. TO MAKE HIS POINT HE RECITED A PERSIAN SAYING: "ONE BITTEN BY A SNAKE IS THEN AFRAID OF EVERY BLACK AND WHITE ROPE HE ENCOUNTERS RETURNING TO THE OFFENSIVE, YAZDI SAID, "THE U.S. PRESS IS AGAINST US."

21. TO PUT AN END TO THIS FRUITLESS LINE OF DISCUSSION,

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I THANK MR BAZARGAN FOR HIS GENEROSITY IN RECEIVING ME AND ACCEPTING MY OFFER TO CONVEY ANY MESSAGE HE MIGHT HAVE TO WASHINGTON WHEN I RETURNED FOR CONSULTATIONS. I APPEALED TO HIM AGAIN FOR HIS HELP IN GAINING ACCESS TO U.S. MILITARY RECORDS AND PROPERTY AT THE GULF DISTRICT AND EXTENDED MY BEST WISHES TO HIM PERSONALLY AND TO HIS GOVERNMENT. BAZARGAN SAID HE APPRECIATED MY WIFES AND ASSURANCES. HE THEN TOLD A STORY ABOUT HOW IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER WW II EVERYTHING THAT HAPPENED IN IRAN, EVEN A BABY'S CRYING, WAS BLAMED ON BRITISH AGITATION. LATER, DURING THE TIME OF MOSSADEGH, THE U.S. ENJOYED GREAT PRESTIGE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE GOOD WORKS AMERICANS HAD PREVIOUSLY DONE IN AND FOR IRAN, BUT WHEN MOSSADEGH WAS OVERTHROWN IRANIANS BEGAN TO BLAME EVERYTHING THAT HAPPENED IN THE COUNTRY ON THE U.S. JUST AS THEY HAD ONCE BLAMED THE BRITISH. THIS PERCEPTION MAY NOT BE ACCURATE, BAZARGAN SAID, BUT IT IS A REALITY TO BE DEALT WITH. ACCORDINGLY, THE U.S. MUST DO SOMETHING TO BACK UP ITS GOOD INTENTIONS, TO SHOW THAT IT IS NOT AGITATING AGAINST IRAN'S INTERESTS.

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22. I SAID I THOUGHT WE WERE ALREADY SHOWING OUR SINCERITY IN THIS REGARD AND ASSURED HIM THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO WHAT WE COULD TO DEMONSTRATE OUR GOODWILL. AS FOR IRAN AND THE PSOI, I SUGGESTED THAT, WHILE WE HAD TO LIVE WITH THE PAST, WE SHOULD NOT DWELL ON IT. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO LOOK TO THE FUTURE, JUST AS IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE REVOLUTION TO STATE WHAT IT WAS FOR AS WELL AS WHAT IT WAS AGAINST.

23. COMMENT: IT WAS CLEAR FROM MY DISCUSSION WITH BAZARGAN THAT YAZDI HAD BRIEFED HIM THOROUGHLY JUST BEFORE MY ARRIVAL. BAZARGAN'S COURTLINESS DID NOT STOP HIM FROM SPEAKING FRANKLY, ALTHOUGH YAZDI'S TRANSLATION OF WHAT HE SAID OFTEN HAD A ROUGHER EDGE THAN BAZARGAN'S ACTUAL REMARKS. INDEED, THE DIFFERENCES IN THE IMPORTANCE EACH MAN ATTACHED TO THE SUBJECTS THAT WERE DISCUSSED AND THE APPROACHES THEY TOOK TO THEM WERE PERHAPS ALMOST AS SIGNIFICANT AS THE SUBJECTS THEMSELVES. BAZARGAN WAS CLEARLY PREOCCUPIED BY THE VISA QUESTION, PRESUMABLY BE-

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CAUSE OF ITS IMMEDIACY AS A DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE. SEVERAL TIMES HE CAME BACK TO THIS WITH QUESTIONS DIRECTED TO YAZDI WHICH THE LATTER EITHER ANSWERED PERFUNCTORILY OR IGNORED.

24. YAZDI, ON THE OTHER HAND, FOCUSED ON THE OVERALL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND ON WHAT HE HAS PREVIOUSLY EMPHASIZED AS A NEED ON OUR PART TO PROVE THAT WE ARE WORTH IRAN'S FRIENDSHIP. HE AGAIN SHOWED THAT HE IS NOT ABOVE ENGAGING IN LYAGGERATION (HIS CONTENTION--STATED THROUGH BAZARGAN--THAT IRAN HAD NOT RECEIVED AN INVOICE SINCE 1966 FOR ITS MILITARY PURCHASES). OR EVEN CRUDE THREATS (THAT IRAN WILL SEND ITS STUDENTS TO RUSSIA IF WE DO NOT TAKE THEM) FOR THE PURPOSE OF GAINING NEGOTIATING ADVANTAGE. TO THE EXTENT THAT HE COOLY USES SUCH TACTICS IN A COORDINATED FASHION TOWARDS HIS ULTIMATE STRATEGIC GOAL, ONE MUST AT LEAST ADMIRE HIS CONCEPTUAL ABILITIES IF NOT HIS ACTUAL METHODS. ON THE ISSUE OF THE PRESS, HOWEVER, YAZDI DOES NOT SEEM CAPABLE OF REASON. THERE, IT WAS BAZARGAN WHO SHOWED AN ABILITY TO EXAMINE THE ISSUE MORE DISPASSIONATELY. LAINGEN

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 215670

POL

E.O. 12065: N/A

CHG

TAGS: PPDC, IR

RF

SUBJECT: EID-E FETR MESSAGE

CHRON

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN AT APPROPRIATE TIME:

QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER, I AM PLEASED TO EXTEND
TO YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF IRAN BEST WISHES ON THE OCCASION
OF EID-E FETR. MAY YOU AND YOUR COUNTRYMEN BE BLESSED
WITH HEALTH AND HAPPINESS, AND MAY GOD GUIDE YOU AND
YOUR COLLEAGUES TO SUCCESS IN YOUR GREAT EFFORTS FOR YOUR
PEOPLE. WE IN AMERICA STAND READY TO COOPERATE WITH THE
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN AND TO STRENGTHEN THE LONG-
STANDING TIES OF FRIENDSHIP THAT HAVE EXISTED BETWEEN
OUR TWO PEOPLES. WITH BEST WISHES, JIMMY CARTER.
WIS EXCELLENCY DR. MEHDI BAZARGAN, PRIME MINISTER OF THE
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN, TEHRAN. UNQUOTE.

2. DEPARTMENT OF STATE DOES NOT PLAN TO RELEASE TEXT BUT
HAS NOT OBJECTION IF PGOI WISHES TO DO SO. CHRISTOPHER

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سہدی بازگان - ۲۱

Tehran, Iran

August 19, 1979

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am honored to be able to extend, on behalf of the entire American community in Iran, our best wishes on the great festival of Eid-e-Petr. We rejoice with you in the joy and festivity of this occasion. We take this opportunity also to wish you and your people all success in your efforts to build a new and strong Iran, a country and people whose friendship matters greatly to all Americans.

Sincerely,

L. Bruce Laingen
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

His Excellency
Mehdi Bazargan
Prime Minister of Iran,
Tehran.

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TEHRAN 9710

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 FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3584
 INFO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASH DC
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 RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 0254
 RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 0245
 RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 0260
 RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 0226
 RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0293
 RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0288
 RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 0297
 RUQMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 0258
 RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0365
 RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 0224
 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0279
 RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0152
 RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0313
 RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
 CHRG: STATE 9/2/79
 APPRV: CHARGE:VLTOMSETH
 DRFTD: POL:EASWIFT:GO
 CLEAR: NONE
 DISTR: POL2 CHG ICA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 09710

"E.O. 12065: GDS 9/2/85 (SWIFT, E. ANN) OR-P
 TAGS: PGOV, IR
 SUBJECT: BAZARGAN SPEECH

REFS: (A) TEHRAN 9663, (B) TEHRAN 9653

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).
2. BAZARGAN SPEECH AUGUST 31 WAS CLEARLY MORE A REACTION TO MOUNTING CRITICISM OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS INEFFECTIVE THAN A SERIOUS ATTEMPT AT RESIGNATION. THE SPEECH ALSO GIVES AN INTERESTING VIEW OF HOW BAZARGAN VIEWS THE LACK OF POWER OF HIS GOVERNMENT AND HIS SUBSERVIENT RELATIONSHIP TO KHOMEINI.
3. IN THE SPEECH BAZARGAN DEFENDS HIS GOVERNMENT AGAINST CHARGES OF INDECISIVENESS, INACTION AND LACK OF REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDE, AND CALLS ON HIS CRITICS TO ASK KHOMEINI TO DISMISS HIM IF THEY THINK HE SHOULD NOT BE PRIME MINISTER. AT THE END OF THE SPEECH, BAZARGAN POINTS OUT THAT HE TAKES NO PLEASURE FROM HIS POSITION AS PRIME MINISTER AND THAT HE HAS SENT A LETTER TO KHOMEINI OOOERING HIS RESIGNATION. IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR WHEN OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS THIS LATEST BAZARGAN OFFER OF RESIGNATION WAS SENT, BUT IT DOES SEEM CLEAR THAT KHOMEINI HAS NO INTENTION OF TAKING BAZARGAN UP ON HIS OFFER.
4. BAZARGAN SPEECH IS A GOOD REFLECTION OF THE PROBLEMS INHERENT IN IRAN'S DUAL-SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND OF THE GROWING POWER OF THE UNOFFICIAL SIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS REPORTED IN REF B. BAZARGAN DESCRIBES HIS GOVERNMENT AS "A KNIFE WITHOUT A BLADE": MEANING

IT APPEARS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE LAWS BUT THE

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AUTHORITY TO CARRY THEM OUT RESTS IN THE HANDS OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES. THE POWER KHOMEINI HOLDS
OVER BAZARGAN'S GOVERNMENT IS ALSO GRAPHICALLY
DESCRIBED: "ALL OUR AFFAIRS ARE IN HIS HANDS, AT HIS
OWN COMMAND, INCLUDING THE POWERS OF DISMISSAL,
APPOINTMENT, DECISION-MAKING, ISSUING ORDERS, EVERYTHING.
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* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1976-368-344

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TEHRAN 10138/1

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ZNY CCGCC ZZE
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RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANZARA 0268
RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 0281
RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 0256
RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0320
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0319
RUSBLA/AMEMBASSY KABUL 0324
RUQMCA/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 0288
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0392
RUQFAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 0255
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0231
RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0173
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0346
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STAT 9/17/79
APPRV: CHARGE:LEBLANGEN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 10138

L.O. 12065: GDS 9/17/85 (LIMBERT, JOHN) OR-P
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, IR
SUBJECT: PM BAZARGAN CRITICIZED

1. (C) SUMMARY: DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS, PM MEHDI BAZARGAN HAS BEEN THE TARGET OF CRITICISMS FROM VARIOUS SIDES. HE HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF ANTI-CLERICALISM, OF INEFFECTIVENESS, AND OF GENERAL BUNGLING. BAZARGAN HAS ANSWERED THESE ATTACKS BY CLAIMING THAT THE SAME PERSONS WHO WERE CRITICIZING HIM ARE NOT ALLOWING HIS GOVERNMENT TO FUNCTION. DESPITE THESE ATTACKS, IT APPEARS THAT BAZARGAN STILL ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF (HOMEINI AND WILL NOT BE REPLACED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) THE FIRST ATTACK ON BAZARGAN CAME FROM AYATOLLAH DR. MOHAMMAD BEHESHTI, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS, MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN PARTY. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH PARS NEWS AGENCY IN QOM ON SEPTEMBER 14, DR. BEHESHTI BLAMED THE GOVERNMENT AND PM BAZARGAN FOR FAILING TO IMPLEMENT A BILL ON THE FORMATION OF LOCAL COUNCILS. ACCORDING TO BEHESHTI, THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL TWO MONTHS BEFORE HAD APPROVED A BILL CALLING FOR THE FORMATION OF COUNCILS AT PROVINCE, CITY, DISTRICT, AND VILLAGE LEVELS. BEHESHTI SAID DR. BAZARGAN'S GOVERNMENT HAD FAILED TO IMPLEMENT THIS BILL, EITHER BECAUSE OF DELIBERATE PROCRASTINATION OR BECAUSE OF GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE WEAKNESS. (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER BANI-ASSADI TOLD CHARGE SEPT 17 THAT BAZARGAN'S OFFICE, IMMEDIATELY AFTER RECEIVING THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL'S BILL, HAD SENT A LETTER TO THE COUNCIL TELLING THEM THAT THE BILL AS DRAFTED WAS UNREALISTIC

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BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD WORK OUT A FEASIBLE BILL ALONG THOSE LINES.)

3. (C) LATER THE SAME DAY, THE MONOTHEISM PARTY (HEZB-E-TOWHIDI) ISSUED A SEVEN-POINT STATEMENT CRITICIZING THE BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT FOR NEGLECT AND INDIFFERENCE. LITTLE IS KNOWN ABOUT THE HEZB-E-TOWHIDI EXCEPT THAT IT IS AN ISLAMIC POLITICAL GROUPING WITH POSSIBLE TIES TO AYATOLLAH SADEQ ROWHANI. THE CRITICISMS DIRECTED AT BAZARGAN INCLUDED:

- (A) GOVERNMENT INDIFFERENCE TO CRITICISMS OF IRAN IN THE FOREIGN PRESS, BOTH WESTERN AND NON-ALIGNED.

- (B) SEEKING POPULARITY BY PLAYING WITH WORDS AND BY OPPOSING THE ADVICE OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS. "PERHAPS YOU HAVE FORGOTTEN THAT THE IRANIAN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IS LED BY THE CLERGY."

- (C) DELAY IN IMPLEMENTING THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL'S BILL ON FORMATION OF LOCAL COUNCILS.

- (D) NEGLECTING TO FOLLOW AYATOLLAH ROWHANI'S ADVICE ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF PURGING THE GOVERNMENT OF ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS.

4. (U) THESE ATTACKS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY AN ATTACK ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15 BY REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND COUNCIL OF EXPERTS MEMBER ABU AL-HASAN BANI-SADR. SPEAKING TO AN AUDIENCE IN YAZD, BANI-SADR ATTACKED BAZARGAN'S ECONOMIC POLICIES AND ACCUSED HIM OF HINDERING THE WORK OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL. BANI-SADR ALSO ACCUSED BAZARGAN OF:

- (A) REFUSING TO ACCEPT CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM.

- (B) BUNGLING IN KURDESTAN AND THEN TRYING TO CLAIM CREDIT FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION THERE.

- (C) OPPOSING THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE BANKS, A FAVORITE PROGRAM OF BANI-SADR.

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(D) BURYING HIMSELF IN TRIVIA AND NOT ORGANIZING HIS WORK PROGRAM.

5. (U) IN AN ATTACK APPEARING IN THE ENGLISH AND PERSIAN-LANGUAGE PRESS OF SEPTEMBER 16, TEHRAN REVOLUTIONARY PROSECUTOR AYATOLLAH AHMAD AZARI-QOMI CRITICIZED BAZARGAN FOR ALLEGEDLY ANTI-CLERICAL STATEMENTS IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S EULOGY FOR AYATOLLAH TALEGHANI AT TEHRAN UNIVERSITY ON SEPTEMBER 11. AZARI-QOMI (WHO ANNOUNCED HIS RESIGNATION FOR HEALTH REASONS) SAID THAT BAZARGAN HAD SAID THAT TALEGHANI, UNLIKE THE MAJORITY OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS, WAS NOT OPPOSED TO THE MANIFESTATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. ACCUSING BAZARGAN OF WEAKENING REVOLUTIONARY UNITY, AZARI QOMI SAID, "IT IS VERY STRANGE THAT A DISTINGUISHED FIGURE AS MR. BAZARGAN WOULD MAKE AN UNFAIR ACCUSATION AGAINST THE CLERGY. WAS IT NOT TALEGHANI'S GOAL TO UNITE ALL GROUPS, THE FOREMOST OF WHICH WAS A COMMITTED AND ACTIVE CLERGY? HOW CAN HE (BAZARGAN) PRAISE TALEGHANI BY STIRRING UP THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE CLERGY AND BY CONDEMNING THIS PROGRESSIVE AND ACTIVE GROUP AS REACTIONARY?"

6. (C) LOCAL PRESS ACCOUNTS OF BAZARGAN'S SPEECH DID NOT INCLUDE THE STATEMENTS WHICH OFFENDED AZARI-QOMI. EMBASSY WILL CHECK FULL TEXT OF SPEECH (WHEN AVAILABLE) TO ESTABLISH EXACTLY WHAT PRIME MINISTER SAID.

7. (C) ALTHOUGH THE PRESS HAS BEEN GIVING WIDE PUBLICITY TO THESE ATTACKS, BAZARGAN'S REACTION HAS SO FAR BEEN LIMITED TO A STATEMENT AT AN ECONOMIC SEMINAR (REPORTED BY ETTELAAT OF SEPTEMBER 16) THAT THE SAME (UNNAMED PERSONS WHO WERE CRITICIZING HIS GOVERNMENT FOR ITS INEFFECTIVENESS WERE THE SAME ONES WHO WERE INTERFERING IN GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS AND PREVENTING HIS CABINET FROM OPERATING.)

8. (C) THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME (NOR WILL IT BE THE LAST TIME) THAT BAZARGAN HAS BEEN UNDER ATTACK FROM MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL RELIGIOUS LEADERS, AND THEIR SUPPORTERS. ALTHOUGH THE ATTACKS COMING FROM VARIOUS DIRECTIONS AND FROM VARIOUS PERSONALITIES, NOT NECESSARILY PART OF ANY CONCERTED ANTI-BAZARGAN CAMPAIGN, THERE ARE ENOUGH COMMON THEMES IN THE CRITICISMS TO INDICATE THE COMMON INTERESTS OF HIS OPPONENTS. THESE THEMES INCLUDE:

- (A) IGNORING THE ADVICE OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS.
- (B) IGNORING THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.
- (C) GENERAL INEFFECTIVENESS AND BUNGLING.

9. (C) IT IS WORTH NOTING, HOWEVER, THAT NONE OF THESE ATTACKS MENTION AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI BY NAME AND THAT

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NONE OF THE ATTACKERS NOTE ANY CLAIM TO SPEAK FOR HIM. IN PREVIOUS DISAGREEMENTS OF THIS KIND, BAZARGAN HAS HAD ENOUGH SUPPORT FROM THE IMAM TO OVERCOME CALLS FOR HIS DISMISSAL. IT IS LIKELY THAT AS LONG AS BAZARGAN CONTINUES TO HAVE KHOMEINI'S SUPPORT (AND THERE IS NO SIGN OF HIS LOSING IT) HE WILL BE ABLE TO SURVIVE SUCH ATTACKS. BAZARGAN'S SURVIVAL, HOWEVER, IS UNLIKELY TO MAKE HIS GOVERNMENT ANY MORE EFFECTIVE IN DEALING WITH THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY TAKEN OVER MOST OF ITS FUNCTIONS. LAINGEN

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3979.

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 10466

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/29/85 (SWIFT A.) OR-P

TAGS: PINT, IR

SUBJECT: BILATERAL PROBLEMS

REF: STATE 253666

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. ACTING ON A LETTER (UNDATED BUT PROBABLY LATE FEBRUARY) FROM PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN STATTHAT PGOI "WOULD LIKE TO DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO INDEMNIFY THE DAMAGES CAUSED BY THE ABOVE INCIDENT" (I.E. ATTACK ON EMBASSY), EMBASSY HAS SENT THREE DIPLOMATIC NOTES TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. FIRST TWO OF MAY 29 AND JUNE 17, 1977 GAVE EMBASSY STATUS REPORT ON CONTINUING ASSESSMENT OF DAMAGES. NOTE OF AUGUST 9, 1979 GAVE FINAL ESTIMATE OF DAMAGES AND LOSSES THAT OCCURRED DURING THE ATTACK.

3. THIS FINAL REPORT OF AUGUST 9 REQUESTED PGOI PAYMENT TO EMBASSY OF \$1,041,588 FOR DAMAGES TO ICA BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT, EMBASSY BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT, PERSONAL PROPERTY LOSSES AND LOSSES AT TABRIZ. EMBASSY HAS NOT YET FOLLOWED UP ON THIS MATTER IN ANY DIRECT APPROACH WITH EITHER YAZDI OR OTHER MFA OFFICIALS

4. EMBASSY SUGGESTS SECRETARY MAY WISH TO RAISE VARIOUS QUESTIONS OF ACCESS TO MILITARY PROPERTIES AND DAMAGES TO EMBASSY PROPERTY WITH YAZDI IN BROAD BRUSH MANNER IN CONTEXT OF AN EFFORT TO CLEAN UP THE PAST. THIS COULD BE FOLLOWED BY MORE DETAILED DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN DEPT. OFFICERS AND YAZDI OR OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNGA SUCH AS BAYANDOR.

5. RE IAS BUILDING AT SHIRAZ, EMBASSY SUGGESTS WE NOT INCLUDE THIS IN LIGHT OF CURRENT CONTACTS WITH IRANIANS INVOLVED IN IAS BOARD IN SHIRAZ WHICH APPEAR TO OFFER SOME PROMISE. LAINGEN

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TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY 5181
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 231850

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PPDC, IR

SUBJECT: EID-E GHORBAN MESSAGE

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO PRIME MINISTER MEHDI BAZARGAN AT APPROPRIATE TIME:

QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: IT IS MY PLEASURE TO EXTEND TO YOU AND TO THE PEOPLE OF IRAN MY BEST WISHES ON THE HOLY OCCASION OF EID-E GHORBAN. MAY YOU AND YOUR COUNTRYMEN BE BLESSED WITH HEALTH AND HAPPINESS AND MAY YOUR EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF YOUR COUNTRY MEET WITH SUCCESS. WE IN AMERICA SEEK TO WORK WITH YOU AND YOUR ASSOCIATES IN DEVELOPING AN ENVIRONMENT OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND POSITIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES. WITH BEST WISHES, JIMMY CARTER. HIS EXCELLENCY, DR. MEHDI BAZARGAN, PRIME MINISTER OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN, TEHRAN. UNQUOTE.

2. THE WHITE HOUSE DOES NOT PLAN TO RELEASE TEXT BUT HAS NO OBJECTION IF GOI WISHES TO DO SO. VANCE

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1975-28-344

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tehran, Iran

October 28, 1979

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The President has asked me to convey the following message to you:

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

It is my pleasure to extend to you and to the people of Iran my best wishes on the holy occasion of Eid-E Ghorban. May you and your countrymen be blessed with health and happiness and may your efforts on behalf of your country meet with success. We in America seek to work with you and your associates in developing an environment of mutual respect and positive cooperation between our two peoples and countries.

With best wishes,

Jimmy Carter"

Sincerely,



L. Bruce Laingen
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

His Excellency
Dr. Mehdi Bazargan,
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Iran,
Tehran.

CHARGE:LB LAINGEN:EM
10/28/79

-49-

CC:POL

Mehdi BAZARGAN
(Phonetic: bazarGAHN)

IRAN

Member, Executive Committee, National Front (since at least August 1978)

OFFICE OF
CENTRAL REFERENCE



A professor, politician and businessman, Mehdi Bazargan has a long history of opposition to the Shah. He is one of the leaders of the Iran National Front--usually referred to as the National Front (NF)--and a member of the seven-man NF Executive Committee. The front is a revival of the NF of the 1950s, a coalition that supported Prime Minister (1951-53) Mohammad Mosadeg in his power struggle with the Shah. After Mosadeg was overthrown, many NF members fled the country and moved to Europe or the United States; Bazargan, who had been an active supporter of Mosadeg, stayed in Iran and continued to work against the Shah, using his flair for injecting religious themes into his demagogic rabble-rousing. (C)

In mid-1978 Bazargan emerged from a period of relative political inactivity. He spoke at several rallies, during which he called for a return of truly constitutional government, expanded freedom of the press, total independence of the judiciary, and free elections. In October 1978 Bazargan went to Paris to see exiled religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Bazargan is a moderate compared to Khomeini, who calls for the end of the Shah's rule and the Pahlavi dynasty. Bazargan heads the Liberation Movement of Iran and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom. (C)

A Career in Opposition

The son of an Azerbaijan merchant, Bazargan was born in 1905. He attended school in France for eight years. After receiving a degree in thermodynamics from the University of Paris, he returned to Iran in 1936 and subsequently served as assistant professor, then professor, and

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finally dean of the Engineering Faculty of Tehran University. He was appointed technical and parliamentary under secretary in the Ministry of Education in May 1951. The following month he was named chairman of the board of the National Iranian Oil Company, charged with implementing Mosadeq's oil nationalization program; he served until May 1952. In February 1953 Bazargan became director general of the Tehran water system, but after the downfall of Mosadeq, he was dismissed in 1954 and imprisoned briefly in 1955. (C)

In 1957 Bazargan resumed teaching at Tehran University, where he headed the Islamic Students Society and founded the National Freedom Movement of Iran (NFMI). The NFMI, now defunct, was a rightwing, religious, nationalist organization, which was at various times affiliated with the NF. A member of the Central Committee of the NF during 1961-63, he was convicted of treason (along with nine other NFMI leaders) by a military court in 1964. Bazargan was sentenced to 10 years of solitary confinement, but he was pardoned by the Shah in 1967. After his release he lived quietly in Tehran and devoted himself to running an engineering firm, but despite his enforced inactivity, his name remained known and respected in opposition circles. (C)

Personal Data

A particularly devout Shi'a Muslim, Bazargan has written extensively on religious matters. Although he is narrowminded almost to the point of fanaticism regarding Islam and its precepts, he is otherwise an intelligent man who can be receptive to the ideas of others. Bazargan speaks French and English. (C)

8 December 1978

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3908
BT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TEHRAN 10321

F.O. 12065: GDS 9/23/e5 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P
TAGS: IR, PINT
SUBJECT: CHARGE'S MEETING WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
BANI ASSADI

REF: STATE 248243, PARA. 2

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. CHARGE PAID COURTESY CALL ON DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FOR COOPERATION (HAM KARI) BANI ASSADI SEPTEMBER 16. ASSADI, WHO IS SON-IN-LAW OF PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN, WAS RECOMMENDED TO CHARGE BY RAMSAY CLARK. ASSADI IS A U.S. EDUCATED (PURDUE, ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (MA) AND UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA) SOCIAL SCIENTIST WHO SEES HIMSELF, AS HE SAID, AS BEING INVOLVED IN THE GOOD "FACE" OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION: THE PGOI'S EFFORTS TO REFORM AND RESTRUCTURE IRAN'S ECONOMY AND SOCIETY. AS ARE SO MANY OF IRAN'S TECHNOCRATS, ASSADI WAS PLAINLY DISTURBED BY THE DARK FACE OF IRAN'S REVOLUTION, THE JAILINGS AND EXECUTIONS, BUT SEEMS TO HAVE RATIONALIZED THEM AS NECESSARY. AT ONE POINT DURING THE CONVERSATION, ASSADI CLAIMED THAT KHOMEINI HIMSELF WAS CHECKING THE DEMANDS OF EXTREMISTS THAT MORE BE KILLED. ASSADI SAID HE HAD BEEN PRESENT JUST BEFORE THE FIRST EXECUTIONS WHEN KHOMEINI HAD ORDERED THAT ONLY THOSE UNQUESTIONABLY GUILTY OF KILLING BE EXECUTED. KHOMEINI HAD ORDERED THIS EVEN THOUGH "THE PEOPLE" WERE DEMANDING REVENGE.

3. ASSADI PLAINLY PREFERRED TO DISCUSS THE SOMEWHAT AMORPHOUS TASKS OF HIS OFFICE WHICH IS IN CHARGE, APPARENTLY, OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND SELF HELP PROJECTS. AT THE TIME OF THE CHARGE'S VISIT HE HAD BEFORE HIM THE DRAFT PLANS FOR LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WHICH ARE SUPPOSED TO BE HELD THIS FALL. THE ORIGINAL PLAN, ASSADI SAID, HAD BEEN SENT TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE THREE MONTHS BEFORE BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL. THIS PLAN HAD BEEN COMPLETELY IMPRACTICABLE AND THEY HAD SENT IT BACK TO THE COUNCIL UNDER A LETTER SAYING THAT THE PLAN WOULD NOT WORK BUT THAT THEY WERE WORKING ON A NEW PLAN. (ASSADI PLAINLY HAD BEEN STUNG BY CRITICISM APPEARING IN THE PRESS THAT BAZARGAN HAD DONE NOTHING TO IMPLEMENT THE COUNCIL'S CALL FOR LOCAL ELECTIONS). ASSADI SAID THAT RESTRUCTURING AND DECENTRALIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT COULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED OVER NIGHT. GOVERNMENT IN IRAN HAD ALWAYS BEEN RUN FROM THE CENTER, AND IT WAS NOT EASY TO REVERSE THIS CENTURIES-OLD TRADITION AND GET LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO RUN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. ASSADI SAID HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH THE MINISTERS THAT AFTER-

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NOON TO DISCUSS A PLAN WHICH CALLED FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS UNDER A SYSTEM OF FUNCTIONAL GROUPINGS (I.E. LABOR ETC). HE DID NOT LIKE THIS IDEA AS HE FELT IT GAVE TOO MUCH POWER TO THE LEADERS OF THESE GROUPS AND THAT IT WOULD NOT MESH WITH THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD BE BASED ON PARTIES.

4. COMMENT: WE DO NOT YET KNOW WHAT THE OUTCOME OF THE MEETING WAS. INTERIOR MINISTER SABAGHIAN ANNOUNCED SEPTEMBER 10 THAT A NEW BILL ON URBAN AND RURAL COUNCILS HAD BEEN SENT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL FOR ITS APPROVAL. WE HAVE NO WORD YET WHEN THESE LOCAL LEVEL ELECTIONS MIGHT BE HELD. DURING THE MEETING, ASSADI SAID THAT THE PGOI INTENDS TO GO AHEAD WITH THESE ELECTIONS EVEN IF THE CONSTITUTION IS NOT COMPLETED.

5. ASSADI SAID THE PGOI WAS LOOKING INTO WAYS TO RAISE THE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE VILLAGES AND REDUCE THE DISPARITY BETWEEN CITY AND RURAL LIFE. ONE IDEA WHICH THEY WERE CONSIDERING WOULD BE TO GIVE EACH VILLAGE A LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY TO USE FOR THEIR OWN NEEDS.

6. ASSADI SPENT SOME TIME ENTHUSIASTICALLY DISCUSSING HIS "CRUSADE FOR RECONSTRUCTION", A PEACE CORPS LIKE ORGANIZATION WHICH SENDS STUDENTS OUT INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE TO WORK WITH LOCAL OFFICIALS TO SPEED UP DEVELOPMENT. ALTHOUGH CHARGE PRESSED ASSADI WITH QUESTIONS, HE DID NOT RECEIVE A VERY CLEAR PICTURE OF EXACTLY HOW THIS ORGANIZATION (IF IT CAN BE CALLED THAT) WORKS. EARLY IN THE REVOLUTION, ASSADI APPARENTLY PROPOSED THAT ALL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BE SENT (A LA CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION) TO THE COUNTRYSIDE FOR A PERIOD OF TIME TO WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES. AS ASSADI DID NOT WIN APPROVAL FOR THIS IDEA, HE HAD TO SETTLE FOR A GENERAL APPEAL THROUGH THE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS FOR VOLUNTEERS TO WORK IN HIS CRUSADE. HE SAID THE CRUSADE WAS RUN BY A BOARD COMPOSED OF SIX MINISTERS, TEN MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE CRUSADE. THE VOLUNTEERS ARE PAID AND ARE SOMEHOW MANAGED BY LOCAL BOARDS IN THE PROVINCIAL CITIES. THE CRUSADE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3909

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TEHRAN 10321

APPEARED TO BE A STOPGAP MEASURE AND ASSADI DID NOT SEEM TO VISUALIZE ITS CONTINUATION ONCE LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS BEGAN TO FUNCTION. COMMENT: SOME REPORTS REACHING EMEOFFS INDICATE THAT SOME OF THE PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS GOING OUT INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE WITH CRUSADE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION WERE GREETED WITH SUSPICION (AS GOVERNMENT SPIES) AND DISTRUST. DURING TROUBLES IN TURKOMAN SARAI IN EARLY REVOLUTION TWO VOLUNTEERS WERE KILLED. WE NOTE FROM RECENT FRIS REPORT THAT THERE IS NOW SOMETHING CALLED THE "CRUSADE FOR RECONSTRUCTION" WHICH IS GOING TO BE USED IN RECONSTRUCTING KURDESTAN. WE DO NOT KNOW IF THIS IS THE SAME OUTFIT.

7. ASSADI SEEMED VERY INTERESTED IN US LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT AND WE ARE ARRANGING TO MAKE SOME BOOKS ON THIS SUBJECT AVAILABLE TO HIM. COMMENT: ASSADI IS JUST THE SORT OF WESTERNIZED TECHNOCRAT THAT ONE WISHES WOULD HAVE SOME INFLUENCE IN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT HE IS VERY EFFECTIVE. LAINGEN
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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 418

INFO RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0357

RUEHAG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0122

RUEHBT/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0070

RUQMJE/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 0028

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12753

E.O. 12958: 10/7/95 GDS (SENS. A.D.) CR-5

TAGS PINT, ECON, IR

SUBJECT: CRUSADE FOR RECONSTRUCTION

REF:

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL

ORIG: STAT 10/7/79

APPRV: ECON:ADSENS

REFID: ECON:MPENNEDY:BY

CLBR: POL:ASWITT

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CHRON

1. C-ENTIRE

2. IN HIS CALL ON DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER BANI-ASSADI (REF. A), ECONOFFICER ASKED ABOUT PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN'S 25-
CENT DETAILED INVENTORY (REF B) OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF
THE CRUSADE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE NUMBER AND SCOPE OF THE
ACCOMPLISHMENTS SEEMED RATHER EXTRAORDINARY, CONSIDERING
THAT THE CRUSADE HAD ONLY BEEN LAUNCHED THREE MONTHS AGO.
SMILING DELIGHTEDLY, BANI-ASSADI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD
WRITTEN THE SPEECH. THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS WERE INDEED EXTRA
ORDINARY. LIKE THE REVOLUTION ITSELF, THEY CONSTITUTED A
MIRACLE, A PROOF OF GOD'S CONCERN FOR ITS SUCCESS. AS TO
THE ACCURACY OF BAZARGAN'S CLAIMS, BANI-ASSADI HAD A FINGER
THIS THUMB (INDICATING 1-1/2 INCHES BETWEEN THUMB AND
FOREFINGER) WHICH SUBSTANTIATED EVERY ACCOMPLISHMENT.

3. AS ONE EXAMPLE, HE CITED THE RECENT REBUILDING OF 400
SCHOOLS IN ARHRAN PROVINCE. IT HAD BECOME CLEAR THAT MANY
SCHOOL PLANTS WERE NOT READY FOR THE OPENING OF SCHOOL.
THE CRUSADE SET UP TEAMS THROUGHOUT TEHRAN TO WHICH THE
CITIZENRY BROUGHT PAINT, CEMENT, BRICKS--ANYTHING THEY
COULD CONTRIBUTE. AT THE SAME TIME, ARTISANS HAD OFFERED
THEIR SERVICES GRATIS TO DO THE WORK. MOREOVER, CONTINUED
BANI-ASSADI PROUDLY, THE CRUSADE HAD PULLED 10,000 FEET.
NOTING THE EXPRESSION ON ELY CONOFF'S FACE, HE POINTED
OUT THAT MOST IRANIAN VILLAGERS HAD NEVER EVEN SEEN A
DENTIST. THE VOLUNTEER DENTAL TEAMS THAT WENT OUT TO THE
VILLAGERS HAD NEITHER THE TIME NOR THE RESOURCES TO DO
FILLINGS AND CROWNS.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRUSADE OVER THE PAST FIVE
MONTHS HAD NOT BEEN EASY. OPPOSITION FROM THE BUREAUCRACY
ON THE ONE HAND, AND FROM THOSE (UNSPECIFIED) WHO SOUGHT TO
EXPLOIT IT FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL ENDS, HAD ALMOST ABORTED
IT. THREE MONTHS AGO, HE TALKED HOMEBINI INTO LAUNCHING
HIS GENERAL APPEAL. EVEN PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN (BANI-
ASSADI'S FATHER-IN-LAW) HAD BEEN SKEPTICAL ABOUT LAUNCHING
THE SPECIAL APPEAL FOR REBUILDING THE SCHOOLS. LONG AS
HE TO MAKE A LOT OF EMPTY PROPAGANDA. HE APPARENTLY SE
EMED TO BANI-ASSADI. BAZARGAN, HE EXPLAINED BANI-ASSADI, AS
AN ENGINEER'S MIND, HE HAD TO HAVE ALL THE ELEMENTS IN A
SITUATION FIRMLY IN HAND BEFORE HE WOULD MAKE A MOVE. THE

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

TEHRAN 1070

REUTERS, WAS A TIME. BANI-ASSADI FILED FOR ACTION IN THE
ABSENCE OF CERTAINTY. IN ANY EVENT, THE MINISTER OF EDUCA-
TION HAD BEEN SO IMPRESSED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE SCHOOL
CAMPAIGN THAT HE HAD ASKED THAT IT BE EXTENDED. THIS
APPARENTLY BROUGHT PAZARGAN AROUND.

5. TDY ECONOFF EXPLAINED THAT HIS EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN THE
CRUSADE AND ALL IT SYMBOLIZED TO WASHINGTON WOULD ENCOUNTER
A SIMILAR SKEPTICISM. MUCH HAD BEEN CLAIMED FOR A VERY
SHORT TIME WITHOUT MUCH SPECIFICITY AS TO MEANS. BANI-
ASSADI SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF TDY ECONOFF
COULD VISIT SOME OF THE PROJECTS FOR HIMSELF. HE THEN
BACKED OFF A LITTLE, SAYING THAT THE FEELING AGAINST THE
UNITED STATES AMONG THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CRUSADE WAS
PARTICULARLY VIRULENT. LATE THAT NIGHT, HOWEVER, HE CALLED
TDY ECONOFF TO SAY THAT HE HAD ARRANGED FOR HIM TO VISIT
PROJECTS IN SHIRAZ ON THE FOLLOWING TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9.
LAIAGEN

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

TEHRAN 1070

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1975

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INFO RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JILDA 0362
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0123
RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0071
RUQMBE/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 0029
BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TEHRAN 10766

E.O. 12065: 3DS 10/7/85 (SENS, A.D.) OR-3
TAGS: PINT, EFIN, IR
SUBJECT: BANI-ASSADI: TOWARDS A RESTRUCTURED IRAN

REFS: TEHRAN 10321

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: IN ORDER TO LEARN MORE ABOUT HIS CRUSADE FOR RECONSTRUCTION (REFS), TDY ECONOFF CALLED ON DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER HOSSEIN BANI-ASSADI. THE CRUSADE (JIHAD) IS SEEN AS A PRIME MOVER IN A PLAN FOR RESTRUCTURING THE COUNTRY, OF WHICH BANI-ASSADI IS ONE OF THE ARCHITECTS. THIS TEL DISCUSSES THE GOVERNMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE PLAN. SEPARATE MESSAGES WILL DEAL WITH THE CRUSADE ITSELF.
3. GENERALLY, BANI-ASSADI (AND APPARENTLY OTHERS LIKE HIM) HAS FOUND PORTIONS OF THE KORAN, SHARIA AND RELATED SOURCES CONFIRMED BY HIS STUDIES OF MANAGEMENT THEORY IN U.S. UNIVERSITIES. ALTHOUGH MANAGEMENT THEORY IS IN NO WAY CONSIDERED TO BE OF EQUAL DIGNITY WITH THE KORAN, IT SEEMS TO BE ACCEPTED IN SOMEWHAT THE SAME LITERAL FASHION. ASSUMING THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY MOMENTUM CONTINUES, AND THAT BANI-ASSADI HAS THE INFLUENCE THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE, IRAN WILL BE REORGANIZED ON A HIGHLY ECLECTIC THEORETICAL BASE.
4. THAT MANAGEMENT THEORY NORMALLY CONTEMPLATES A MODERN CORPORATION, AND NOT AN ENTIRE DEVELOPING COUNTRY GOING THROUGH A REVOLUTION, DOES NOT SEEM TO PERTURB BANI-ASSADI. HE DOES NOT DOUBT THAT REVOLUTIONARY IRAN COULD PUT INTO POLITICAL PRACTICE MANAGEMENT THEORIES STILL TOO ADVANCED FOR MOST CORPORATIONS. AFTER ALL, SAYS BANI-ASSADI, THE REVOLUTION ITSELF REPRESENTS A MIRACLE. END SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.
5. CENTRAL TO BANI-ASSADI'S THINKING IS THE KORANIC EXHORTATION THAT BELIEVERS AVOID DISSENSION, ACHIEVE CONSENSUS, AND ABOVE ALL, PARTICIPATE. JIHAD, HE POINTS OUT, MEANS CRUSADE, BUT ALSO EFFORT OR STRUGGLE. ONE OF THE EVILS OF THE OLD REGIME WHICH LED BANI-ASSADI TO RETURN TO THE U.S. FOR GRADUATE STUDIES WAS ITS PERPETUATION OF AUTOCRACY, AND THE DAMPENING OF THE INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INITIATIVE WHICH GOD IMPOSES ON THE BELIEVING MUSLIM.

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1976-204-830

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5. AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, BANI-ASSADI STUDIED UNDER PROFESSOR AKOFF, AND ABSORBED HIS THEORY OF "CIRCULAR ORGANIZATION," A MANAGEMENT THEORY DESIGNED TO MITIGATE THE DAMPENING EFFECT ON CREATIVITY AND INITIATIVE OF THE AUTHORITARIAN LEVEL-BY-LEVEL HIERARCHY IN THE NORMAL ORGANIZATION. (I.E., ONE DEALS WITH ONE'S IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR, IMMEDIATE SUBORDINATES AND LATERALLY ON THE SAME LEVEL.) ACCORDING TO AKOFF, ONE SHOULD INTERACT NOT WITH ONE, BUT WITH TWO LEVELS ABOVE AND TWO BELOW. OVERLAPPING COMMITTEES AS THE POINT OF INTERACTION AMONG THE DIFFERENT LEVELS, AND CONSENSUS RATHER THAN INDIVIDUAL AUTHORITY AS THE SOURCE OF DECISION-MAKING, FLOW FROM THIS, AT LEAST AS AKOFF IS INTERPRETED BY BANI-ASSADI.

6. BANI-ASSADI HAS BEEN A PRIME MOVER IN THREE PIECES OF LEGISLATION, TWO PASSED AND ONE PENDING, BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. IN MODIFYING THE CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE AND IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE GREATER PARTICIPATION AND RESPONSIBILITY AT ALL LEVELS, THEY REFLECT BOTH ISLAM AND AKOFF. SPECIFICALLY, THEY DEAL WITH:

7. POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY. THE BILL STILL PENDING PROVIDES FOR THE DEVOLUTION OF POWER RIGHT DOWN TO THE VILLAGE LEVEL. SKETCHING OUT AN ORGANIZATION CHART, WITH THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION AT TEHRAN AT THE TOP, HE PUT THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS AT THE NEXT LEVEL, AND BELOW THEM, THE SECTION CHIEFS (TRADE, HEALTH, ETC.) IN EACH GOVERNORATE. AT THE BOTTOM WAS A LINE OF BOXES REPRESENTING THE VILLAGES. BETWEEN THE GOVERNORS AND SECTION HEADS IS FOUND A LATERAL BOX FOR A COMMITTEE. BANI-ASSADI DREW AN ARROW FROM TEHRAN TO THIS COMMITTEE, TO EMPHASIZE TWO-LEVEL PARTICIPATION. BETWEEN THE SECTION HEADS AND THE VILLAGES WAS ANOTHER COMMITTEE IN WHICH THE GOVERNORS ALSO PARTICIPATE.

8. BANI-ASSADI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT AKOFF'S MANAGEMENT THEORY DID NOT FIT EXACTLY AT THIS LOWEST LEVEL, SINCE THERE WAS NO SECOND LEVEL BELOW THE PEOPLE IN THE VILLAGES. GENERALLY, HOWEVER, THESE OVERLAPPING COMMITTEES WOULD ENSURE THE PARTICIPATION WHICH WAS AMONG THE PURPOSES OF THE
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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO RUFHC/SECSTAFF WASHDC PRIORITY 4137

INFO RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIBIA 0155

RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0124

RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 2072

RUQMBE/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 2030

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 22 OF 22 TEHRAN 13776

E.O. 12265: GDS 10/7/85 (SENS, A.D.) OR-E

TAGS: PINT, FEIN, IR

SUBJECT: BANI-ASSADI: TOWARDS A RESTRUCTURED IRAN

REVOLUTION.

9. FISCAL AUTHORITY. TRADITIONALLY, PROCEEDS FROM TAXES COLLECTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WERE SENT TO TEHRAN, WHERE THEY WERE CENTRALLY APPORTIONED BY MINISTRY AND PROVINCE. THE FIRST OF THE TWO NEW BILLS RECENTLY PASSED WOULD AUTHORIZE COLLECTION AND RETENTION EVEN AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL OF SOME TAXES ALONG WITH COMMUNITY DECISION AS TO HOW THESE REVENUES WOULD BE EXPENDED. THE SAME FISCAL AUTONOMY WOULD BE GRANTED TO CITIES AND PROVINCES.

10. NEITHER THE MANNER IN WHICH THESE COMMUNITIES TAX THEMSELVES (I.E., INCOME, REAL ESTATE, PERSONAL PROPERTY, SALES), NOR THE PURPOSES TO WHICH TAXES WILL BE APPLIED ARE SPELLED OUT IN THE AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION. BANI-ASSADI HAD THE IDEA THAT ONE TAX WOULD BE A SORT OF TRANSIT TAX ON NON-INHABITANTS, "PATHER LIKE THE AIRPORT TAX PAID BY INTERNATIONAL TRAVELLERS." (OR LIKE SPEED TRAPS?)

11. PRESENTLY, BANI-ASSADI WENT ON, LOCALITIES WILL STILL HAVE TO DEPEND ON TEHRAN (AND OIL REVENUES) FOR THE FINANCING OF SCHOOLS, LOCAL ROADS, HOSPITALS, ET AL. IN TIME, HOWEVER, "AS IRAN BECOMES SELF-SUFFICIENT CHIEFLY THROUGH GREATER RELIANCE ON AGRICULTURE," LOCALITIES WILL BE ABLE TO SELF-FINANCE ALL SUCH EXPENSES. AT THAT POINT, OIL REVENUES COULD BE DEDICATED EXCLUSIVELY TO MAJOR PROJECTS OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

12. CRUSADE. WHAT WOULD MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK, BANI-ASSADI INSISTED, WAS THE ENTHUSIASM UNLEASHED BY THE REVOLUTION, AND A DESIRE FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT HITHERTO UNKNOWN IN IRAN. THIS ENTHUSIASM WAS LIKE "MOLTEN METAL," WHICH HAD TO BE PROPERLY INSTITUTIONALIZED BEFORE IT COOLED, AFTER WHICH IT WOULD BE TOO LATE. THE CRUSADE FOR RECONSTRUCTION WAS A PRINCIPAL MEANS OF KEEPING THIS REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT "MOLTEN" WHILE THESE NEW INSTITUTIONS WERE BEING SHAPED. NEVER BEFORE IN HISTORY, RHAPSODIZED BANI-ASSADI, HAD SUCH GENUINE ENTHUSIASM BEEN AROUSED.

13. THE CRUSADE IS DISCUSSED IN FOLLOWING MESSAGES LAINGEN

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4575

INFO RUUTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0460

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 11516

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/31/85 (KENNEDY, MOORHEAD) OR-E

TAGS: PEPR, IR

SUBJECT: SHAH'S MEDICAL TREATMENT: DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER BANI-ASSADI PROTESTS

REFS: A. TEHRAN 11005; B. TEHRAN 12706;

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. IN THE COURSE OF A CALL BY TBY ECONOFF TO DISCUSS THE CRUSADE FOR RECONSTRUCTION (RECS), BANI-ASSADI EXPRESSED DEEP BITTERNESS OVER U.S. ADMISSION OF SHAH FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT. WHY, HE ASKED, COULD NOT THE SHAH BE TREATED IN MEXICO? WHY WOULD NOT THE US ALLOW TWO QUALIFIED IRANIAN PHYSICIANS TO EXAMINE HIM? EVEN ASSUMING THAT INFORMATION WAS PASSED TO THE IRANIAN PHYSICIANS, HOW COULD THE POCI BE SURE THAT IT WAS CORRECT?

3. BANI-ASSADI DID NOT COMMENT ON TBY ECONOFF'S STOCK ANSWERS. CLEARLY HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SHAH WAS ENTITLED TO THE BENEFITS OF MEDICAL ETHICS. "THE MAN IS A CRIMINAL. HE SHOULD BE EXTRADITED," SAID BANI-ASSADI.

4. COMMENT: ONLY BY SWITCHING THE SUBJECT BACK TO THE CRUSADE (SEPTEL) AND HIS ADMIRATION OF IT WAS TBY ECONOFF ABLE TO RESTORE THE USUAL PLEASANT TONE OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH BANI-ASSADI. RELIGIOUS, A DEEP BELIEVER IN THE REVOLUTION, BUT ALSO AN ADMIRER OF THE U.S., BANI-ASSADI SEEMED MORE HURT THAN ANYTHING ELSE BY THE DECISION TO ADMIT THE SHAH. THERE WOULD, HE SAID, BE FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DEMONSTRATORS IN FRONT OF THE EMBASSY ON NOVEMBER 1. ALL THAT WAS PLANNED WAS THE PRESENTATION OF A DEMONSTRANCE. LAINTEN

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NONE
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AEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, PRIORITY

E.O. 12065: GDS 11/4/85 (KENNEDY, M.) OR-E
TAGS: ECON, PINT, IR
SUBJECT: CRUSADE FOR RECONSTRUCTION: DISCUSSION WITH
DEPUTY PM BANI-ASSADI.

REF: TEHRAN 11005

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)
2. THE CRUSADE (JEHAD), SAID BANI-ASSADI, WAS FACING MAJOR PROBLEMS, WHICH WERE ONLY BEGINNING TO SURFACE. THE BUREAUCRACY, MUCH OF WHICH WAS NOT YET PERMEATED WITH THE IDEALS OF THE REVOLUTION (COMMENT: AN UNDERSTATEMENT) HAD LITTLE USE FOR THE ARDENT VOLUNTEERS IN THE CRUSADE. THE FIERCELY INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS, FOR THEIR PART, HAD NO USE FOR THE BUREAUCRACY. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY WOULD COMMANDEER PUBLIC VEHICLES AT WILL, WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION OR ASSUMPTION OF RESPONSIBILITY.
3. TDY ECONOFF REMARKED THAT A U.S. BUSINESSMAN IN THE SOUTH HAD COMPLAINED THAT THE JEHAD HAD WALKED OFF WITH 41 OF HIS JOINT VENTURE'S VEHICLES. "YES," REPLIED BANI-ASSADI, "AND THEN THESE BUSINESSMEN, QUITE CORRECTLY, PRESENT THE PGOI WITH THE BILL."
4. THE JEHAD, CONTINUED BANI-ASSADI, WAS A CREATION OF THE PGOI WHICH CONTINUED TO FUND IT. NEVERTHELESS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LATEST MANAGEMENT THEORY, IT WAS STRUCTURED TO AVOID HIERARCHY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CENTRAL OFFICE IN TEHRAN PROVIDED ONLY A SUPPORT FUNCTION. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, SHIRAZ CALLED IN FOR MORE PIPE FOR WATER-SUPPLY PROJECTS, THE SUPPORT OFFICE WOULD MAKE THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS.
5. ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE JEHAD WAS "CHAOTIC", BANI-ASSADI WANTED TO DO NOTHING WHICH WOULD SPOIL THE SPONTANEITY OF THE VOLUNTEERS. THEY WOULD REMAIN UNPAID (EXCEPT THAT A "SANDUQ" OR

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TREASURE CHEST, WAS BEING ESTABLISHED FOR THOSE IN FINANCIAL NEED). AT THE SAME TIME, SOME REGULATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE JEHAD WITH THE NORMAL FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED. DID TDY ECONOFF HAVE ANY IDEAS? LAINGEN##

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

TEHRAN 1362

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3440
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 01362

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CHRG: STATE 1/28/79
APPRV: MIN: 000000
IRTTD: POL: 01PATTERSON
CLEAR: POL: 01BAMBRACKS
DISTR: POL 3 AMB MIN
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E.O. 12065: GDS 1/28/85 (PATTERSON, D.R.) OR-P
TAGS: IR
SUBJECT: (C) SUGGESTED CONTACTS

REF: STATE 22023

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR RECHECKING TELEPHONE NUMBER OF KHOMEINI AIDE BANI-SADR'S BROTHER. WE RECEIVED 847956 WHICH IS NOT RPT NOT HIS NUMBER. IF COTTAM DOES NOT HAVE ANOTHER NUMBER FOR BANI-SADR, PLEASE ASK WHETHER HE KNOWS ANY OTHER CHANNELS (FRIENDS, WORK COLLEAGUES OR RELATIVES) THROUGH WHICH PATTERSON MIGHT CONTACT BANI-SADR. PLEASE GIVE COTTAM OUR THANKS FOR LIST.
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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4074

INFO RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0394

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 2 TEHRAN 11156

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL

ORIG: STAT 10/22/79

APPRV: ECON:ALS:INS

DRPTD: ECON:M:ENNEYD:KJG

CLEAR: NONE

DISTR: ECON-3 CHANGE POL

ICA CHRON

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E.O.12065: GDS 10/22/85 (SENS, A.D.) OR-E.

TAGS: ECON, ETIN, EINV, IR

SUBJECT: BANI-SADR

REF: TEHRAN 10827

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ECONOFFS SPENT AN HOUR ON OCTOBER 22 WITH ABOL-HASSAN BANI-SADR, ISLAMIC ECONOMIST AND INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL. DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES HAD ALREADY WARNED THAT BANI-SADR HAS A TENDENCY TO BE ELUSIVE IN HIS REPLIES, AND EVEN CONTRADICTORY, AS MAY BE APPARENT IN WHAT FOLLOWS.

3. ROLE OF THE CLERGY, NOT EMBARRASSED TO USE THE TERM MULDOCRACY, BANI-SADR CONCEDED THAT THE CLERGY VERY MUCH HAVE THE FINAL WORD. HE COMPARED THE BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT TO A MINISTRY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL TO A PARLIAMENT (UPON WHICH, PRESUMABLY, THE TENURE OF THE MINISTRY DEPENDS). ALL MAJOR PROJECTS, AS WELL AS AGREEMENTS TO COMPENSATE FORMER AMERICAN CONTRACTORS, ARE FIRST APPROVED BY THE GOVERNMENT, AND THEN BY THE COUNCIL.

4. WITH REGARD TO UNION AGREEMENTS, BANI-SADR DUCKED A QUESTION ON GTE, SAYING THAT A DRAFT OF A NEW ARRANGEMENT HAD NOT AS YET COME TO HIS ATTENTION. HE COULD, HOWEVER, TAKE THE APPROVAL OF SUCH MAJOR PROJECTS AS THE NEW PORT AT BANDAR ABBAS, AND THE NEW TEHRAN AIRPORT, AS INDICATIVE OF THE DIRECTION WHICH GOI WISHES TO FOLLOW. AS A LATER STAGE IN THE CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT THE PATTERN OF MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN BY THE SHAH, INCLUDING PORTS AND AIRPORTS, WERE OBVIOUSLY AT THE BEHEST OF MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISES. THE TWO PROJECTS NOTED ABOVE HAD BEEN CONCEIVED UNDER THE FORMER REGIME. THE CONTRADICTION, THE FIRST OF SEVERAL DURING THE CONVERSATION, EVIDENTLY DID NOT TROUBLE BANI-SADR. LATER ON, WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE NEW REGIME FAVORED FOREIGN INVESTMENT, AND THE INPUT OF TECHNOLOGY, ETC. THAT SUCH PROJECTS REPRESENT, BANI-SADR REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE, NOTING ONLY THAT THE NEW INVESTMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE FOR THE BENEFIT OF IRAN, AND NOT FOR THE BENEFIT OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

5. BANI-SADR CONFIRMED THAT THE CLERGY AND KOMITERS WERE SEEKING PRICE INFORMATION FROM BAZARIS ON IMPORTED GOODS: HOW MUCH THEY HAD PAID THE FOREIGN SUPPLIER, AND WHAT THEIR MARGIN WAS. BANI-SADR EXPLAINED THAT PRICE JAWBONING WAS A TRADITIONAL CIRFRICAL FUNCTION IN IRAN. HIS GRANDFATHER, A MULLAH, HAD, FOR EXAMPLE, BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR DROPPING

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TEHRAN 11156

1. PRICE OF CUCUMBERS DRAMATICALLY IN HAMADAN. NONE WAS SOLD UNTIL THE PRICE BECAME MORE REASONABLE. BANI-SADR CONCEDED THAT CONTEMPORARY MARKETS WERE MORE COMPLEX THAN CUCUMBERS IN HAMADAN.

6. ASKED ABOUT THE IDLING OF FIFTY PERCENT OF IRAN'S INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY AND HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, BANI-SADR OBSERVED THAT MUCH OF THE SO-CALLED EMPLOYMENT UNDER THE SHAH WAS DISGUISED UNEMPLOYMENT. UNNECESSARY CONSTRUCTION AND MILITARY MANPOWER WERE MEANS BY WHICH THE SHAH CONCEALED A SERIOUS PROBLEM. EVERY YEAR, HE SAID, ONE MILLION PERSONS JOIN THE WORKFORCE, CHIEFLY IN TEHRAN. RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AN IMPORTANT GOAL OF THE NEW REGIME, HAD THE ADDITIONAL DIMENSION OF GETTING PEOPLE OUT OF THE CITIES AND BACK ONTO THE LAND.

7. MOST OF THE INDUSTRIES NOW IN DIFFICULTIES, BANI-SADR WENT ON, SHOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE FIRST PLACE. THEY WERE A "FANTASY" SATISFYING THE NEEDS OF THE UPPER CRUST, AND, OF COURSE, THE GREED OF THE MULTINATIONALS. WHY, FOR EXAMPLE, SHOULD IRAN HAVE SIX AUTOMOBILE ASSEMBLY PLANTS? ONE SHOULD SUFFICE, AND THAT SHOULD NOT MERELY ASSEMBLE THE FOREIGN COMPONENTS BUT FABRICATE THE ENTIRE VEHICLE. EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES, HE WENT ON, IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT 55 PERCENT OF ALL MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS CONSUMED BY THE PUBLIC SERVE NO REAL NEED. THEREFORE, THE FIRST STAGE (OF THREE) IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF IRAN WILL INCLUDE A REALLOCATION OF RESOURCES TO SERVE TRULY PRODUCTIVE ENDS AND GETTING THE PEOPLE "ENGAGED" IN THE SECOND PHASE CONSUMER GOODS WILL BE REINTRODUCED. THE THIRD PHASE WILL COME INTO BEING WHEN IRAN IS CAPABLE OF PLAYING "AN INDEPENDENT ROLE IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD ECONOMY." THIS PROCESS OVERALL IS EXPECTED TO TAKE 20 TO 25 YEARS.

8. ELSEWHERE IN THE CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, BANI-SADR CONCEDED THAT DURING THE FIRST STAGE, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN EMPLOYMENT, THUS ALSO CONCEDED THAT REDUNDANT FACTORIES WOULD HAVE TO BE KEPT IN OPERATION.

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11. BANI-SADR IS NOT INTERESTED IN THE PROFITS OF THE ENTERPRISE OR IN THE PROFIT, RATHER THAN OPERATING FOR THE CREDIT. BANI-SADR IS NOT THE ENTERPRISE WAS MAKING MONEY. HE SAW THE RECORD OF THE BANKING SECTOR AS OF EVEN WIDER SCOPE, AIMED AT ENDING THE EXPLOITATION BY MILLIENEN OF PRIMARY PRODUCERS. A VERY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE PRICE PAID BY THE CONSUMER OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IS RETAINED BY THE FARMER. THE VIL-LAGE MONEY LENDER SKIMS OFF AN EXHORBITANT AMOUNT, AND THE VILLAGERS HAVE NO OTHER WAY TO GET OPERATING CREDIT. THE CONSOLIDATION OF BANKS RECENTLY BEGUN (REF), WILL TERMINATE REDUNDANT BRANCHES AND PERSONNEL. BANI-SADR HOPED THAT THESE PERSONNEL COULD BE RETAINED AS BANKING AGENTS, TO GET INTO THE VILLAGES TO MAKE OPERATING CREDIT AVAILABLE IN WAYS THAT THE VILLAGES CAN AFFORD.

10. BANI-SADR CONCEDED THAT THESE FAR-REACHING CHANGES WOULD NOT BE EASY TO PUT INTO EFFECT, ESPECIALLY DURING A REVOLUTION. "WE HAVE NO CHOICE," HE SAID, "UNDER THE OLD REGIME, THE COUNTRY WOULD HAVE DIED."

11. COMMENT: BANI-SADR REFERS TO HIMSELF AS AN ECONOMIST, BUT SEEMS MUCH MORE INTERESTED IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. WHEN ASKED ABOUT ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS HE EITHER CHANGES THE SUBJECT OR EXPLAINS THAT HE LEAVES THE DETAILS TO OTHERS. HE EXPRESSES CONTEMPT FOR BUREAUCRACY, BUT SUGGESTS HE WOULD DO A GOOD JOB AS A DEPARTMENTAL MINISTER. HE CRITICIZES MINISTERIAL DECISIONS AND CRITICIZES FAILURES TO MAKE DECISIONS. HE CLAIMS HE WANTS TO LEAD WHEN IN FACT HE LECTURES. HE IS ABSTRACT AND ELUSIVE. YET AN IMPORTANT INFLUENCE IN THE NEW REGIME. HE SEEMS TO BE A BUNDLE OF CONTRADICTIONS. WHETHER HIS IS AN HONEST CONFESSION, OR DEVICUSNESS, WAS NOT CLEAR TO EMPROFFS.

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STADIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IR

SUBJECT: KHOMEINI CONTACT

STADIS ACTION

AMERICAN ACADEMIC EXPERT RECENTLY GAVE DEPTOFF NAME OF
MOHAMMED TAVASSOLI (TEHRAN TELEPHONE 243-906), IDENTIFYING
HIM AS PERSON PREFERRED BY KHOMEINI GROUP FOR CONTACT WITH
EMBASSY SHOULD THAT EVER BE DESIRABLE OR PRACTICAL. VANCE
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TEHRAN 0369/1

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2792
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E C R E T SECTION 01 TEHRAN 00368

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CHRG: STATE 1-9-79
PPPV: DCM: CWNAA5
REFD: POL: JDS/STEMPEL: LK
CLEAR: POL: GBLAMBRACIS
DISTR: DCM-2 AMB
DUMMY/CHRON

P.O. 12065: RDS 1-9-99 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PINR, PORS, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: LIBERATION MOVEMENT'S (LMI) NEAR-TERM POSTURE

SUMMARY: LMI'S TAVASSOLI TOLD EMBOFF LMI PLANS MANY DEMONSTRATIONS JAN 8 TO ECLIPSE "PEEBLE" JAN 7 EFFORTS. LMI WILL ISSUE NO RPT NO STRONG STATEMENT AGAINST BAKHTIAR GOVT FOR "A FEW DAYS, WAITING TO SEE IF AND HOW BAKHTIAR GETS SHAH TO LEAVE." STRIKES WILL CONTINUE, HOWEVER. SOURCE EXPLAINED LMI SOLUTION TO IRANIAN IMPASSE AND EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER GROWING TUDEH AND OTHER EXTREMIST STRENGTH. END SUMMARY.

1. LMI'S MOHAMMAD TAVASSOLI CALLED ON EMBOFF STEMPEL EVENING JAN 7 TO DISCUSS PRESENT SITUATION. TAVASSOLI MADE POINT OF SAYING SITUATION IN IRAN OVER PAST SIX MONTHS HAD UNFOLDED AS LMI HAD FEARED IT WOULD, AND SHAH WAS HANGING ON DESPITE OVERWHELMING PERCEPTION OF "THE PEOPLE" THAT HE HAD TO GO. HE GAVE EMBOFF COPY OF KHOMEINI ANNOUNCEMENT DISTRIBUTED IN TEHRAN JAN 7 WHICH CALLED BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT ILLEGAL, CALLED FOR CONTINUATION OF STRIKES IN ALL SECTORS, ASKED MINISTRY EMPLOYEES TO PREVENT NEW MINISTERS FROM COMING TO THEIR OFFICES, AND URGED ALL CITIZENS NOT RPT NOT TO PAY TAXES, INCLUDING WATER AND LIGHT BILLS. TO THIS END, LMI WILL SPONSOR MANY SMALLER RALLIES JAN 8 WHICH WILL BE DESIGNED TO SHOW MOVEMENT'S STRENGTH. TAVASSOLI HOPED THESE WOULD BE PEACEFUL, BUT SAID LMI WAS READY FOR OTHER EVENTUALITIES.

2. DESCRIBING BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT AS VIRTUALLY INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM ANY NATIONAL FRONT (INF) GOVERNMENT, TAVASSOLI SAID LMI BELIEVES BAKHTIAR AND SANJABI ARE REALLY COLUDING WITH SHAH AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF IRANIAN PEOPLE. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE U.S. TO DISCERN WHERE ITS TRUE INTERESTS LIE AND NOT BE FOOLED BY "FALSE" COALITION GOVERNMENT. EMBOFF OFFERED MILD REJOINER THAT BAKHTIAR SEEMED TO BE ON VERGE OF ACHIEVING WHAT LMI HAD WANTED--DEPARTURE OF SHAH. SOURCE ACKNOWLEDGED THIS AND SAID LMI WOULD NOT BE ISSUING STRONG STATEMENT AGAINST BAKHTIAR BECAUSE MOVEMENT WOULD BE WAITING TO SEE IF AND HOW SHAH LEAVES COUNTRY. IT WAS NOT ENOUGH FOR SHAH TO GO ON VACATION; PEOPLE OF IRAN WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY SOLUTION WHICH DID NOT MEET WITH KHOMEINI APPROVAL (I.E. SHAH HAS TO GO). EMBOFF EXPLORED THIS POSITION. WHILE TAVASSOLI WAFFLED ON QUESTION OF WHETHER SHAH'S DEPARTURE ON VACATION WOULD BE CONSIDERED SATISFACTORY FIRST STEP, IT WAS CLEAR LMI HAS RETAINED HARD POSITION THAT SHAH MUST BE FORCEN TO ABDICATE.

5. IF SHAH DOES NOT LEAVE, OR MAKE SUBSTANTIAL PLANS TO

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972-549-982

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EXDIS

STRIFE HAD BEEN SETTLED UNTIL KHOMEINI HAD GIVEN HIS PERMISSION. NEWSPAPERMEN HAD WAITED UNTIL KHOMEINI PERSONALLY HAD OK'ED THEIR EFFORTS BEFORE AGREEING TO PUBLISH.

6. IN BRIEF DISCUSSION OF PROSPECT OF MILITARY TAKEOVER, TAVASSOLI EXPRESSED PLEASURE THAT U.S. HAD APPARENTLY ACTED TO RESTRAIN IRANIAN MILITARY, AND EMROFF REPEATED THAT USG FAVORED CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION, NOT MILITARY COUP. TAVASSOLI SAID LMI WAS GREATLY RELIEVED THAT GEN. OVEISSI HAD DEPARTED AND CONFIRMED THAT IT WAS OVEISSI WHO HAD WORRIED LMI WHEN TAVASSOLI LAST SPOKE TO EMROFF ABOUT PROSPECTS OF MILITARY COUP.

7. COMMENT: MEETING TOO PLACE BEFORE NEWSOF GENERAL JAM'S RESIGNATION BECAME KNOWN EARLY JAN 8. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT, DEPENDING ON FALLOUT FROM JAM DEPARTURE, LMI MAY ADVANCE IT'S TIMETABLE FOR PRESSING BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT. SULLIVAN

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2238
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 06211

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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STATE 6/14/79
APPRV: CHARGE: CWNAAS
DRFTD: POL: JDSTEMPEL:
CLEAR: POL: WLTOMSETH
DISTR: CHG POL-3 OR
EGON ICA RF

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/14/85 (STEMPEL, JOHN D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, PINS, PGOV, SHUM, IR
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH TEHRAN MAYOR TAVASSOLI

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT; REPORTING CABLE.)

2. SUMMARY: TAVASSOLI SAID REVOLUTIONARY ADMINISTRATION SUFFERS FROM LACK OF MONEY AND INDISCIPLINE OF WORKERS. HE URGED US UNDERSTANDING OF REVOLUTIONARY IRAN. END SUMMARY.

3. TEHRAN MAYOR TAVASSOLI ASKED DEPARTING POLOFF STEMPEL TO CALL ON HIM AT HIS OFFICE. STEMPEL HAD NOT SEEN TAVASSOLI SINCE DECEMBER, AND MAYOR WELCOMED HIM WARMLY AS OLD FRIEND. AFTER BRIEF DISCUSSION ON SUCCESS OF ISLAMIC REVOLUTION, TAVASSOLI (DISPLAYING BETTER SENSE OF HUMOR THAN POLOFF HAS EVER SEEN) SAID RUNNING "REVOLUTIONARY TEHRAN" WASN'T THE KIND OF JOB HE HAD EXPECTED. SAME PROBLEMS EXISTED WITH MUNICIPALITY AS WITH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT--LACK OF MONEY AND INDISCIPLINE OF WORK FORCE. POLOFF COMMENTED THAT TEHRAN SERVICES HAD GOTTEN BACK TO NORMAL FAIRLY QUICKLY GIVEN REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION. TAVASSOLI REPLIED, "YES, BUT YOU DON'T KNOW HOW OFTEN I HAVE TO TALK TO THE WORKERS TO MAKE THEM UNDERSTAND OUR PROBLEMS." HE SAID TEHRAN METRO WAS BEING REVIEWED, AND CONTRACTS APPEARED VERY ONE-SIDED; SUCH THINGS TOOK MUCH TIME. MAYOR ADMITTED HE WORKED "AT LEAST A 23-HOUR DAY;" CALLS EVEN REACHED HIM LATE AT NIGHT.

4. TAVASSOLI SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE PLEA FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. HE SAID U.S. "SHOULD BEHAVE IN A WAY THAT WILL KEEP RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES." POLOFF REPLIED IN SPIRIT OF FRANK FRIENDSHIP THAT SUGGESTION CUT BOTH WAYS. THERE FOLLOWED SHORT DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS FORCED ON BOTH COUNTRIES BY RECENT EVOLUTION OF SITUATION. TAVASSOLI ASKED FOR UNDERSTANDING ON CASE OF CONTRACTS WITH UNFAIR CANCELLATION CLAUSES, ASSISTANCE WITH GRAIN SHIPMENTS, AND A "FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE" ON SPARE PARTS. POLOFF SAID U.S. ATTITUDES WOULD PROBABLY REFLECT PGOI AND KHOMEINI ATTITUDES AND SAID FRANKLY OUTPUT FROM SENIOR FIGURES WAS NOT VERY REASSURING OR HELP-INDUCING. TAVASSOLI ADMITTED THAT SOME STATEMENTS WERE EXTREME, BUT NOTED USG SHOULD STOP ANTI-ISLAMIC CAMPAIGN IN AMERICAN PRESS. POLOFF SAID SHAH'S MEN HAD MADE EXACTLY SAME POINT A YEAR EARLIER. IT WOULD HELP IF MORE IRANIANS UNDERSTOOD NATURE OF U.S. FREE PRESS. POLOFF SAID THERE WERE SOME THINGS PGOI AND KHOMEINI WERE DOING THAT WENT AGAINST OUR VALUES, SUCH AS THE REVOLUTIONARY EXECUTIONS AND SUPPRES-

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1978-343-344

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TEHRAN 6211

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TEHRAN 621

SION OF WOMEN. PGOI COULD EXPECT UNFAVORABLE PRESS COVER-
AGE OF THIS, AND THERE WAS LITTLE ANYONE COULD DO ABOUT IT.
POLOFF SUGGESTED ISLAMIC MOVEMENT SHOULD DO BETTER JOB OF
PUBLICIZING ITS POSITIVE ASPECTS, AND TAVASSOLI READILY
AGREED.

5. AT END OF DISCUSSION, TAVASSOLI DEFENDED NEED FOR
REVOLUTIONARY TRIALS, BUT SAID THEY HAD NOT BEEN CARRIED
OUT WELL. HE ASCRIBED THIS TO SWIFTNES OF REVOLUTIONARY
VICTORY AND LACK OF JUDICIAL PREPARATION. IN INTERESTING
SIDE COMMENT, HE SAID IT WAS "IMPOSSIBLE" FOR ISLAMIC
MOVEMENT TO TURN SUCH TRIALS OVER TO MINISTRY OF JUSTICE
OFFICIALS, SINCE THESE WERE ALL "SLAVES OF THE SHAH."
(COMMENT: TAVASSOLI IS A LEFTIST MEMBER OF THE ISLAMIC
MOVEMENT, BUT HIS STATEMENT REFLECTS "WE BROTHERS" SPIRIT
OF MOST COMMITTED ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARIES, AND THEIR
WILLINGNESS TO PLACE BEYOND THE PALE THOSE WHO WORKED
IN ANY WAY FOR OLD REGIME.) POLOFF GAVE TAVASSOLI NAME
OF HIS SUCCESSOR, AND MAYOR HAD NO TROUBLE WITH THE IDEA
OF SEEING OFFICIAL U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM TIME TO TIME.

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TEHRAN 6211

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TEHRAN 5230

DE RUQMHR #5230 141 **
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
P 210723Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1555
BT

CLASS: LIMITED OFFICIAL
CHRG: STATE 5/21/79
APPRV: CHARGE:CWNAAS
DRFTD: POL:JDSTEMPEL
CLEAR: POL:VTOMSETH
DISTR: CHG POL-3 OR
ECON ICA RF

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEHRAN 05230

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: SHAHABI REQUEST FOR INFO ON FEDERALISM

REF: TEHRAN 5207

1. (ACTION CABLE.)
2. DURING CHARGE'S MEETING WITH MINSTATE FOR REVOLUTION-ARY AFFAIRS SAHABI (REFTEL), SHAHABI ASKED IF U.S. COULD PROVIDE MORE INFORMATION ON WORKINGS OF FEDERAL SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN CENTER AND STATES.
3. SAHABI READS BOTE FRENCH AND ENGLISH, BUT FRENCH BETTER THAN ENGLISH, AND WE THOUGHT IF YOU WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN MATERIAL FROM ICA OR LOCAL ACADEMIC SOURCES, ESPECIALLY ANYTHING ON SUBJECT IN FRENCH, THIS WOULD BE CHANCE FOR YOU TO BE RESPONSIVE PERSONALLY TO REQUEST FOR USG HELP IN AREA WHICH IS NOT FRAUGHT WITH LOCAL SENSITIVITY AND YET IS IMPORTANT FOR INSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT. NAAS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TEHRAN 5230

CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 5207

DE RUOMEE #5207 140 **
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 O 221212Z MAY 80
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1540
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 C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 05207

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
 CHRG: STATE
 APPRV: CHG: CWNAAS
 DRFTD: POL: JDSTEMPEL
 CLEAR: POL: VTOMSETH
 DISTR: POL

F.O. 12065: GDS 5/20/85 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-F
 TAGS: PGOV, PINT, PINR, IR
 SUBJ: MEETING WITH MINISTER SAHABI

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT; REPORTING CABLE)
2. SUMMARY: CHARGE DISCUSSED WITH MINISTER SAHABI U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS. MINISTER EXPRESSED HOPE CURRENT MIS-UNDERSTANDINGS WOULD NOT IMPREDE GOOD TIES WHICH PGOI WANTS. SAHABI TALKED OF NEW GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE AND SHOWED ACTIVE INTEREST IN FEDERAL SYSTEM. BIO NOTE. END SUMMARY.
3. CHARGE AND ACTING POLCOMNS CALLED ON MINISTER OF STATE FOR REVOLUTIONARY AFFAIRS DR. YADOLLAH SAHABI MORNING MAY 20. SAHABI RECEIVED AMERICANS IN PLEASANT, GRACEFUL OLD-WORLD PERSIAN MANNER AND DISCUSSION WAS FRIENDLY THROUGHOUT. FOLLOWING ARE IMPORTANT POINTS:
4. AFTER CHARGE EXPRESSED U.S. INTEREST IN GOOD TIES WITH NEW PGOI AND ASSURED MINISTER THAT USG WAS NOT RPT NOT INTERFERING IN IRAN AND WOULD NOT DO SO, SAHABI IMMEDIATELY AND IN AN UNDERSTANDING MANNER EXPRESSED REGRETS FOR MEDIA ATTACKS ON USG IN WAKE OF PUBLICITY GIVEN JAVITS RESOLUTION ON IRAN. SAHABI SAID IRAN IS IN REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD AND AFFIRMED TWICE THAT BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT WANTS GOOD RELATIONS WITH U.S. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE MANY QUESTIONS WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED BETWEEN IRAN AND U.S. AND REGRETTED VERY MUCH THAT QUOTE MISUNDERSTANDINGS UNQUOTE WERE MARRING PUBLIC SCENE. FOMIN WOULD BE CALLING TO TALK TO CHARGE ABOUT PROBLEM (YAZDI DID CALL; SEE SEPEL ON LATER MEETING). HE SAID THAT MUCH OF WHAT WAS IN RESOLUTION WAS TRUE; SOME OF WHAT PRESS IN IRAN WAS SAYING IS TRUE. IRAN IS IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION--EVEN QUESTION AS SIMPLE AS THAT OF NEW PASSPORTS IS NOT RESOLVED YET. ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY COURTS, MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AND VARIOUS MOVEMENTS ARE ALL CHANGING. IRAN'S PROBLEMS WILL BE WORKED OUT, BUT IT WILL TAKE TIME. CHARGE COMMENTED THAT EXECUTIONS AND TRIALS WITHOUT INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS CAUSED U.S. AND OTHERS TO THINK MORE BADLY OF THE REVOLUTION THAN THEY WOULD OTHERWISE. WITH OBVIOUS PAIN IN HIS BROW, SAHABI SAID QUOTE YOU ARE RIGHT; WE ARE NOT HAPPY WITH THESE EXECUTIONS OURSELVES. BUT WHAT CAN YOU EXPECT? IF THE BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT STAY IN OFFICE, THERE WILL BE NO HOPE FOR STABILITY. END QUOTE. (COMMENT: WE THINK HE IS PROBABLY RIGHT.) SAHABI SAID COURTS WERE A SHORT TERM EXPEDIENT WHICH WOULD NOT LAST; PGOI WANTED TO WIND THEM UP AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, BUT IT WOULD TAKE A LITTLE TIME.

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TEHRAN 5207

5. CHARGE ASKED ABOUT NEW GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE. SAHABI REPLIED THAT DRAFT CONSTITUTION WOULD BE RELEASED WITHIN TWO WEEKS. CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY WOULD BE CALLED WITHIN 30 TO 60 DAYS. PGOI EXPECTED ASSEMBLY TO LAST A MAXIMUM OF FOUR MONTHS, WITH ELECTIONS FOR PRESIDENT AND THE PARLIAMENT TO FOLLOW TOWARD THE END OF THIS YEAR. WITH RESPECT TO RELATIONSHIP OF REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS TO NEW GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE, SAHABI SAID THIS CONFUSES EVEN MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENT. FOR NOW, DR. MUSTAFA CHAMRAN IS THE HEAD OF THE GUARDS, BUT HE IS NOT YET NOT A DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER. DEPUTY PM BANI-ASSADI HAS NO RPT. NO CONNECTION WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS.

6. SAHABI SAID HIS OWN OFFICE, THE BUREAU OF REVOLUTIONARY AFFAIRS, WILL BE IN CHARGE OF REVIEWING ALL LAWS AND HARMONIZING THEM WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE THANKED ACTING POLCOONS FOR SENDING HIM A COPY OF THE U.S. FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. AFTER DISCUSSION OF FEDERAL SYSTEM, INCLUDING DUAL LINES OF GOVERNMENT AND STATE AND FEDERAL TAX STRUCTURES, SAHABI SAID THAT IF WE HAD ANY MORE MATERIAL ON U.S. FEDERAL STRUCTURE, HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE IT. PGOI PLANNED TO REMAKE IRAN INTO FEDERATED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT TO HELP EASE TRIBAL AND OTHER PROBLEMS OF DECENTRALIZATION. CHARGE SAID USG WOULD BE HAPPY TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFO (SEE SPTTEL).

7. BIO. NOTE: SAHABI IS IN HIS 80'S AND A CLOSE, LONG-TIME FRIEND OF PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN. OTHERS WHO HAVE SEEN HIM HAVE NOT BEEN IMPRESSED WITH HIS GRASP OF PROBLEMS AND COHERENCE, BUT DURING THIS MEETING HE EXHIBITED SOPHISTICATED VIEW OF IRAN'S PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL AND REMAINED ALERT THROUGHOUT. HE HAS NO INDEPENDENT POWER BASE, HOWEVER, AND MUST BE COUNTED AMONG THE PGOI'S SECULARISTS. HIS REACTION TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS AND U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS MADE IT CLEAR HE LACKS SYMPATHY FOR THE KHOMEINI ENTOURAGE. HE IS OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF INSTITUTIONALIZING THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE, AND SPOKE FORCEFULLY ON THE NEED TO GET A NEW GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE IN PLACE. HE IS ONE OF THE REVOLUTION'S ELDER STATESMEN. NAAS

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TEHRAN 5218

DE RUQMRH #5218 140 **
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
R 201306Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1547
INFO RUEHIA/USICA WASHDC
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 05218

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STATE 5/20/79
APPRV: CHARGE: C/NAAS
DAFTD: ICA:JSHELLENBERG
AM
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: CHG POL OR
ECON ICA RF

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/20/65 (SHELLENBERGER, J.) OR-0
TAGS: SEDU, IR
SUBJECT: CALL ON DR. SHARIAT-MADARI, MINISTER OF HIGHER
- EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: MINISTER RECEIVED CHARGE AND PAO MAY 20 AND DURING NEARLY ONE HOUR VISIT OUTLINED GENERAL POLICIES RESPECTING IRANIAN STUDENT STUDY ABROAD, LANGUAGE TRAINING, EXCHANGE OF PROFESSORS, VISITING U.S. IRANOLOGISTS, ETC. ON THE GENERAL US-IRANIAN RELATIONSHIP, THE MINISTER, IN A VERY PERSONALIZED MANNER, TICKED OFF A NUMBER OF LAST USG "SINS." ON THE WHOLE, THE CONVERSATION WAS LOW KEY AND WITHOUT POLEMICS, AS ONE MIGHT EXPECT FROM AN ACADEMIC WHOSE SPECIALTY IS PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AND WHO HAS TAUGHT AT U.S. UNIVERSITIES. END SUMMARY.

3. THE MINISTER RECEIVED US WITHOUT CEREMONY, INTRODUCED A COLLEAGUE FROM TEHRAN UNIVERSITY AND IMMEDIATELY RAISED THE SUBJECT OF STUDENT ORIENTATION AND PREPARATION FOR STUDY ABROAD. HE BELIEVES MUCH BETTER LANGUAGE PREPARATION IS ESSENTIAL AND WOULD THINK CANDIDATES FOR STUDY ABROAD SHOULD HAVE ONE TO TWO YEARS INTENSIVE PREPARATION. HE ASKED WHETHER THE IRAN AMERICA SOCIETY WAS HOLDING CLASSES AND SEEMED PLEASED TO HEAR THAT IT WAS. PAO DESCRIBED FORMER ORIENTATION PROGRAMS AT IAS AND EXPRESSED READINESS TO RESUME THOSE WHEN AND AS MINISTRY IS READY. MINISTER SAID THE NEW QUALIFYING EXAM FOR THOSE SEEKING STUDENT PASSPORTS FOR STUDY ABROAD WOULD BE HELD AS EARLY AS NEXT WEEK AND HE ANTICIPATED A CONSIDERABLE DROP IN THE NUMBER OF PASSPORTS WHICH WILL BE ISSUED. HE PROJECTED A MUCH MORE COMPREHENSIVE ENGLISH TEACHING PROGRAM IN IRAN AND SAW NO PROBLEM WITH ISSUANCE OF WORK PERMITS TO FOREIGNERS WHO WOULD COME TO TEACH LANGUAGES HERE.

4. ON INSTITUTIONAL EXCHANGES OF PROFESSORS, THE MINISTER COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM, BUT WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE UNIVERSITIES HERE WILL BE DISCOURAGING OVERSEAS TRAVEL BY IRANIAN PROFESSORS FOR THE TIME BEING. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE IRAN CAN SPARE PROFESSORS EVEN FOR BRIEF PERIODS ABROAD. ON THE OVER-ALL QUESTION OF INTRA UNIVERSITY LINKS, HE SAID ALL SUCH PAST AFFILIATIONS WERE BEING REVIEWED TO ASSURE THAT THEY WERE NECESSARY AND IN THE INTEREST OF IRAN. HE INDICATED THAT SOME HAD LITTLE PRACTICAL UTILITY. THOSE THAT STAND THE TEST OF SCRUTINY WILL DOUBTLESS BE RESUMED, HE SAID. THE MINISTER DESCRIBED A PROJECT ACCORDING TO WHICH PROFESSIONAL BODIES IN VARIOUS FIELDS, ESPECIALLY THE SCIENCES, WOULD BE MEETING THIS SUMMER TO ESTABLISH GOALS RE UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM.

TEXTS, INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH. ON THE BASIS OF THESE FINDINGS, UNIVERSITIES WILL CHART THEIR COURSE. (TIME DID NOT PERMIT DISCUSSION OF THE UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY QUESTION, BUT OUR IMPRESSION WAS THAT THIS MINISTER LIKE SEVERAL OF HIS PREDECESSORS IS MAPPING A HIGHER EDUCATION STRATEGY IN WHICH MINED WILL BE THE KEY ARBITER.)

5. WE MENTIONED THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF IRANIAN STUDIES AND THE DESIRE OF AMERICANS WHO ARE PERSIAN STUDIES SCHOLARS/RESEARCHERS TO COME TO IRAN. HE ASKED ABOUT THE VARIOUS FIELDS OF INQUIRY, AND THEN OPINED THAT THIS SUMMER WOULD NOT BE A GOOD TIME FOR SUCH VISITS BECAUSE OF THE PREOCCUPATION OF IRANIAN ACADEMICS AND OTHERS WITH INTERNAL CONCERNS. HE MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME UNIVERSITY STUDENT CONFERENCES THIS SUMMER TO WHICH FOREIGN STUDENTS MIGHT BE ADMITTED. HIS GENERAL ADVICE WAS TO DISCOURAGE RESEARCHERS FROM COMING HERE UNTIL FALL AT THE EARLIEST.

6. AT THE CLOSE OF OUR VISIT, I MADE THE POINT THAT THE USG LOOKS FORWARDS TO AN OPEN, COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF IRAN AND THAT OUR MUTUAL INTEREST IN IRAN'S INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROVIDED A GOOD FOUNDATION FOR THE FUTURE. THE MINISTER REPLIED TO THIS STATEMENT BY TICKING OFF SOME OF OUR PAST "SINS"--ALL PART OF THE NOW FAMILIAR LITANY I RECEIVE--BUT AGREED THERE WOULD BE OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE.

7. BIO NOTES: DR. SHARIAT-MADARI SPEAKS ENGLISH FLUENTLY BUT VERY SOFTLY AND METHODICALLY. HE IS A REFLECTIVE MAN WHO CLEARLY ENJOYS THE ABSTRACT. FROM 1965-67, HE TAUGHT EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA, AND LATER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE. INDIANA INVITED HIM BACK FOR A SYMPOSIUM LAST SUMMER. HE HAS TRANSLATED INTO FARSI SEVERAL LEADING AMERICAN ED PEIL. TEXTS. CULTURED, COMPOSED, AND IN POSSESSION OF A STRATEGY, DR. SHARIAT-MADARI SEEMS FAR REMOVED FROM THE POLICIZED CROWDS CALLING THE SHOTS ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES. OF ALL CABINET POSTS, HIS WOULD SEEM ONE OF THE MOST VULNERABLE AND LEAST SECURE. IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE HOW HE AND HIS POLICIES FARE. NAAS

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TEHRAN 10546

DE RUQMHR #0546 274 **
ZNY CCCC ZZH
O 01108Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4018
INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0022
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 10546

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STAT 10/1
APPRV: CHARGE:LBLAINGEN
DRFTD: POL:JLIMBERT:GO
CLEAR: POL:NASWIFT
DISTR: POL2 CRG ICA
ECON CONS CHRON
RF 8/WEB

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/1/85 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, IR
SUBJECT: ELECTION SCHEDULE

REF: TEHRAN 10440

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. DURING SEPT 30 CALL BY CHARGE AND EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER, MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SABAGHIAN DISCUSSED SCHEDULED LOCAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS. SABAGHIAN SAID THAT FIRST STEP WOULD BE ELECTIONS FOR COUNCILS IN 150 MUNICIPALITIES ON OCTOBER 12 AND 13. ELECTIONS IN TEHRAN AND THE MAJOR PROVINCIAL CITIES OF MASHHAD, TABRIZ, SHIRAZ, ESPAHAN, AND AHWAZ WOULD BE HELD LATER.

3. MUNICIPAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY A REFERENDUM ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION, BY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, AND THEN BY ELECTIONS FOR A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ALL OF THESE ELECTIONS SABAGHIAN HOPED WOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF THE IRANIAN YEAR (MARCH, 1980). HE ADDED THAT THE VILLAGE AND DISTRICT (BAKHS) ELECTIONS WOULD PROBABLY BE THE LAST TO BE HELD, SINCE THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR'S APPARATUS WAS WEAKEST AT THOSE LEVELS. (FYI: IN A SEPARATE INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN SEPT 30 TEHRAN TIMES, SABAGHIAN SAID THAT THE ASSEMBLY OF EXPERTS SHOULD COMPLETE THEIR WORK BY OCTOBER 25 AND THAT THE REFERENDUM COULD BE HELD AT THE END OF NOVEMBER. END FYI).

4. ASKED ABOUT THE DATE FOR MUNICIPAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS IN THE MAJOR CITIES SABAGHIAN ESTIMATED THAT THESE ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD ABOUT TWO WEEKS AFTER THE OCTOBER 12/13 ELECTIONS AND BEFORE THE REFERENDUM ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

5. SABAGHIAN SAID THAT HE HOPED THESE ELECTIONS WOULD PROVIDE PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATION OF THE NEW IRANIAN REGIME'S DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH ISLAMIC AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN THE COUNTRY. HE SAID THAT THESE ELECTIONS WOULD ESTABLISH A PERMANENT GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE WHICH SHOULD HELP TO ALLEVIATE SOME OF THE ABUSES CAUSED BY THE WEAKNESS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. COMMENT: WE WISH WE COULD BELIEVE THIS. LAINGEN
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TEHRAN 10546

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STATE
CHG: CWNAAS
POL: JDSTEMPEL
NONE
POL

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE

AGREEMENT CHANNEL***

E.O. 12065: GDS-4 4/15/79 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PDIP, PGOV, IR
SUBJ: REQUEST FOR AGREEMENT FOR IRANIAN AMBASSADOR TO U.S.

REF: STATE 90602

1. ACTING POL SECTION HEAD WAS CALLED TO MFA APRIL 14 TO RECEIVE PGOI DIPLOMATIC NOTE REQUESTING AGREEMENT FOR REZA SADR, PRESENT MINISTER OF COMMERCE, TO BE AMBASSADOR TO U.S. NOTE INCLUDED FOLLOWING BIODATA (INFORMAL TRANSLATION FROM FARSI): DR. REZA SADR, 47 YEARS OLD. FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL IN KASHAN, STUDIED PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION AT TEHRAN UNIVERSITY WHERE HE RECEIVED HIS BA AND PHD. WAS IN U.S. 1963-72, STUDIED AT UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, RECEIVED BA IN CHEMISTRY. RETURNED BRIEFLY TO IRAN IN 1972, THEN WENT BACK TO NEW YORK UNIVERSITY WHERE HE RECEIVED A MA IN MANAGEMENT STUDIES. WHILE IN U.S., WORKED FOR MANIFOLD SUPPLIES FROM 1964-68, AND LATER FOR KEYSANZA (PHOENTIC FROM THE FARSI) COMPANY. NAMED MINISTER OF COMMERCE BY BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT, FEB 1979.

2. IN CONVERSATION, DEP HEAD OF 4TH POLITICAL DIVISION ALI PARSAKIA INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT PROFESSIONALS WERE JUBILANT OVER SADR APPOINTMENT. MFA SEES SADR AS LONG-TIME KHOMEINI SUPPORTER WHO HAS CLOUT NECESSARY TO "BRING WASHINGTON EMBASSY UNDER CONTROL." OFFHANDLY NOTING THAT IT WAS "IMPOSSIBLE" FOR FOREIGN MINISTRY TO CONTROL ROUHANI NOW, HE SAID, SADR HAD BEEN NAMED SPECIFICALLY TO STRAIGHTEN OUT IRANIAN REPRESENTATION IN WASHINGTON. PARSAKIA ALSO NOTED THAT APPOINTMENT OF MAN VERY FAMILIAR WITH U.S. SCENE WAS DELIBERATE EFFORT TO SHOW NEW PGOI'S INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS. PARSAKIA URGED PROMPT U.S. ACCEPTANCE AND EXPRESSED HIS OWN APPROVAL AT U.S. CHOICE OF "GOOD CAREER" AMBASSADOR

3910

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FOR IRAN. WITHOUT LINKING IT WITH SADR NOMINATION,
ACTING POLCHIEF INQUIRED ABOUT STATUS OF U.S. REQUEST;
PARSAKIA SAID APPROVAL SHOULD BE FORTHCOMING SOON.
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CONFIDENTIAL
STATE
CHG:CWNAAS
CHG:CWNAAS
NONE
POL

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/23/85 (NAAS, C.W.) OR-M
TAGS: PDIP, PGOV, IR
SUBJ: REZA SADR WILL NOT BE IRANIAN AMBASSADOR TO U.S.

REF: TEHRAN 3910

IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH MINISTER OF COMMERCE REZA SADR ON APRIL 23 HE INFORMED ME THAT AT HIS REQUEST THE** PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN HAD AGREED NOT TO SEND HIM AS AMBASSADOR TO U.S. THEREFORE, POTENTIAL CONFLICT WITH HIS STATUS IN U.S. DID NOT ARISE. HE APPEARED SURPRISED THAT I DID NOT KNOW OF THIS CHANGE IN PLANS AND SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE FOREIGN MINISTRY INFORM US OFFICIALLY. HE SAID THAT ON REFLECTION, AFTER REQUEST FOR AGREEMENT HAD BEEN SUBMITTED, HE BELIEVED HE COULD DO MORE FOR HIS COUNTRY BY REMAINING AS MINISTER OF COMMERCE. NAAS#

IN 100-100774-121
NY 10000 ZL
P 0000Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SACSTATE WASHDC (100-100774)
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CONVICTION IN THE SECTION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, NEW YORK OFFICE

A.C. 12065: GIS 8/2/72 (SINGEN, L.E.V. CASE)
RE: BOON, BRUN, FINE, IS
SUBJECT: SHARAF'S CALL ON COMMO OR SHIRAZ

1. RE - UNCLE SAM
2. I CALLED ON TOMORROW MORNING AND TALKED WITH COMMO OR SHIRAZ. MY PURPOSE WAS TO INTRODUCE SUBJECT AND HIS BACKGROUND TO HIM AND MAKE SOME SPECIFIC POINTS FOR HIS CONSIDERATION. U.S.-IRANIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE PAST. I WANTED PARTICULARLY TO BRING TO HIS ATTENTION SOME OF THE PLUSES AND MINUSES OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND

3. TO THIS END, I POINTED OUT THAT U.S. HAS BEEN WORKING WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT--I SAID I'D BE PLEASED TO HELP OTHERS IN THE CAPITAL--AND I SAID THAT IF OUR EFFORTS ARE TO PROCEED WE MUST ESTABLISH A FOUNDATION OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND WE MUST COMMUNICATE OUR INTERESTS AND CONCERNS FRANKLY. I POINTED OUT THAT WE HAVE NOT TO KEEP THE TRUST FROM SCHEMERS, BUT WE MUST BE WILLING TO SUPPLY NEEDED STAFF PARTS AND WE TRYING TO PROVIDE ESSENTIAL VISA SERVICE. I SAID THAT THE U.S. WAS COMPLETELY SINCERE IN ITS DESIRE TO UNDERSTAND THE POINTS OF VIEW OF THE NEW REGIME. I ALSO STRESSED THAT IF U.S. BUSINESSMEN WERE WILLING TO ADAPT TO THE NEW REGIME AND NEW REGIME, THEY COULD COME TO SO IF THE WORK WOULD BE CLEAR.

4. I THEN OFFERED THE CASE OF JEFFREY B. ... EXAMPLES OF PROBLEMS THAT CAUSED TENSION BETWEEN COUNTRIES AND WHERE OPEN COMMUNICATION WOULD BE HELD ACCOUNT THAT WHILE WE WERE DELICATE THAT SUBJECT WAS OUT OF JAIL, THE FACT THAT HE STILL WAS NOT OUT OF THE COUNTRY CAID PEOPLE IN AMERICA TO ... THE EXTENT TO WHICH A U.S. CITIZEN COULD ... "DIP PROCESS" IN IRAN. THE SUBJECT CASE--ADDITIONALLY COMPLICATED BY HIS DUAL NATIONALITY--ALSO NOT ... BUT YET IN PRISON, WAS AROUND ... AFFECTED THE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN ... THE OUTLOOK IN IRAN.

5. REZA SABA RESPONDED BY SAYING HE WAS QUITE FAMILIAR WITH THE U.S., HAVING BEEN MANAGING DIRECTOR OF AN ... FIRM IN SCARSDALE FOR SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE RETURNING TO IRAN AND HIS PRESENT JOB. HE COMMENTED THAT THE U.S., IN HIS OPINION, HAD TO BEAR THE BLAME FOR MUCH OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN IRAN IN THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF. NOTING THAT A TIME THERE HAD OCCURRED A MAJOR CONFIRMATION OF ANOTHER U.S. POLICY WOULD ANNOUNCE AMERICA'S ... SUPPORT FOR THE SHAH. HE THEN WENT ON THAT HE W

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TODAY THE "ZIONIST-DOMINATED AMERICAN PRESS" PREJUDICES PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST THE REVOLUTION AND EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE IRRITATION WITH THE RECENT NEWSWEEK ARTICLE ON IRAN. (THIS MAY HAVE PARTLY BEEN CAUSED BY THE FACT THAT AN INTERVIEW HE GAVE TIME DID NOT SURVIVE EDITING.) THERE ENSUED A CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF THE ALLEGED ZIONIST INFLUENCE IN THE U.S., WHICH--AS IS THE CASE WITH MANY IRANIANS THESE DAYS--MADE NO PROGRESS IN CONVINCING THE MINISTER TO THE CONTRARY.

PGOI WANTED AN IMPROVED COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP; SAID HE HOSTILE TO AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN WHO CAN FLOURISH IF THEY ARE WILLING TO WORK WITHIN THE OBJECTIVES OF THE REVOLUTION. PICKING UP MY WORDS, HE SAID ALL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS TO HAVE A FREE REIN IN THE IRANIAN ECONOMY IS "MUTUAL RESPECT." IRANIANS CAN FORGET THE PAST, HE ADDED, "IF U.S. BUSINESSMEN WILL ACT AS EQUAL PARTNERS NOW."

7. HE THEN SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE SHERRY AND SHIBANI CASES AND I THANKED HIM, AGREEING THAT THE BUSINESS CLIMATE DID SEEM TO BE IMPROVING. I NOTED THAT WHILE POSSIBLY TOO EARLY TO RESURRECT THE JOINT COMMISSION, PERHAPS IN THE INTEREST OF MORE OPEN COMMUNICATION WE COULD GET THE IRAN/AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE BUSINESS COUNCIL STARTED AGAIN. REZA SADR SAID HE AGREED THAT ANYTHING ON THE JOINT COMMISSION WOULD BE PREMATURE

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TEHRAN 8873/2

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3135

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TEHRAN 08873

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: PROG 8/7/79
APPRV: CH3:LBIAINGEN
BRTD: ECON:ADSENS
CLEAR: NONE
R: ECON-3 CHG
POL AF CHRON

AT THIS STAGE BUT THOUGHT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IDEA
A GOOD ONE. AT MR. SENS' SUGGESTION, WE AGREED TO BE
GUEST OF HONOR AT A KICK-OFF LUNCHEON IN A MONTH OR SO.

8. IN PARTING, WE ASKED REZA SADR WHETHER HE COULD CONFIRM
THAT NATIONALIZATION WAS NOT A THING OF THE PAST AND HE
SAID HE HOPED SO; WE THEN SAID WHAT OF GENERAL MOTORS
HAVE THEY BEEN NATIONALIZED OR NOT AND HE REPLIED,
EMPHATICALLY, THAT GM'S SHARE IN GENERAL MOTORS IRAN HAS
NOT BEEN NATIONALIZED. WE TOLD THE MINISTER THAT WE PUT
GM'S RECENT TREATMENT HERE ON THE PLUS SIDE OF THE LEDGER,
THANKING HIM FOR THE GOOD RECEPTION THEIR REPRESENTATIVES
HAD HAD FROM HIM IN THEIR RECENT VISIT. WE HAD PUT GTE'S
EXPERIENCE ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, ALTHOUGH RECENT DEVELOP-
MENTS APPEARED MORE HOPEFUL. LAINGEN

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TEHRAN 8873/2

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TEHRAN 9144/1

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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SIGSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3263

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 09144

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHPG: STATE 8/16/79
APPRV: CHARGE: LBLAINGEN
JHPTD: POL: MJMTRINYO: G
CLEAR: POL: VLTOMSETH
R: POL2 CHG RF
CHRON

F.O. 12065: GDS 8/16/85 (METRINO, MICHAEL J.) OR-P

TAGS: PEPR, PINT, SOPN, IR

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH DEP PRIME MINISTER TABATABAI

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: I MET WITH PGOI SPOKESMAN DEP PRIM MIN TABATABAI TO DISCUSS RECENT ANTI-U.S. STATEMENTS MADE OVER NATIONAL IRANIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION (NIRT). IN A FRANK AND FRIENDLY CONVERSATION TABATABAI DISCUSSED THE PGOI'S OWN PROBLEMS WITH NIRT, AS WELL AS STILL STRONG ANTI-U.S. FEELING IN IRAN. DESCRIBING THE PGOI'S DIFFICULTIES VIS-A-VIS INTENSE POPULAR EMOTIONS, TABATABAI ASKED THAT OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN DO MORE TO HELP SOLVE THE PRESENT MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAN, AND ASKED FOR MORE FREQUENT MEETINGS WITH THE EMBASSY IN ORDER TO PREVENT AND OVERCOME SUCH DIFFICULTIES. END SUMMARY

3. I MET WITH DEP PRIM MIN SADEQU TABATABAI ON 13 AUGUST TO DISCUSS ISSUES OF RECENT ANTI-AMERICAN STATEMENTS ON NIRT AND MINISTRY OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE UNDER SECRETARY MOKKEN'S ALLEGATIONS THAT AMERICAN REPORTERS OFTEN TENDED TO BE SPIES FIRST AND REPORTERS SECOND. TABATABAI RESPONDED BY CLAIMING THAT THE NIRT IS ONE OF THE LARGER PROBLEMS BEING FACED BY THE PGOI. WHILE EVERYONE ASSUMES THAT THE NIRT IS GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED, HE SAID, IN REALITY THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DIFFICULTY BETWEEN THE PGOI AND NIRT MANAGEMENT. IN FACT, PM FAZARGAN WAS SCHEDULED TO ATTEND A MEETING AT NIRT THAT VERY AFTERNOON IN AN ATTEMPT TO SMOOTH OUT PROBLEMS THE PGOI HAS BEEN HAVING WITH THE ORGANIZATION.

4. TABATABAI WENT ON TO SAY THAT A VARIETY OF POLITICAL VIEWS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED VIA THE NIRT FACILITIES, INCLUDING SOME THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED ATTACKS ON THE PGOI ITSELF. ELABORATING FURTHER ON ANTI-U.S. STATEMENTS BEING MADE BY NIRT AND THE PRESS, HE EXPLAINED THAT THE ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT AMONG THE PEOPLE OF IRAN WAS STILL VERY STRONG, AND REPORTERS WERE OFTEN INFLUENCED BY SUCH FEELINGS. AS AN EXAMPLE, TABATABAI DESCRIBED HIS TRIP TO GERMANY SOME MONTHS EARLIER, WHEN IRANIAN STUDENTS THERE HAD DEMANDED NOT ONLY THAT IRANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS BE BROKEN, BUT THAT THE U.S. ALSO BE FORCED TO PAY REPARATIONS FOR ALL OF THE SHAH'S MISDEEDS IN IRAN. IF THESE STUDENTS, WHO COULD BE CONSIDERED AMONG IRAN'S FUTURE INTELLECTUALS AND WHO ALL LIVE ABROAD FEEL THIS WAY, HE SAID, HOW CAN ONE EXPECT THE COMMON AND UNEDUCATED PEOPLE TO FEEL DIFFERENTLY? IN AN EFFORT TO EXPLAIN THE PRESSURES UNDER WHICH THE PGOI WAS OPERATING, TABATABAI DESCRIBED

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THE REACTION TO HIS RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENT ABOUT THE CANCELLATION OF THE AWACS AND F-16 CONTRACTS BETWEEN THE IRANIAN AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS. "ABOUT TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE CALLED AND WROTE MY OFFICE ASKING WHY I HAD NOT USED THE TERMINOLOGY 'CRIMINAL' TO REFER TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT," HE SAID.

5. ACCORDING TO TABATABAI, POPULAR ANTI-PATHY WAS NOT LIMITED TO THE USA, BUT INCLUDED THE WEST IN GENERAL, AND GERMANY IN PARTICULAR. THERE WAS, IN ADDITION, A DEEP HATRED FELT FOR THE SOVIET UNION. THIS ANTI-USSR FEELING SPANG FROM THE VERY RELIGION OF THE IRANIANS, AND IN THE LONG RUN WOULD DO MUCH TO PUT THE USA IN A FAR BETTER LIGHT HERE.

6. ALONG PREVIOUSLY REPORTED LINES, I EXPRESSED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO ESTABLISH AND ENCOURAGE GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND ASKED TABATABAI FOR ANY SUGGESTIONS HE MIGHT HAVE TO IMPROVE THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THIS REPORT. TABATABAI CLAIMED THAT OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN, INCLUDING THOSE AT THE WHITE HOUSE, DEPT OF STATE, AND MYSELF, SHOULD DO MORE TO MAKE PUBLIC OUR PRIVATE EXPRESSIONS OF UNDERSTANDING ON IRAN. HE SAID THAT THE ONLY REASON HE KNEW THE U.S. WAS MAKING SUCH EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WAS BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN TOLD SO IN CABINET MEETINGS. PRIOR TO HIS APPOINTMENT AS DEP PRIM MIN, HE HAD SIMPLY NOT REALIZED IT, AND CERTAINLY THE ORDINARY PEOPLE OF IRAN SAW NO INDICATION OF SUCH EFFORTS SINCE AMERICAN PRESS COVERAGE APPEARED TO BE ANTI-REVOLUTION IN TONE. I RESPONDED BY SAYING I HAD SEEN VERY LITTLE IN PERSIAN PRESS COVERAGE TO INDICATE IRAN'S DESIRE TO ENCOURAGE A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP, AND ASKED IF WHETHER SUCH A MUTUALLY DESCRIBED GOAL SHOULD NOT ALSO BE GIVEN OFFICIAL PUBLICITY IN IRAN. TABATABAI SAID THAT "IN A MONTH OR SO, WHEN POPULAR ANTI-U.S. FERVOR HAD SOMEWHAT DIED DOWN, THIS WOULD INDEED BE POSSIBLE. IF FRIENDLIER PUBLICITY COULD COMMENCE IN THE U.S., HOWEVER, IT WOULD MAKE THE PGOI'S TASK MUCH EASIER.

7. TABATABAI ALSO ASKED FOR MORE MEETINGS WITH ME SINCE HE HAD FOUND THE FRANK TALK TO BE VERY USEFUL. HE INDICATED, PERHAPS CARRIED AWAY BY HIS OWN

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TEHRAN 9144/2

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TEHRAN 09144

ENTHUSIASM, THAT HE WOULD EVEN COME TO THE EMBASSY IF IT WERE MORE CONVENIENT.

8. AS A LAST POINT, I THANKED TABATABAI FOR THE PGOI'S AID IN REPLACING THE (MASHALLAE KASHANI) EMBASSY SECURITY GUARD GROUP WITH A SECURITY UNIT MORE APPROPRIATE TO THE EMBASSY, AND STATED THAT THIS WOULD FACILITATE THE OPENING OF NORMAL CONSULAR ACTIVITIES WITHIN A SHORT TIME. TABATABAI'S RESPONSE WAS THAT HIS OFFICE HAD BEEN UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE ON THIS SCORE, AND AS A PARTING GIFT HE PRESENTED ME WITH A YOUNG RELATIVE'S STUDENT VISA APPLICATION FOR PROCESSING OUTSIDE THE NORMAL CHANNELS. LAINGEN

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TEHRAN 9144/2

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1975 O 454-25

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

TEHRAN 10563

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 10563

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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: SEAT 10/1/79
APPRV: CHARGE:LELAINGEN
DRFTD: POL:RASWIFT
CLEAR: ICA:JGRAVES
DISTR: POL:CHG ICA
ESON CONS CPROA
RP

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/1/95 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P
INFO: SEUM, IR
SUBJECT: CHARGE'S TALK WITH INTERIOR MINISTER ON
EXECUTIONS

REF: (A) TEHRAN 10511, (B) TEHRAN 10564

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).
2. SEPTELS GIVE FULL TEXT OF DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TABATABAIE'S STATEMENT OCTOBER 1 CRITICIZING CHARGE'S EXCHANGE ON EXECUTIONS WITH INTERIOR MINISTER SABAGHIAN AND TEXT OF INTEMPERATE ATTACK BY JUMHURI ISLAMI IN ITS EDITORIAL. SEPTEL ALSO REPORTS SABAGHIAN STATEMENTS ON TEHRAN RADIO THIS AFTERNOON -- STATEMENTS WHICH PUT ENTIRE EXCHANGE ON EXECUTIONS INTO MORE ACCURATE PERSPECTIVE
3. WHILE TABATABAIE'S COMMENTS ON CHARGE'S STATEMENT ON EXECUTIONS OF THREE SENATORS ARE FAIRLY STANDARD FARE, JUMHURI ISLAMI'S EDITORIAL IS NOT.
4. JUMHURI ISLAMI IS THE OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN PARTY WHICH IS CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH KHOMEINI. THE PARTY CHAIRMAN IS THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS AYATOLLAH BERESHTI. WHILE JUMHURI ISLAMI IS FAMOUS FOR ITS INTEMPERATE EDITORIALS (IT ATTACKED YAZDI ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO), IT CAN ALSO BE SEEN AS A SEMI-OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOME OF KHOMEINI'S CLOSEST ALLIES AND SUPPORTERS WITHIN THE CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT.
5. EMBASSY DOES NOT PLAN PUBLIC RESPONSE TO JUMHURI ISLAMI EDITORIAL. PAO GRAVES, HOWEVER, WILL RAISE OUR CONCERN OVER TABATABAIE'S STATEMENT AND ESPECIALLY TONE OF EDITORIAL WHEN HE SEES CHIEF OF THE FOREIGN PRESS DIVISION OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE BAZANDIA OCTOBER 2 IN APPOINTMENT SCHEDULED SOME DAYS AGO.
6. EMBASSY NOTES WITH WRY AMUSEMENT THAT TEHRAN TIMES ON SAME PAGE AS CHARGE'S MEETING WITH SABAGHIAN CARRIES STORY THAT MINISTER BAZARGAN TOLD ITALIAN JOURNALIST FALLACI THAT "HE DECEIVED SUMMARY EXECUTIONS BY IRAN REVOLUTIONARY COURTS, SAYING HE HAD OFTEN EXPRESSED HIS ANGER AND DISDAIN TO KHOMEINI." LAINGEN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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

TEHRAN 12563

VZCZC 254
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 FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4062
 INFO RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0026
 ET
 C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 10616

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/2/85 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P
 TAGS: IR, SOPN, PINT
 SUBJECT: CHARGE'S MEETING WITH DEP PRIM MIN TABATABAI
 REF: TEHRAN 10560

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: CHARGE HAD A MEETING WITH DEP PRIM MIN TABATABAI ON OCT 2 TO EXPRESS HIS CONCERN THAT PUBLIC MEDIA AND PGOI SPOKESMEN CONTINUED TO FEED NOTION THAT THE USA WAS HOSTILE TO THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. TABATABAI ASSURED CHARGE THAT THE JUMHURI-YE-ISLAMI EDITORIAL ATTACKING THE USA FOR CHARGE'S ALLEDGED "MEDDLING" OVER EXECUTIONS REFLECTED NEITHER OFFICIAL PGOI NOR KHOMEINI'S VIEWS. END SUMMARY.

3. CHARGE MET WITH DEP PRIM MIN AND GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN TABATABAI ON OCTOBER 2 TO DISCUSS INTER ALIA, THE JUMHURI-YE-ISLAMI EDITORIAL (REFTEL) WHICH HAD ACCUSED THE USA OF INTERFERING IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IN ANSWER TO CHARGE'S QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE JUMHURI-YE-ISLAMI NEWSPAPER REFLECTED EITHER THE PGOI OR QOM'S VIEWS VIS-A-VIS THE USA, TABATABAI EMPHASIZED THAT THIS WAS DEFINITELY NOT RPT NOT SO. HE SAID THAT THE PAPER WAS NOT EXPRESSING THE VIEWS OF EITHER THE PGOI, THE REVOLUTION'S LEADER IMAM KHOMEINI, OR ALL THE PEOPLE OF IRAN. THE PAPER DID, HOWEVER, REFLECT SENTIMENTS HELD BY "SOME RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND SOME OF THE PEOPLE. TABATABAI SAID THAT JUMHURI-YE-ISLAMI WAS ONE OF THE PGOI'S WORST CRITICS, AND HAD FREQUENTLY ACCUSED FONMIN YAZDI AND NIRT HEAD GHOBZADEH OF BEING AMERICANS. THE PAPER HAD ALSO ACCUSED THE PGOI OF BEING TOO PRO-WEST. TABATABAI SAID THAT WHEN HE READ THE EDITORIAL, HE HIMSELF HAD BEEN UPSET AT THE ATTACK ON BOTH THE US GOVERNMENT AND ON CHARGE.

4. TABATABAI CLAIMED THAT A RECENT ENGLISH LANGUAGE PAPER VERSION OF REMARKS BY HIM SUGGESTING THAT THE USA IS IRAN'S NUMBER ONE ENEMY HAD NOT BEEN AT ALL ACCURATE. WHAT HE HAD ACTUALLY SAID WAS THAT "IT IS A MISTAKE TO THINK OF THE USA AS OUR NUMBER ONE ENEMY. OUR MAIN ENEMY IS ISRAEL (AND ZIONISM) WHICH SEES ITS EXISTENCE THREATENED BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN." WHEN CHARGE ASKED WRILY WHETHER THIS MEANT THE PGOI NOW SAW THE USA AS ITS SECOND MAJOR ENEMY, TABATABAI SAID THIS WAS BY NO MEANS THE CASE. THE NUMBER TWO SPOT, HE CLAIMED, WAS HELD BY THE SOVIET UNION AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED. HE ADDED THAT THE

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SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD EVEN PAID A VISIT TO
PROTEST RECENT ANTI-SOVIET STATEMENTS.

5. COMMENTING FURTHER, TABATABAI SAID THAT HE HIMSELF
SAW RELIGIOUS AND LEFTIST FANATICISM AS THE CHIEF
DANGER TO THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. HE CLAIMED THAT
THE NEWSPAPER JUMHUPI-YE-ISLAMI WAS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF
THIS SORT OF FANATICISM.

6. COMMENT: IN GENERAL, THE TONE OF THE MEETING WAS
WARM AND FRIENDLY, WITH TABATABAI DOING HIS BEST TO BE
CONCILIATORY. CERTAINLY THERE IS NO ANTI-AMERICANISM
EVIDENT IN HIS OWN OFFICE. TABATABAI'S STAFF-AIDE
ESCORTED CHARGE DOWN TO THE LOBBY AND TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY
TO ASK FOR HELP WITH A NEPHEW'S STUDENT VISA. FYI:
PRESS ATTENTION TO CHARGE-SABAGHIAN EXCHANGE WAS VERY
LIGHT OCTOBER 2. ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEHRAN
TIMES AND KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL CARRIED TABATABAI'S
STATEMENTS (RETFEL) TO PRESS AND ALSO QUOTED TEHRAN
RADIO OCT 1 AS CRITICIZING SABAGHIAN FOR EVEN OFFERING
AN EXPLANATION TO CHARGE'S COMMENTS. FARSI PRESS
OCTOBER 2 DID NOT MENTION THE SABAGHIAN-CHARGE-
TABATABAI EXCHANGE. LAINGEN

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PR RUQMER
DT RUETROL #8713 2911618
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2479
INFO RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4483
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 5656
RUQMER/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 1045
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 18713

POL
CHRG
ECON
RF
CHRN

P.O. 12065: GDS 12/18/85 (VAN HEUVEN, MARTEN) CR-P
TAGS: PEPR, GW, IR
SUBJECT: TABATABAI TO MEET FRG OFFICIALS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONFIRMED TO US ON OCTOBER 18 A NEWSPAPER REPORT THAT IRANIAN VICE PRIME MINISTER TABATABAI WILL MEET THIS WEEK WITH CHANCELLERY STATE MINISTER WISCHNEWSKI AND OFFICIALS OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. OUR SOURCE IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE SAID THAT TABATABAI IS IN THE FRG ON A PRIVATE VISIT (HIS FAMILY STILL RESIDES HERE), AND IS TAKING THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH THE FRG. OUR SOURCE CLAIMED THAT THERE WAS NO OTHER PARTICULAR REASON FOR THE TALKS. HE COULD NOT EXPLAIN WHY TABATABAI WAS MEETING INTERIOR OFFICIALS.
3. WE WILL SEEK A READOUT ON THE DISCUSSIONS NEXT WEEK. STOESSEL
BT
#8713

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1973-507-456

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RR RUQMHR
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2676
INFO RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 0038
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0909
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4566
RUERMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 8209
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 5738
RUQMRR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 1048

ECON
CHARGE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 19172

R.O. 12065: GDS 10/25/85 (VAN HEUVEN, MARTEN) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, IR, GW, EGEN, ENRG
SUBJECT: TABATABAI MEETS SCHMIDT, WISCHNEWSKI

REF: BONN 18713

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THE FOREIGN OFFICE IRANIAN AFFAIRS OFFICER SCHOEPS TOLD US OCTOBER 24 THAT THE MOST INTERESTING PART OF THE OCTOBER 19 DISCUSSION BETWEEN IRANIAN VICE PREMIER TABATABAI AND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT (WHO JOINED THE SCHEDULED MEETING WITH HIS DEPUTY STATE MINISTER WISCHNEWSKI) WAS AN EXCHANGE CONCERNING THE USHIRE NUCLEAR CONTRACT WITH KWU. TABATABAI EXPRESSED IRAN'S CONTINUED INTEREST IN RESTARTING WORK ON THE PROJECT, AND SUGGESTED GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS DIRECTED TOWARD THE END. THE GERMAN POSITION WAS THAT THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD TALK DIRECTLY TO KWU - IT WOULD BE IMPROPER FOR THE FRG TO INSERT ITSELF INTO PRIVATE BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS. SCHOEPS SAID THE FOREIGN OFFICE WAS NOT CERTAIN TO WHAT EXTENT TABATABAI WAS AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER IN BONN.

OIL. IRAN'S OIL SUPPLIES WERE DISCUSSED BRIEFLY. TABATABAI INDICATED THAT, DESPITE SOME UNEXPECTED PRODUCTION PROBLEMS, THE CURRENT PRODUCTION LEVEL WOULD BE MAINTAINED. SCHOEPS SAID THIS ACCORDED WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S ASSESSMENT OF IRANIAN PLANNING.

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KURDS. SCHOEPS TERMED TABATABAI'S

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1978-356-844

COMMENTARY ON THE KURDISH REBELLION A DISAPPOINTING REPETITION OF TEHRAN'S PROPAGANDA LINE ON MINORITY PROBLEMS. THE GERMANS HAD HOPED FOR A FRANK EXCHANGE ON THIS PROBLEM.

5. OTHER ISSUES. SCHOEPS CLAIMED TO BE UNINFORMED ABOUT OTHER MEETINGS TABATABAI HAD PLANNED, INCLUDING THOSE AT THE INTERIOR MINISTRY (RFFTEL) AND WITH POLITICIANS. SCHOEPS NOTED THAT TABATABAI WAS STILL IN GERMANY ON HIS ESSENTIALLY PRIVATE VISIT, AND MIGHT NOT HAVE YET HELD THE MEETINGS. SCHOEPS SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO DISCUSSION OF THIRD COUNTRIES.

6. SCHOEPS SUMMED UP THE VISIT AS WITHOUT RESULT, AS HAD BEEN EXPECTED. HE THOUGHT THAT THE VISIT HAD BEEN A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO REINFORCE, THROUGH TABATABAI, GERMANY'S RELATIONSHIP TO IRAN. THE IRANIAN SPOKESMAN WORKED AS A PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY IN BOCHUM FOR SEVENTEEN YEARS, HAD MARRIED A GERMAN WOMAN, WHO WAS STILL RESIDING IN BOCHUM WITH THEIR CHILDREN (HENCE TABATABAI'S VISIT), AND SPOKE EXCELLENT GERMAN (BUT NO ENGLISH). SCHOEPS TOLD US THAT BONN VIEWS HIM AS "THEIR MAN IN TEHRAN," ALTHOUGH THE GERMANS ARE NOT QUITE SURE OF HIS INFLUENCE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. SCHOEPS SAID THAT THEIR INFORMATION INDICATED THAT TABATABAI HAD A FAIRLY GOOD RELATIONSHIP TO KHOMEINI BECAUSE OF THEIR CONTACTS WHEN THE LATTER WAS IN PARIS.

7. COMMENT: SCHOEPS FELT THAT, GIVEN THE CURRENT UNPOPULARITY OF THE US AND UK IN IRAN, TABATABAI'S GERMAN TIES GIVES BONN AN ADVANTAGE IN DEALING WITH TEHRAN THAT EVEN THE FRENCH DO NOT HAVE. SCHMIDT'S DECISION TO TAKE TIME OUT FROM HIS BUSY SCHEDULE TO JOIN THE TABATABAI-WISCHNEWSKI MEETING SHOWS A CONSCIOUS GERMAN EFFORT TO CULTIVATE THIS PERCEIVED ADVANTAGE. END COMMENT. STOESSSEL

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

صادق قطب زاده

Tehran, Iran

January 12, 1978

OFFICIAL INFORMAL
CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Charles W. Naas, Director
and Mr. Myles L. Greene
NEA/IRN
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Charlie and Myles:

Realizing that the holidays, combined with the President's visit, have impeded my progress, I hope you won't mind a joint effort which tries to answer Charlie's letter of November 23 and Myles' epic of December 27.

First things first--we trust you have seen that part of the President's press conference given on his way home which refers to human rights and Iran. I am enclosing the relevant question and answer, including an extra copy which we would appreciate your flogging to D/HA when they show signs of loosing the presidential perspective. We were very pleased by the Visit and, as you know from others, so were the Iranians. My contacts, especially some of the "alienated ones", were delighted to see the President mention human rights and relieved that he did not go on too heavily.

Qajar Cuties: Myles, thanks for sending us the Firouz material. Suffice to say, we feel the Prince has no backing here, and your question about human rights under the Qajars gets right to the heart of the matter. Moreover, such sketchy views as I have been able to turn up suggest that Firouz became an early apologist for Soviet views and has not demonstrably changed his spots in the past few years though he may be a more sophisticated exponent of them than today's crop of students are of theirs.

The Waldheim letter is interesting of course, because the signatories have figured in this type of correspondence addressed to others. I do not know if Waldheim has seen the letter, but it was eventually delivered to the U.N.,

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according to a local source with contacts among the oppositionists. The charges within the letter are the extreme points of view on all subjects, usually containing a kernel of fact and popcorn balls of inuendo. It would be rather useless and too time-consuming to go into all the inaccuracies in the piece, but let me cite a couple of the more obvious: 1) Comments on torture which hint at recent use are probably flatly false; 2) the description of the Resurgence Party clearly misrepresents the amount of popular participation and is flatly wrong stating that the GOI has intimidated people into voting for approved candidates; and 3) the letter overdoes the point about lack of freedom of expression--the letter itself being one form of such freedom.

It would be useful for us if you could have INR/OIL/B run some spot checks thru the computer on the names at the bottoms of the various letters we've sent you--I know their computer can do it, if someone will take the initiative. In that connection, I'm enclosing a rough cut at a list of key dissidents which you might like to crank into the process.

Regarding the enclosure to Charlie's letter from the Liberation Movement, I have checked with my OR colleagues who are as mystified as I am about some of the "incidents" portrayed in the "communique". The "execution" of Akhoondi was, of course, carried out after a military tribunal convicted him of killing Embassy employee Hosnan. The GOI's weakness on this one stems from the fact that his trial was announced and sentence carried out before the effective date of the reforms, but after they had been announced. The October "religious demonstrations" mentioned in the other communique do not correspond to the dates we have for some events, and include others which we are not convinced took place at all. For example: Tehran University students have not, to our knowledge, called for the return of Khomeini (as charged in item 1); attacks against the students were not carried out before November 18 (item 2); and there appear to have been no religious disturbances in October except for the larger meeting on October 15, which the communique dates as the 7th, and places in the wrong city. We have not run the names of alleged torture victims through our special contact, but we have no other knowledge of them. (Perhaps one of the international groups visiting Iran's prisons could ask about them?)

Which brings us to Sadigh (or Sadegh) Ghotbazadeh (or Gombazadeh), who wrote the Department's Robert Montell. We received his packet, apparently from Ollie Jones in HA/HR

(through you?). Ghotbzadeh, of course is the noted T.V. personality who went on 60 minutes in March 1977 charging Savak with trying to kill him and producing a rather elderly old man as a witness. Our sketchy records show he was a student in the U.S. in the early '60s and is a member of "moderate" dissident movement in Europe. He has been linked to Musa Sadr's group in Lebanon and has traveled to the Mideast many times under assumed names. He is in the U.S. lookout book, but apparently turns up in America with disgusting (and probably illegal) regularity. His bio should be checked out thoroughly.

We have no other information on the specific charges in the packet, either regarding individual names, or the text of what appears to be the Movement's description of Iranian conditions. The latter seems to be grossly overdrawn, badly out of date in some spots, and takes no account of what's been happening during the past year in Iran. Should anything else turn up, we'll let you know.

To return briefly to Myles' recent letter: we hope that, armed with the President's remarks, the final "country evaluation plan" which emerges is sensible and recognizes that there are probably a lot of other regions which have a lot further to go than this one. On the other hand, steady, objective pressure such as that applied by Bill Butler (we note with pleasure his projected return to Iran this spring), can probably push the cause ahead.

One last note on the question of executions: To our best knowledge in the past three years there have never been any executions without due process according to Iranian law. There have been folks killed in shootouts, but I can hardly bring myself to call them "innocent college students" when the police (not SAVAK, the police) haul out an arms cache that would have given the Viet Cong control of a whole district in my Vietnam days from the "innocent lodgings" from which these students have been shooting at police for several minutes to an hour or more. Perhaps the above is a bit irisky, but you understand my point--in my time here, the GCI has not resorted to the random police killing that marks some other regimes. It seems unfair to single out Iran simply because the radical leftist movement has its propaganda effort better grounded (from where, by the way?) than its counterparts in China, the Philippines, etc.

Here and better New Years to you both--and what's this about Myles' departure?

Best to all,


John D. Stempel

Enclosures



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

January 17, 1979

TO: NEA/IRN - Mr. Henry Precht
FROM: PM/SSP - Robert B. Mantel
SUBJECT: Contact with Sadegh Ghotbzadeh in November 1977

I want to bring to your attention the substance of a conversation with Sadegh Ghotbzadeh who, according to recent press reports, appears to be a key aide and spokesman for the Ayatollah Khomeini. Ghotbzadeh called me some time in November, 1977, to request that I have lunch with him, identifying himself as head of an Iranian resistance movement based in Paris. I asked Charlie Naas, then Country Director for Iran, whether he had any information on Ghotbzadeh. Naas did not know of Ghotbzadeh of his organization. I subsequently had lunch with Ghotbzadeh, approximately 2-3 weeks prior to the visit of the Shah in December, 1977 if my memory is correct. Main points made by Ghotbzadeh follow:

-- he was in the US to make contact with Americans both in and out of the Government whom he knew were familiar with Iranian affairs. (He apparently was familiar with my Senate Foreign Relations Committee Staff Report on "US Military Sales to Iran.")

-- he and his organization were admirers of the US and the ideals for which it stood. He was particularly pleased with the emphasis being placed on human rights by the Carter Administration, and saw an opportunity to influence the policies of the Administration so that it would not repeat the mistakes of previous Administrations namely -- identifying US interests in Iran and the region as being coincident with and dependent upon the views, policies, and indeed the continuing rule of the Shah.

-- the Shah was universally hated within Iran, and that pressures were building throughout Iranian society against the Shah and his repressive form of government.

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-7-

Dispute SAVAK, he and his organization had clandestine contacts with all levels of Iranian society, including the military. These contacts were reporting that the Shah was increasingly unpopular and that a revolution was brewing.

-- the US was identified with the Shah's repression because of the US view that US interests required unqualified support of the Shah and his policies. But the Shah did have many common interests but that the US would not act when the revolution came unless the Carter Administration took steps to avoid identification with the regime and its repression.

-- with regard to the military, the top generals and other leaders were "bought" by the Shah, but low and middle ranking officers were increasingly dissatisfied of the corruption and repression under the Shah. At the crunch came, the bulk of the military would support the Iranian people rather than their corrupt leaders.

-- in conclusion, Chouhzaeh stressed that he had renewed hope in the Carter Administration as a result of its policies of human rights. He hoped the present restraint policy announced by the President would lead to a more realistic posture vis-a-vis the Shah's regime, many of which merely wasted Iranian resources.

I discussed the above with Charlie Bass following the meeting. Subsequently, Chouhzaeh sent me information published by his organization, including a communication of August 22, 1978 in the name of Ayatollah Shewrooz. I forwarded all of this information to H/NS who, I understand, circulated it to NSA/ERS and IAS/NSA and to General

I have not heard from Chouhzaeh in any particular way since the luncheon and the subsequent personal letter of December, 1977, which, in retrospect, was not particularly

Chouhzaeh seemed to be a serious fellow who spoke in a moderate, sensible way. He hoped the new Administration would change American policy toward Iran; if so he would welcome it. He did not seem ideologically anti-American.

I hope that the above is of interest and possible use to you.

(Attachment)

cc: IAS/NSA - Mr. George Andrews

CONFIDENTIAL

SADEGH GHOTBZADEH

66, RUE DU MOULIN DE LA POINTE

75012 PARIS

TÉL. 589-54-73

مادق قتب زاده

File BIO

From: Ellis O. Jones
HA/HR

12/27

GHOTBZ

Mr. Robert Montell
Department of State
Bureau of Political and
Military Affairs
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

RTN TO J.
STAMPED
POL

Dear Mr. Montell,

I hope you are well and fine. I'm sorry that I haven't been able to write you sooner, but I wish to thank you now for your valuable time that you gave me in Washington.

Enclosed you'll find documents concerning tortures, police methods, letters from the families of the imprisoned and certain communiqués regarding Iran. Unfortunately some of them are still in the original French. These will be translated into English and the translations sent to you later on; however, in view of the urgency resulting from the Shah's upcoming visit to the U.S., I thought it best to send you everything as is.

I hope you realize that this trip is extremely important because it is the first contact with the present Carter Administration. I am sure that the Shah will try the same methods and the same arguments that he used during his first trip to Washington after the late President Kennedy took office. He'll try to convince President Carter that if he is given a free hand with his repressive methods, he will soon finish off the opposition and rally the people around himself.

Needless to say, this argument holds no water. He has used it before and he has failed over and over. But since he uses this kind of argument with new people each time, he succeeds in getting away with his crimes and goes off scot-free to commit fresh ones.

I'm not trying to analyze the entire American foreign policy in Iran, nor the Shah's policy regarding our people, but rather what I wish to emphasize is the fact that our people see the Americans supporting the Shah as the primary cause of repression in Iran. The Shah is in real trouble in Iran, economically, politically and socially. I hope you are aware of all this and that when you judge the Shah, you will judge him on the entire record of his rule, taking all these things into account.

I sincerely hope the documents submitted here will find their way to the President's attention, and I trust to you to do this in whatever way you deem most helpful. I hope to see you soon in Washington and promise to send you more documents on various subjects. In the meantime I remain.

Yours sincerely,

Sadegh Ghotbadeh

P.S. A commission of the Red Cross has gone to Iran and made inquiries about the political prisoners and their conditions in the prisons. The reports will be secret but should be extremely useful. I hope you will be able to get hold of this report through the necessary channels.

ACTION

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S E C R E T STATE 017110

12065: GDS 1/21/79 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINT, IR

SUBJECT: SADEGH GHOTBZADEH

1. AMERICAN PROFESSOR WHO HAS KNOWN GHOTBZADEH FOR YEARS TELLS US THAT IN THE PAST TWO YEARS HIS POSITION IN KHOMEINI ENTOURAGE APPEARS TO HAVE CHANGED. FORMERLY, GHOTBZADEH WAS CLEARLY THE DOMINANT PERSONALITY, TO WHOM YAZDI SHOWED DEFERENCE. DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS, HOWEVER, THE TWO MEN HAVE SEEMED ABOUT EQUAL IN RANK AND STATURE.

2. PROFESSOR DESCRIBED GHOTBZADEH'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AS LEFT OF CENTER, STRONGLY ANTI-COMMUNIST. SINCE HIS STUDENT DAYS IN THE US, GHOTBZADEH HAS HAD A CONSPIRATORAL/REVOLUTIONARY OUTLOOK. OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, THOUGH, HE HAS APPEARED MORE DISCIPLINED AND LESS PRONE TO SHOOT FROM THE HIP WITH WILD IDEAS.

3. GHOTBZADEH HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOUMEDIENNE AND ARAFAT. HE ALLEGEDLY DESPISES THE IRAQIS AND ADMIRES KHRAD. HE WAS CLOSE TO MUSA SADR AND INVOLVED IN SHIA AFFAIRS IN LEBANON. HIS RELATIONS WITH QADAFFI HAVE BEEN AN ON-AND-OFF AFFAIR.

4. GHOTBZADEH APPEARS TO BE GENERALLY RESPECTED BY THE KHOMEINI GROUP (BEHESHTI AND BARZARGAN) IN TEHRAN.

5. FINALLY, DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED SEVERAL CALLS FROM MASIR AFSHAR REGARDING GHOTBZADEH'S PROSPECTIVE VISIT TO THE U.S. WE ARE DECLINING TO DEAL THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES.

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10 12065 GDS 4/6/85

FOR SHELLENBERGER/SNOW FROM BRESCIA

CLASSIFIED BY: PETER F. BRESCIA, DEPUTY DIRECTOR - NEA
1. ON FRIDAY APRIL 6, HERB ERB AND I HAD A CONVERSATION WITH
DR. F. TROWBRIDGE VOM BAUR, A WASHINGTON ATTORNEY WHO HAS HAD
A LONG STANDING ACQUAINTANCESHIP OF SADEGH GHOTBZADEH OF WIRT.
DR. VOM BAUR REPRESENTED GHOTBZADEH IN 1961 WHEN HE WAS
ARRESTED FOR CONDUCTING AN ANTI-SHAH DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN
AT THE IRANIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. THE INCIDENT OCCURRED
WHILE GHOTBZADEH WAS A STUDENT AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY'S
SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE. THE ARREST ULTIMATELY RESULTED
IN HIS BEING DEPORTED FROM THE U.S. AND HIS BEING TRIED IN
ABSENTIA IN IRAN AND SENTENCED TO DEATH. GHOTBZADEH AND
VOM BAUR HAVE BEEN IN CORRESPONDENCE AND HAVE BEEN SEEING
EACH OTHER INTERMITTENTLY OVER THESE LONG YEARS.

2. VOM BAUR WAS VERY FORTHCOMING IN GIVING US HIS VERY HIGH
OPINION OF GHOTBZADEH. HE FEELS THAT HE IS A MAN OF GREAT
INTELLIGENCE, INTEGRITY, AND CONSCIENTIOUSNESS. HE CHARAC-
TERIZED HIM AS MODERATE IN HIS OUTLOOK, WILLING TO MAKE
CAREFULLY REASONED JUDGMENTS BASED ON FACTS AND LOGIC. VOM
BAUR CONSIDERED HIM TO BE A FRIEND OF AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE IN SPITE OF HIS LONG-STANDING ANTI-SHAH POSITION.

3. THE MATTER OF DR. AMINI'S SITUATION WAS OUTLINED WITH
VOM BAUR IN ORDER TO GET HIS ADVICE ON A POSSIBLE COURSE OF
ACTION THROUGH GHOTBZADEH. HE ADVISED THAT A CAREFULLY-
THOUGHT, WRITTEN EXPLANATION OF THE SITUATION MAY BE HELPFUL
IN GETTING GHOTBZADEH'S ASSISTANCE IN INTERCEDING ON DR.
AMINI'S BEHALF. HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT GHOTBZADEH WOULD BE
PERSUADED BY THE FACTS IN THE CASE RATHER THAN BY EMOTION-
ALISM.

4. I EXPLAINED TO VOM BAUR THAT WE WOULD BE RELAYING THE CON-
TENTS OF OUR DISCUSSION WITH HIM TO THE POST, AND VOM BAUR
AGREED THAT THIS WOULD BE ALL RIGHT WITH HIM.

REINHARDT

BT
#7877

FIELD INFORMATION REPORT

EVALUATION OF SOURCE: A. Completely reliable. B. Usually reliable. C. Fairly reliable. D. Not usually reliable. E. Not reliable. (Applied to sources of doubtful honesty or loyalty, regardless of their competence). F. Not usually reliable. G. Not usually reliable. (Applied to untested or insufficiently tested sources).

APPRAISAL OF CONTENT: 1. Confirmed by other independent and reliable sources. 2. Probably true. 3. Possibly true. 4. Doubtful. 5. Probably false. 6. Cannot be judged. Documentation: Based on original document.

SECRET
BEFORE/CONTINUED CONTROL

COUNTRY	Iran	REPORT NO.	MIT-5785
SUBJECT	Iranian Government Report on Asadollah's Mobasheris	DATE OF REPORT	13 February 1962
		NO. OF PAGES	3
		REFERENCES	MIT-5362, 5630
DATE OF INFO	October 1961		
PLACE & DATE ACQ.	Iran, Tehran (11 January 1962)		
SOURCE EVALUATIONS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE. NOTE FOREGOING EXPLANATION.			

SOURCE: Iranian intelligence officer (C) with access to reports concerning internal security matters. Appraisal of Content: 3.

Below is an edited translation of a report on Asadollah Mobasheris, chief of the inspections department, Ministry of Justice, prepared in the National Intelligence and Security Organization (SAVAK) in October 1961.

Asadollah Mobasheris is fifty years old and married. He has five children and resides in his own house, first on the right, Niche Shepur Ali Reza, Pahlavi Avenue. He completed his elementary and secondary education in Tehran and graduated from the law college in 1935, this also being the year he was employed by the Justice Ministry. He began his civil service with the Justice Department at Yazd, and was subsequently transferred first to Isfahan and then to Shiraz. Afterward he was transferred to Tehran for reasons mentioned hereunder, and has been in Tehran since.

Mobasheris was in Isfahan during World War II and at a time when the Tudeh [Communist] Party was at the peak of its power throughout the country, particularly in working centers. Mobasheris provoked the workers of the Isfahan mills, suggesting that they throw the employers out of the mills, have committees elected to run the mills, pay wages and other expenses out of the proceeds of sales, and hand over the remainder, if any, to the employers. His provocations resulted in extensive strikes at Isfahan; government authorities, finding Mobasheris the agent provocateur and responsible for the workers' strikes, transferred him to Shiraz. There, too, he was active and endeavored to provoke tribal chieftains. His activity attracted the attention of the British Consul at Shiraz, who reported Mobasheris's secret efforts to the British Embassy in Tehran and the latter asked the Foreign Office to have Mobasheris recalled to Tehran and no position or mission be given him anywhere in the south. Consequently, Mobasheris was transferred to Tehran and assumed his new duties here as deputy public prosecutor for the Penal Court, and in this capacity he helped the late Ali Akbar Muzavizadeh, who was later Justice Minister, investigate dossiers on

BEFORE/CONTINUED CONTROL
SECRET

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

- 2 -

railway employees and the impeachment sent to the Pinal Court against Hussein Rafiqi, former Director-general of the Railway Administration. Mubashari was lenient toward Hussein Rafiqi and as a result he was able to obtain many privileges for the Dabshite and a branch of the Central United Council in the railways.²

Mubashari visited Europe in 1947 and 1948 and during this visit went to get his LL.D. in Paris. Upon his return to Iraq he was given an important position until the late Ahmad Ali Alkhatib was made Justice Minister. Subsequent to 21 July 1952, he was made Administrative Director of the Justice Ministry on Lutfi's instruction. At the same time he was also a Supreme Court Judge.

When General Fawziyah Taha took over as Prime Minister the government and Justice Ministry received reports that Mubashari was a Tashik Party member, and so he lost his position and he had no executive job until 1955. In that year Ali Asiri took over as Minister of Justice and Muz-d-Din Alkhatib put in a few good words for Mubashari and as a result Mubashari was made head of the technical division of the Justice Ministry.³ Toward the end of Muhammad Ali Hakeem's term as Justice Minister, Mubashari also was made deputy prosecutor for the Supreme Court (Court of Cassation). He eventually was made Director-general of inspection by present Justice Minister Alkhatib. Mubashari also acts as adviser to Alkhatib and takes part in all secret and executive committees of the ministry. Mubashari is a member of the eight-man secret committee in the Justice Ministry, set up by Alkhatib.⁴ Friends of Mubashari include Alkhatib, Fawziyah Taha, Hussein Rafiqi, publisher of Qasab-Iraq, Faridun Tawfik, Ahmad Hameed, Mubashari and Muz-d-Din Alkhatib.⁵

In 1945 Mubashari created an intelligence network for the Tashik Party to get information on political activity of the British Railway officials in Tahrir. When the British learned of this network they assigned the late Muz-d-Din Alkhatib, one of their agents and a Justice Ministry official, to approach Mubashari about joining the anti intelligence network, if possible, in order to keep the British Railway informed of the network activity. Incidentally, the late Muz-d-Din Alkhatib was able to join the network as a probationary member. At that time, Mubashari's intelligence network had taken a shop opposite the British Embassy gate on Fawziyah Avenue in order to overwatch the people going into the embassy. The shop was run by one of the network members. So one night when the late Muz-d-Din Alkhatib was going into the British Embassy to report and give documents to the British Railway officials, the network member in charge of the shop, who knew all network members, saw him going into the British Embassy and reported this to the network at once. Muz-d-Din Alkhatib was dismissed from the network the next day and the network changed its tactics. There is no information available on the present status of this network.

Mubashari had an important part in gathering the judges, who asked for a raise, together and getting them to strike for a few hours about the time the teachers had arranged their strike during the last days of Jafer Sharif-Saadi's office.

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SECRET/CONTINUED CRIMES

" 3 "

Final Comments

1. Such leader General Nazim Ibrahim, chief of SAKM, and Dahir, former Director Al-Baqer, former chief of SAKM, have with them in an apartment that Ehsanani once was a Communist. Ehsanani also commented that Ehsanani had done some useful work against the Iraqi Party in London some years ago. Ali Vassil, assistant to Prime Minister Ali Amir, has said that Ehsanani is practically the reincarnation of the Imam Ali: a pure, religious, uneducated man, but functionally opposed to corruption.
2. This probably is connected with a case in which Ehsanani was ordered by his superior to examine all persons former military employees who had been detained during World War II on security grounds. The case had been assigned on good evidence of meetings connections between the individuals. They were ordered with an attitude that they would not be allowed again to attend classes of Communist doctrine.
3. Ali Amir was Minister of Justice from May to December 1955, and before that; organized committee to Washington.
4. CIA-5600 concluded that this committee had been formed, held secret meetings, and was concerned with approving appointments, transfers, promotions and other changes in the military.
5. According to earlier reports Amir, a lawyer, was a former member of the Iraqi Party, but left the Party when he discovered that it was under USSR sponsorship. In 1951 he was reported to be associated with the National Front, and in 1954 with the National Resistance Movement. CIA-5600 and 5362 are Iranian Government reports concerning activities in the government and mention these persons.
6. This report has been coordinated with the Embassy.

SECRET/CONTINUED CRIMES

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TELEGRAM

INDICATE
 COLLECT
 CHARGE TO

FROM: AMEMBASSY TEHRAN CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

TAGS: CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN

ACTION: E.O. 12065: GDS 3/29/85 (TAYLOR, GLYDE D.) OR-E

TAGS: ECON, EFIM, IP

SUBJECT: (C) PLANNING AND BUDGET MINISTER MOINFAR'S VIEWS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THE EMBASSY HAS EXTRACTED THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS BY MINISTER OF STATE FOR THE PLAN AND BUDGET ORGANIZATION ALI AKBAR MOINFAR FROM A TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW MARCH 24 OF 82 GRANTED A FOREIGN JOURNALIST (FINANCIAL TIMES - PROTECT). WE UNDERSTAND THAT LITTLE OF THE INTERVIEW WAS PUBLISHED. MOINFAR'S COMMENTS DO NOT REVEAL A HIGH LEVEL OF EXPERTISE OR ARTICULATION, BUT PERHAPS THAT WAS INTENTIONAL, OR AT LEAST UNDERSTANDABLE, GIVEN THE PRESENT CHARACTER OF THE GOI. EMBASSY COMMENTS FOLLOW SOME OF HIS STATEMENTS.

3. THE BUDGET: THERE WILL BE A "TEMPORARY" BUDGET FOR THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF THE NEW YEAR (I.E., MARCH 21 TO JUNE 21), DURING WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO STUDY ALL THE

BY: TAYLOR:HAM	DRAFTING DATE: 3/29/79	TEL. EXT.: 1137	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: E/CACB/TAYLOR
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CONFIDENTIAL
 CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 100
 (Rev. 10-6-75)
 January 1976
 Dept. of State

[PROBLEMS AND MAKE FINAL DECISIONS ON EXPENDITURES.]

THUS, WE HOPE TO HAVE AN ANNUAL BUDGET WITHIN THE THREE MONTH PERIOD. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE BUDGET WILL BE PLANNED FROM THE EXPENDITURE SIDE AND NOT ON REVENUE POTENTIAL, WHICH IS CHIEFLY A FUNCTION OF THE DISCRETIONARY LEVEL OF OIL EXPERTS. THE AIM IS NOT TO SPEND MONEY FOR AMBITIOUS PROJECTS. THE BUDGET WILL NOT BE AS HIGH AS LAST YEAR'S (NOTE: WHICH WAS AUTHORIZED AT RIALS 2935 BILLION OR DOLS. 41.6/^{BN.}AT 70.5 CONVERSION) IT WILL PROBABLY BE 75-80 PERCENT OF THE 1357 LEVEL. REDUCTIONS WILL BE OBTAINED FROM THE MILITARY SIDE ALTHOUGH IT IS TRUE THAT WE HAVE OTHER EXPENSES FOR THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE SUCH AS RURAL ~~RXXX~~ ROADS, LOW-INCOME HOUSING, NEEDS OF THE VILLAGES AND AGRICULTURE. COMMENT: THERE IS LITTLE SURPRISING IN HIS MOST GENERAL VIEWS, BUT IT IS GOOD THAT HE REALIZES THE POTENTIAL FOR WELFARE EXPENDITURES, WHICH TO A LARGE DEGREE WILL OFFSET SAVINGS FROM MAJOR PROJECTS AND MILITARY CUTS. HIS ESTIMATE ON THE 1358 BUDGET (I.E., 75 TO 80 PERCENT OF 1357'S), WOULD PUT IT AT ABOUT THE SAME LEVEL AS 1356, I.E., RLS. 2200 TO 2350 BILLION.

4. MAJOR PROJECTS: PROJECTS SUCH AS KISH ISLAND ARE NOT RIGHT FOR OUR PEOPLE. I AM NOT AGAINST TOURISM, BUT BEFORE GOING AHEAD WITH LARGE HOTELS OTHER NEEDS SHOULD [BE CONSIDERED. WE HAVE INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS WHICH ARE]

[UNDER STUDY, PROJECTS WHICH WE HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER]
TO CONTINUE OR PUT ON HOLD. IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT
SUCH PROJECTS WILL BE DELAYED OR CHANGED CONSIDERABLY.
THE SECOND GAS PIPELINE (I.E., IGAT II) IS AMONG OUR
MAIN PROJECTS WHICH ARE UNDER STUDY. COMMENT: OUR
SOURCE SAID HE TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO PIN MOINFAR DOWN
ON VARIOUS MAJOR PROJECTS, ESPECIALLY IGAT II; HIS
IMPRESSION WAS THAT MOINFAR AND STAFF DO NOT HAVE
ANSWERS YET AND THAT THE STAFF IS NOT UP TO MEETING
SUCH TASKS.

5. REVENUES: THE JOURNALIST SUGGESTED OIL REVENUE OF
DOLS 16 BILLION FOR YEAR 1358; MOINFAR SAID HE DID NOT
KNOW WHAT TO SAY TO THAT. HE SAID THAT THE MAXIMUM
OIL PRODUCTION WAS 6 MILLION (B/D), BUT HE SUPPOSED IT
WOULD BE LESS THAN THAT AND, IN ANY CASE, WOULD BE
RELATED TO THE EXPENDITURE NEEDS. CUSTOMS REVENUE MAY
NOT BE AS MUCH AS BEFORE SINCE THE IMPORTATION OF LUXURY
AND NON-ESSENTIAL GOODS WILL BE REDUCED. THERE WILL BE
NO ENTRIES IN THE BUDGET FOR REVENUE FROM FOREIGN LOANS
NOR LOANS TO OTHER COUNTRIES. WE HAVE NO NEED FOR
FOREIGN LOANS. OUR NATION HAS DEVELOPED TO THE EXTENT
THAT IF THE PEOPLE FEEL THE GOVERNMENT IS IN NEED OF
MONEY THEY WOULD GIVE IT THEIR JEWELS, RINGS, NECKLACES
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE ARE THE SAME. COMMENT:
[APART FROM THE FOOLISHNESS, WE BELIEVE THAT MOINFAR HAS]

[NOT FACED UP TO THE OBLIGATIONS MADE TO SOME FOREIGN COUNTRIES, WHICH, THOUGH NOT LARGE IN FIRM COMMITMENTS, WOULD BE POLITICALLY AND IN SOME CASES ECONOMICALLY (E.G., THE IRON ORE PROJECT IN INDIA) UNWISE TO DISHONOR.

6. CONSEQUENCES OF CANCELLING PROJECTS: THE INTERVIEWER LED MOINFAR INTO THE CONSEQUENCES OF CANCELLED PROJECTS. MOINFAR SAID THAT CANCELLING A PROJECT DOES NOT MEAN UNEMPLOYMENT; THE TYPES OF PROJECTS WILL BE CHANGED SO THE SAME UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE WILL FIND WORK ELSEWHERE. ALSO CONSIDER THAT WE HAVE HAD A GREAT NUMBER OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THIS COUNTRY. I DO AGREE, HE SAID, THAT IN THE FIRST FEW MONTHS THERE WILL BE UNEMPLOYMENT, BUT GRADUALLY THERE WILL BE OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED. I BELIEVE IN NEW TECHNOLOGY. BUT IF TECHNOLOGY CAUSES UNEMPLOYMENT IT SHOULD NOT BE EMPLOYED. HE GAVE AS AN EXAMPLE ROAD CONSTRUCTION, SAYING THAT IF THERE ARE NUMBERS OF UNSKILLED WORKERS IDLE, THE MACHINERY, ALTHOUGH ALREADY PROCURED, SHOULD BE LEFT ASIDE AND THE WORKERS EMPLOYED.

7. ARREARAGES ON PUBLIC PROJECTS: HE SAID THAT THE PROBLEM ON ARREARAGES RELATES NOT ONLY TO FOREIGN CONTRACTORS ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ BUT LOCAL. WE STARTED PAYMENTS BEFORE NO RUZ AND HAVE AS A CONSEQUENCE ALREADY INJECTED MUCH MONEY INTO THE MARKET. WE ARE MAKING REGULAR PAYMENTS-- I DON'T HAVE ANY FIGURES TO GIVE YOU. WE WILL GRADUALLY

PAY THE GOVERNMENT DEBTS AND THERE SEEMS TO BE NO (FINANCIAL) PROBLEM SINCE THE OIL EXPORTS ARE GOING AND WE HAVE ENOUGH POSSIBILITIES FOR (REVENUES FOR) OUR PAYMENTS.

8. CORRUPTION: MOINFAR, HARDLY PROMPTED BY THE INTERVIEWER, WENT ON AT LENGTH ABOUT CORRUPTION, THE "PAHLAVI PERCENTAGE" AND SAID THAT IN CONNECTION WITH THE STUDY OF PROJECTS THAT IT SHOULD BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THOSE BASED ON DISHONESTY WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO STAND BY A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

9. COMMENT: BASED ON THIS JOURNALIST'S IMPRESSIONS AND THE EMBASSY'S OTHER CONTACTS, SOME INCLUDING OFFICERS IN THE PBO, IT APPEARS THAT MOINFAR AND COMPANY HAVE A LONG ROW TO HOE TO GET FROM REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC TO THE REALITIES OF PLANNING AND FINANCING AND ECONOMY AND GOVERNMENT. MOINFAR DISMISSED ALL HIS UNDER SECRETARIES AND, FROM REPORTS, IGNORES HIS DIRECTORS GENERAL, PREFERRING TO SURROUND HIMSELF WITH ADVISORS FROM THE LOWER RANKS OR THOSE NEW TO PBO. FORMER PBO MINISTER MEHRAN DESCRIBED MOINFAR TO EMBOFF AS "LEFT OF THE NATIONAL FRONT" AND HAVING SOME COMPETENCE, BUT NOT IN THE SAME ACADEMIC LEAGUE AS ARDALAN AND MOWLAVI. WE HAVE LITTLE OTHER INFORMATION ABOUT HIM, OTHER THAN THAT HE WAS A DIRECTOR GENERAL IN PBO. SULLIVAN##

علي اكبر مصين فر - ٢

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

TEHRAN 11203

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4475
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 11203

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
REF: STAT 10/23/79
PVT: CHARGE: LBLAINGEN
REF: POL: JIMBERT: CO
CLEAR: POL: VITOMSETH: ECO
SENS
DISTR: POL2 CEG ICA
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E.O. 12065: GDS 10/23/85 (TOMSETH, VICTOR L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, BRG, IR
SUBJECT: OIL MINISTER REPORTEDLY BEATEN AND HOSPITALIZED

1. (U) ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEHRAN TIMES OF OCTOBER 23
CARRIED STORY THAT OIL MINISTER ALI AKBAR MOINFARR
WAS HOSPITALIZED IN TEHRAN AFTER SUFFERING A HEART ATTACK
OCTOBER 20. ACCORDING TO THE STORY, MOINFARR'S CONDITION
WAS CRITICAL WHEN HE ARRIVED AT THE HOSPITAL. HE IS NOW
RECOVERING AND IS EXPECTED TO BE OUT IN THREE DAYS.

2. (C) NEWSPAPER VERSION HAS BEEN CONTRADICTED BY
REPORTS THAT MOINFARR WAS IN FACT BEATEN BY ANGRY OIL
WORKERS IN KHUZESTAN. ACCORDING TO EYEWITNESS REPORT
REACHING EMBASSY FROM KHUZESTAN-BASED JOURNALIST,
MOINFARR WAS DRAGGED FROM HIS CAR IN ABADAN BY WORKERS
ANGRY AT RECENT WAGE CUTS AND REFUSALS TO PAY TAXES.
HE WAS SEVERELY BEATEN BEFORE HE COULD BE RESCUED.

3. (C) THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER REPORTS THAT MOINFARR
BRIEF TENURE AS OIL MINISTER HAS BEEN STORMY. ACCORDING
TO ONE STORY EMPLOYEES WERE THREATENED INTO ATTENDING
MEETINGS AND RALLIES IN SUPPORT OF THE NEW MINISTER
AND AGAINST FORMER NIOC DIRECTOR NAZIR LAINGEN
BT
#1203

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

TEHRAN 11203

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TO RUESES/AMEMBASSY CARACAS RIBRILY 1254
INFO RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 221
BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 280768

E.O. 12965: RDS-3 12/29/89 (MCAPMA, WILLIAM)

TAGS: PINR, IR, VE

SUBJECT: (U) IRANIAN MINISTER OF PETROLEUM, ALI AKBAR MOINFAR

REFS: A) CARACAS 12992, B) TEHRAN 11223 (NOT SENT TO CARACAS)

1. (C) AS HEAD (SINCE SEPTEMBER 1979) OF THE NEWLY CREATED MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM, ALI AKBAR MOINFAR HEADS UP THE NATIONAL IRANIAN OIL COMPANY (NIOC), THE NATIONAL IRANIAN GAS COMPANY, THE NATIONAL IRANIAN PETROCHEMICAL COMPANY, AND THE PETROLEUM DEPARTMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND FINANCE. HE IS ONE OF A NUMBER OF CABINET OFFICERS WHO HAVE REPUTATIONS FOR HONESTY BUT ARE LITTLE KNOWN TO THE PUBLIC. MOINFAR HAS NO PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN PETROLEUM AFFAIRS, AND HIS SUBSTANTIVE KNOWLEDGE SEEMS LIMITED TO CIVIL ENGINEERING AND SEISMOLOGY. IN ADDITION, HE LACKS SUPERVISORY SKILLS. HIS POLITICAL CONNECTIONS, HOWEVER, ARE EXCELLENT. HE WAS A FOLLOWER OF PRIME MINISTER MEHDI BAZARGAN WHEN THE LATTER WAS A PROFESSOR OF ENGINEERING AT TEHRAN UNIVERSITY IN THE 1950S. AS AN ENGINEER, MOINFAR MAY BE MORE

ACCEPTABLE TO RANK AND FILE WORKERS THAN WAS HIS PREDECESSOR, LAMIR HASAN NAZIF. THE MINISTER HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL PURGE THE INDUSTRY OF ALL PERSONS WHO WERE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. IF EXPERIENCED MANAGERS AND EMPLOYEES ARE REMOVED, PROMOTION AND MORALE WOULD SUFFER.

2. (C) AS REPORTED IN REF B, MOINFAR WAS RECENTLY DRAGGED FROM HIS CAR IN AHAHAD, IRAN, BY OIL WORKERS AND AT WAGE CUTS AND REFUSALS TO PAY BONUSES. HE WAS

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SEVERELY WEAKEN BEFORE HE COULD BE RESCUED. THIS VERSION WAS RELIABLY CONTRADICTED BY THE TEHRAN TIMES OF OCTOBER 22 WHICH ASSERED THAT MOINEAR HAD BEEN HOSPITALIZED IN TEHRAN AFTER SUFFERING A HEART ATTACK ON OCTOBER 22. MOINEAR MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR AN INTERVIEW WITH VENEZUELAN ENERGY MINISTER HUMBERTO CALDERON BERTI (REF A).

3. (C) A GRADUATE OF TEHRAN UNIVERSITY IN CIVIL ENGINEERING, MOINEAR HAS A MASTER'S DEGREE IN SEISMOLOGY FROM A JAPANESE UNIVERSITY. SOME DETAILS OF HIS CAREER ARE CURRENTLY UNAVAILABLE. HE WAS DIRECTOR OF THE TECHNICAL BUREAU OF THE PLAN ORGANIZATION IN 1966 AND HEADED THE TECHNICAL RESEARCH AND STANDARDS BUREAU OF THAT BODY FROM 1972 UNTIL THE REVOLUTION. HE SERVED AS MINISTER OF STATE FOR THE PLAN AND BUDGET ORGANIZATION FROM FEBRUARY 1979 UNTIL HIS PRESENT ASSIGNMENT AND AS MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND MINES DURING FEBRUARY-MARCH 1979.

4. (U) MOINEAR, ABOUT 52, SPEAKS ENGLISH AND JAPANESE.

5. (C) NAZIR IS TECHNICALLY STILL HEAD OF NIOC. REPLACEMENT HAS NOT BEEN NAMED. HE HAS BEEN CLEARLY ECLIPSED BY MOINEAR, HOWEVER, AND WAS PROBABLY RETAINED LITTLE OR NO POWER UNDER THE REVOLUTIONIZATION. SOME OF NAZIR'S ENEMIES SEEM DETERMINED TO TRY HIM FOR VARIOUS ALLEGED CRIMES AT NIOC, AND HE MAY BE IN HIDING. AT THE MOMENT HE IS CLEARLY OUT OF FAVOR AND CALDERON BERTI MAY WISH TO BE CAUTIOUS IN MENTIONING AN INTEREST IN NAZIR. VAM

BT
#3768



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

SECRET-SENSITIVE

December 13, 1978

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILES

FROM: NEA/IRN - Henry Precht

SUBJECT: Conversation with Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, Adviser to Khomeini, December 12, 1978, at Dominique's Restaurant

I had dinner with Robert Hirschman of WETA and Dr. Yazdi and for a short time Marvin Zonis at Hirschman's invitation. Yazdi, an American citizen, was on his way to spend a day in Houston where he is in cancer research. He has known Khomeini since the early 1960's. Yazdi is a reserved, exceedingly calm, but very persistent idealist. I believe he is intelligent and honest with himself. The following paragraphs summarize the main points in our conversation:

-- The President's December 12 statement: Yazdi regretted the President's statement because it again showed total American support for the Shah and denigrated the opposition, specifically Khomeini. He did not know whether Khomeini would react strongly to the President's implied and "not true" criticism.

-- Khomeini on violence: Yazdi said that following the September 8 "massacre," Iranians had asked Khomeini for permission to take up arms against the Shah. Khomeini had refused, but authorized them to acquire arms in the event an armed struggle might be necessary at a later stage. He indicated that if the army attempted to crack down harshly, Khomeini would be obliged to issue a call to arms. I asked him about the "torrents of blood" statement attributed to Khomeini. Yazdi said that he had complained to UPI that Khomeini had made no such call for violence. I asked if Khomeini did not feel responsibility for the violence and destruction against banks, movie theaters, hotels, etc.? Yazdi said Khomeini had not called for such actions and that some were the work of SAVAK. He acknowledged that it was not possible to control strictly their followers in Iran and that

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XDS-4, 12/13/98 (PRECHT, HENRY)

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Khomeini must bear some of the responsibility for the destruction. I asked about responsibility for the assassination of American military personnel. Yazdi again denied this was Khomeini's doing, but asked in turn whether the Americans who trained and equipped the Iranian army were not responsible for the deaths of innocent Iranians?

Yazdi's position on violence is that the Iranian Government has been responsible for the killing of innocent persons in Iran. The Khomeini revolt is an unarmed one that suffers from the violence of the Government.

-- The December 10-11 demonstrations: I asked Yazdi whether Khomeini's group considered the peaceful demonstrations a defeat. Some people believed that Khomeini wanted violence on Ashura and that he had been committed to bring down the Shah on that day. Yazdi denied that Khomeini had made such assertions. He said that their people in Iran had planned the demonstrations to show to the outside world that they were capable of absolute discipline and a peaceful expression of their views. He felt that they had succeeded enormously.

Yazdi said the opposition had had two choices: It could have marched toward the Palace or it could have marched as it chose in a neutral direction. The Government had no such choice. If it had attempted to prohibit the demonstrations, there would have been a slaughter and the army would have been unable to hold together.

I asked about the Khomeini organization in Iran. Yazdi did not want to talk about this but made a passing reference to our "central committee and delegations and means of communication."

-- The Islamic Republic: I asked if Khomeini's people came to power what would happen to such responsible figures as Dr. Yeganeh whose only defect perhaps was that he had served the Shah's Government? Yazdi said that if such men were otherwise clean and were willing to work for the new Government, there would

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be no problem. A person like Ganji, who was well-known to Yazdi, had been listed as one who took millions out of Iran. Yazdi implied that that would finish Ganji.

I asked how an Islamic board of review would work? He said Iranian economists would be obliged to come up with some new system (e.g., service fees) to replace interest rates. He felt confident this could happen. In its dealings abroad Iran would pay and receive interest. What about co-education? No problem said Yazdi, there could be co-education. He emphasized that it would take some time and the re-education of the people to build a new political system founded on Islamic principles. It would not be like the tribal society in Saudi Arabia, and in fact would be unique in the world.

When the Shah goes, Khomeini would designate a cabinet which would serve as a transitional government until elections could produce a lasting government. Elections would be absolutely free. They were an essential element in the Khomeini program. The Islamic Republic would also enjoy full freedom of speech and the press, including the right to attack Islam. The Shias had no fears because they knew they were strong.

As to foreign relations, the Islamic Republic would seek good ties with all countries. It would not sell oil to South Africa or Israel, however. I asked whether Iran might send troops to aid the Arabs in another Arab-Israeli war? No, said Yazdi. How about joining an Arab oil embargo? I don't know, he said.

Yazdi dismissed the communists as being unimportant politically in Iran. Similarly, he dismissed the threat of Soviet intervention. He appreciated that Iraq was nervous because Iraq's social/political situation made it ripe for the same kinds of events occurring in Iran.

We asked whether Khomeini's people had had any contacts with any foreign governments, e.g., Saudi Arabia or Egypt? He said they had not. He dismissed the Libyan Government as so inept that it could be of little help to Khomeini.

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-- The military: After the Shah, Khomeini forces would purge the senior Generals, if any remained in the country. He said a number of officers had come secretly to see Khomeini and he was confident of support within the army. The task of the Islamic Republic would be to educate the army to a national mission rather than one of protecting the Shah.

Yazdi said the Islamic Republic would probably cancel many arms sales contracts as they did not serve Iran's interests. It would pay its debts for any contracts that were cancelled. He said the new Government would be happy to buy tractors instead from the U.S.

-- The future of the Shah: I described a number of arrangements ranging to the "King of Sweden model" which might be adopted to preserve a position for the Shah. Yazdi was uncompromising. The Shah must go and his system must be abolished. We were dealing with a mass revolution. If Khomeini argued that the Shah could stay with reduced powers, he would be rejected by his followers.

Would it be possible for a Sanjabi to negotiate a new government? Would Khomeini accept that? "No."

Wasn't it necessary to keep the Shah in order to preserve military discipline and prevent civil war? Yazdi was confident that once the Shah was gone, Iran's problems would be solved and the military would have no choice but to sign up with the Islamic Republic.

-- The U.S. Role: The U.S. was crucial, Yazdi said. If the U.S. withdrew its support of the Shah, he would fall immediately. If the support continued, the U.S. would suffer the same fate as the Shah in Iran. Would the Ayatollah call for violence against Americans if he called for a holy war on Shah's regime? That was a real possibility, Yazdi said, particularly, if the U.S. continued to make statements such as the President's statement of December 12. He could not, of course, control all of the Iranians who were in a rage in any event.

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What about Khomeini's threat to cancel oil contracts with the U.S.? That would depend, Yazdi said, on how the U.S. performed between now and the day that the Shah fell.

On parting, we agreed that neither of us would acknowledge that there had been any official contact between Khomeini and the U.S. Government.

Comment

All of this sounds naive. It is, but it is also deeply felt. I had the impression that the Khomeini organization is very amateurish in its handling of PR and contacts with foreigners. But, clearly, they know how to operate in Iran in a way that the Shah's people have forgotten.

cc: D - Mr. Christopher
P - Mr. Newsom
NEA - Mr. Saunders
CIA - Mr. Ames
NSC - Captain Sick
Ambassador Sullivan

Drafted: NEA/IRN:HPrecht:amp
12/13/78 - ext:20313

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ACTION

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BT
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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: IR, FR, PINT
SUBJECT: (U) KHOMEINI CAMP'S REACTION TO VISIT OF
BAKHTIAR TO PARIS

1. (U) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING IS FROM THE AP TICKER:

A. DR. YAZDI SAID SATURDAY NIGHT THAT AYOTULLAH KHOMEINI WOULD AGREE TO MEET PREMIER BAKHTIAR WHEN HE ARRIVES IN PARIS. YAZDI SAID THAT KHOMEINI HAD KNOWN IN ADVANCE OF BAKHTIAR'S PLAN.

B. SOURCES IN KHOMEINI'S ENTOURAGE SAID THAT BAKHTIAR MIGHT MEET AS EARLY AS SUNDAY IN KHOMEINI'S HOUSE IN SUBURBAN PARIS. YAZDI SOUNDED JUBILANT AND SAID HE WAS HAPPY BECAUSE BAKHTIAR'S MOVE SHOWED HE MIGHT BE CHANGING HIS POLICY.

C. YAZDI SAID BAKHTIAR HAD SAID THAT HE WANTS TO HEAR KHOMEINI'S OPINION AND, IF SO, KHOMEINI IS WILLING TO LET HIM HEAR IT.

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D. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH FRENCH RADIO SATURDAY NIGHT, BAKHTIAR SAID THAT HIS VISIT TO PARIS WOULD LAST A MAXIMUM OF THREE DAYS. BAKHTIAR SAID THAT HIS OFFER TO MEET WITH KHOMEINI WAS A GOOD WILL ATTEMPT WHICH HE WAS MAKING WITH GREAT PLEASURE. BAKHTIAR DID NOT KNOW IF KHOMEINI WOULD RETURN TO TEHRAN WITH HIM. BAKHTIAR RESPONDED TO A QUERY OF WHETHER THE AIRPORT WOULD BE OPENED FOR HIS FLIGHT TO PARIS BY CONSIDERING THIS A SECONDARY QUESTION AND "WHAT IS NECESSARY WOULD BE DONE."

E. IRANIAN SOURCES SAID THAT GENERAL FERIDUM JAM, WHO WAS MINISTER OF DEFENSE IN THE BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT BUT RESIGNED TWO DAYS LATER, MET WITH KHOMEINI ON FRIDAY NIGHT.

F. AP COMMENTED THAT BAKHTIAR'S DECISION TO COME TO PARIS APPEARS TO HAVE DIVIDED KHOMEINI'S CLOSEST AIDES AND DELAYED UNTIL SUNDAY FINAL CONFIRMATION THAT THE MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE. YAZDI SAID WITHOUT QUALIFICATION THAT KHOMEINI WOULD MEET WITH BAKHTIAR AND HAD KNOWN IN ADVANCE THAT BAKHTIAR WAS COMING. BUT SADEGH GHOTBZADEH LATER TOLD REPORTERS KHOMEINI WOULD RECEIVE BAKHTIAR IF BAKHTIAR IS COMING TO OFFER HIS RESIGNATION AS PREMIER. GHOTBZADEH SAID THAT ANY OTHER MOTIVATION WOULD BE STUDIED WITH CARE BEFORE KHOMEINI TOOK A DECISION ON THE MEETING. QUERIED ON THE CONTRADICTION, YAZDI SAID THE TWO AIDES WERE EXPRESSING THEIR OWN UNDERSTANDING OF DEVELOPMENTS AND ADDED THAT IT WAS NATURAL THAT TWO PEOPLE MIGHT REACH DIFFERENT CONCLUSIONS. YAZDI SAID KHOMEINI WOULD MAKE KNOWN HIS DECISION SOMETIME SUNDAY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L M A R 7 9

THIS IS IIR 6 846 0134 79

1. COUNTRY: IRAN (IR)
 2. REPORT NUMBER: 6 846 0134 79
 3. TITLE: SITREP FOR PERIOD 171200-181200Z MAR 79
 4. OMITTED.
 5. DATE OF INFO: 790317
 6. DATE OF REPORT: 790318
 7. DATE: PLACE OF ACQ: 790317, TEHRAN, IRAN
 8. REFERENCE: ICR U-UEE-49128, M-3E1-15016
 9. ASSESSMENT: SOURCE B. INFO 2
 10. ORIGINATOR: USDAO (AAIRA) TEHRAN, IRAN
 11. REQUEST EVAL: ICR
 12. PREPARING OFF: M.F. JOHNSON, CAPT, USAF, AAIRA
 13. APPROVING AUTH: T.E. SCHAEFER, COL, USAF, DATT
 14. SOURCE: LOCAL NEWS MEDIA, USDAO PERSONNEL, EMBASSY OFFICIALS, 6 846 0009
 15. SPECIAL INST: DINC: NO.
 16. SUMMARY. (C) REPORT FORWARDS INFORMATION FOR THE PERIOD 171200-181200Z MAR 79. INFORMATION CONCERNS ECONOMICS, AFGHANS, MINISTER OF JUSTICE, POLITICAL ACTIVITY, YAZDI, MARCHES, EMBASSY SECURITY.
 17. THRU 21. OMITTED
 22. DETAILS: (C) A. ECONOMICS - IN AYATOLLAH KHOMENI'S FIRST MAJOR SPEECH ON ECONOMICS HE, REFLECTING PM BAZARGAN'S GROWING CONCERN FOR THE IRANIAN ECONOMY, HAS WARNED THE PEOPLE THEY MUST IMMEDIATELY START WORKING TO SAVE THE "BANKRUPT ECONOMY." BOTH THE SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAVE CALLED ON THE YOUTH OF THE NATION AND THE OVER ZEALOUS GUARDIANS OF THE REVOLUTION TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN ACHIEVING A HEALTHY FINANCIAL SITUATION IN IRAN. PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THE NATION WAS BROKE THREE DAYS AFTER THE REVOLUTIONARY VICTOR ON FEB 11.
- ORIGINATOR COMMENTS: (C) ECONOMIC REALITY IS BECOMING A MAJOR CONCERN OF THE GOVERNMENT. BAZARGAN SEEMS TO HAVE COMMENCED KHOMENI THAT IF THE ECONOMY DOES NOT RECOVER, THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ENDURE. THE PROBLEM IS HOW DO YOU

CONVINCE A POPULATION THAT HAS LONG BEEN WITHOUT POWER OR FREEDOM, THAT THE BATTLE IS OVER AND THEY MUST RETURN TO THEIR JOBS. HOW DO YOU CONVINCE THEM THEY MUST HAVE DISCIPLINE AND MUST WORK FOR A "BOSS". HOW CAN FACTORIES RUN IF WORKERS ONLY DEBATE THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND VOTE ON WHAT TYPE OF WORK THEY WILL DO. IF THE ECONOMY IS TO RECOVER, THE ~~WORKERS MUST FIND THE FORCE OF AND HAVE TO WORK.~~

B. AFGHANS: A GROUP OF ABOUT 20 AFGHAN YOUTH PUSHED THEIR WAY INTO THE AFGHANISTAN EMBASSY IN TEHRAN PROTESTING THE PERSECUTION OF MUSLIMS BY MARXIST LEADERS IN KABUL. PRESS REPORTS STATE THAT A SECOND INCIDENT TOOK PLACE AT THE AFGHAN AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE IN NORTH TEHRAN. YOUTHS ATTACKED THE HOME AND PULLED DOWN THE AFGHAN FLAG. TWO IRANIAN SHIA LEADERS, AYATOLLAH SADEGH MOHSSEINI ROUHANI AND AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI HAVE CONDEMNED THE KABUL REGIME AND CALLED FOR THEM TO STOP THEIR "DEVILISH ACTS".

ORIGINATOR COMMENTS: (C) THE AURA OF POWER SURROUNDING IRAN'S AYATOLLAS MAY BEGIN TO SHINE IN OTHER OPPRESSED ISLAMIC NATIONS.

C. MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. A SPOKESMAN FOR THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE HAS ANNOUNCED THE DISSOLUTION OF THE STATES SUPREME COURT AS WELL AS THE JUDGES DISCIPLINARY AND APPELLATE DISCIPLINARY COURTS. REORGANIZATION OF THE COURT SYSTEM

WILL BEGIN IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

D. POLITICAL ACTIVITY:

(1) THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT HAS CALLED FOR ALL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS BELIEVING IN DEMOCRACY AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM TO JOIN ITS RANKS. THIS IS A PRE-REFERENDUM ATTEMPT TO CONSOLIDATE THE ACTIVITIES OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE AN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC AND THE YES/NO REFERENDUM.

(2) THE IRANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY HAS DESCRIBED ITSELF AS A MARXIST, LENINIST, MAOIST ORGANIZATION. THEY FURTHER STATED THEY HAVE NO CONTACTS WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, BUT ARE OPPOSED TO SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM. THE PARTY FURTHER STATED THEIR ONLY DISAGREEMENT WITH ISLAM IS ISLAM'S ACCEPTANCE OF CAPITALISM AND THE PARTY'S REJECTION OF CAPITALISM..

(3) A NEW PARTY BEING FORMED IN THE PROVINCES IS THE ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN PARTY. IT IS REPORTED TO HAVE SIGNED UP 10,000 MEMBERS IN RUDSAN.

ORIGINATOR COMMENTS: (C) A FREE ELECTION SOMETHING NEW IN IRAN. AS THE REFERENDUM APPROACHES NEW POLITICAL PARTIES APPEAR LIKE FLOWERS IN SPRING.

E. YAZDI. ASSISTANT TO THE PM FOR REVOLUTIONARY AFFAIRS, DR ISRAHIM YAZDI, MAY BE THE FIRST CASUALTY OF JAMES BILL'S

TIME MAGAZINE ARTICLE. TO BE ACCUSED OF PRO-U.S. INCLINATION IS A SLANDER NOT MANY POLITICIANS CAN SURVIVE IN PRESENT IRAN. MR. YAZDI HAS REBUTED MR. SILL'S COMMENTS, HOWEVER, A SHADOW SEEMS CAST OVER HIS CREDITABILITY. AN EMBASSY OFFICIAL HAS TALKED WITH AN IRANIAN WHO REPORTEDLY DISGUISED A GROUP OF IRANIANS FROM ATTEMPTING TO KILL YAZDI.

ORIGINATOR COMMENTS: (CC) WITHOUT A DOUBT MANY OF THE INTELLIGENT AND POLITICALLY ACTIVE IRANIANS WERE TRAINED IN THE U.S. WE FEEL THAT BECAUSE OF THAT TRAINING, EVENTUALLY A FAVORABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAN WILL BE FORTHCOMING. HOWEVER, EVERY TIME AN ARTICLE BRINGS THESE PEOPLE AND THEIR BACKGROUND BEFORE THE LESS SOPHISTICATED MASSES, IT DOES NOTHING BUT HARM TO WHAT COULD BE A GOOD FUTURE RELATIONSHIP.

F. MARCHES. EMBASSY OFFICIALS REPORT THAT DURING NOW RAZI ON THE 21ST AND 23RD OF MARCH THERE WILL BE MASS MARCHES IN TEHRAN.

G. EMBASSY SECURITY. DURING THE NIGHT OF 17/18 MARCH SHOOTING IN AND NEAR THE COMPOUND WAS HEARD AT 2330, 0130 AND 0500. NO DAMAGE OR CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED.

(CC) SOMETIME ON THE 16TH AND 17TH THE U.S. CONSULATE STUDENT ANNEX ON THE COMPOUND WAS ENTERED AND SLIGHT DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE INSIDE OF THE BUILDING.

ORIGINATOR COMMENTS: (CC) NIGHTLY SHOOTING ON OR NEAR THE EMBASSY COMPOUND HAS BECOME COMMON OCCURRENCE. THE ONLY GOOD WE FIND IN THESE SUCCINCTS IS THAT NO ONE HAS BEEN HIT. A GENERAL ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING APPEARS TO BE ON THE UPSWING. RECENT CONTACT WITH IRANIANS FINDS MANY WHO COULD SPEAK VERY GOOD ENGLISH IN THE PAST, NOW UNABLE TO COMMUNICATE EXCEPT IN FARSI. ADDITIONALLY, WE MAY SEE A FURTHER DEGRADATION OF AMERICAN COMMUNITIES POSITION WITH THE SIGNING OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI PEACE TREATY. ALTHOUGH THE U.S. EMBASSY HAS BEEN UNABLE TO SECURE A SATISFACTORY METHOD OF MOVING U.S. GOODS FROM IRAN, AN AIR FRANCE AIRCRAFT, OBSERVED BY AAIRA, WAS LOADING PALESTINE BAGGAGE.

DEAL 18 MAR 65.

BT

05-00000

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 532

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-4. 3/26/99 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P

TAGS: PINR, PINS, PEPR, IR

SUBJECT: Biographic Information on Deputy Prime Minister
Ebrahim Yazdi.

1. C - entire text.
2. The following biographic information on Ebrahim Yazdi comes from a conversation with Yazdi more than a month ago but was not reported earlier because the Embassy was invaded on the day it was to be drafted. Some of the details have faded from memory, but the general outline contains some information that we believe is not on file in Washington.
3. According to a form Yazdi filled in on his most recent entry into Iran, he was born in 1931. This fits in with his own account of his life as given to Pol Counselor and contrasts with published version of his age, which originally had him as 39 years old, and have since described him as in his early forties. Yazdi appears to be in fact 47 or 48 years old, despite a youthful appearance under a full beard. He has three brothers
4. Yazdi has three brothers, one or two of them older than himself. All four appear to have studied to become pharmacists, in Iran, with a year or two of post-graduate study elsewhere. The oldest brother is a doctor (perhaps an

ophthamologist) with his own private clinic in Tehran. Another brother is living here, and a third one reportedly in Baltimore, an American citizen.

5. Yazdi claims to have been very active as a student in Tehran in helping to form an Islamic movement with such other notables of today as Ayatollah Taleghani and Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan. This was in the 1940's and early 1950's and, according to Yazdi, was aimed primarily at countering the appeal of Marxism among Iranian youth, especially the students. In this he claims a kinship of effort with people such as the philosopher Ali Shariati, who was a little younger.

6. Yazdi says he left Tehran for the United States in the early 1950's and did some post-graduate studies and teaching in New Jersey and elsewhere, ending up in Texas. His field had become scientific, particularly medical, research. After the anti-Shah demonstrations in Iran during 1962 and 1963, and the subsequent exile of Ayatollah Khomeini to Turkey and eventually Najaf, Iraq, Yazdi said he took a job teaching at the American University of Beirut to be closer to the scene.

7. The Lebanese government turned against Iranians some time in 1966 or 1967 (the exact occasion escapes us) and Yazdi had to leave, along with many other Iranians. He returned to the U.S., after having visited Khomeini and being appointed by Khomeini as his personal representative

for the United States, Yazdi says. In the U.S. he was active on Khomeini's behalf.

8. When Khomeini was thrown out of Iraq last year, Yazdi went to Paris, London, and Bonn, but was told by oppositionists there not to go visit Khomeini in Najaf because he would be arrested. After some hesitation, he nevertheless flew to Baghdad and arrived in Najaf the very evening that Khomeini was packing up to leave.

9. The guards refused to let him see Khomeini, but by using subterfuge (asking to pray in a mosque and using another exit) he got to Khomeini and accompanied him, his son and two other disciples on the drive to the Kuwaiti border. There the party was refused permission to enter Kuwait and, after a few hours, instructions from Baghdad came ~~down~~ to let Khomeini's group come back to Baghdad for departure to Paris. Yazdi himself was refused the same permission and kept prisoner overnight at the border post. The next day instructions from Baghdad released him so that he could follow Khomeini. He went to Paris with Khomeini and stayed there as an intimate member of his entourage.

10. The above was volunteered by Yazdi without much prodding and could conceivably be doctored for our ears. It fits in, however, with what we have heard about him from other Islamic sources, namely that he is not a Marxist

or a Communist, although like many Iranians of his generation he was exposed to Marxism and Communism during his university years and would have had to take a position for or against it. His early association with Ayatollah Taleghani and Bazargan would explain his stature in the movement, particularly as he seems to have been delegated or perhaps self-selected to get close to Khomeini while Khomeini was in exile. He apparently spent some time with Khomeini before being appointed Khomeini's personal representative in the U.S. This put Yazdi early on in the role of a bridge among various top leaders of the Islamic movement, a role he apparently still plays.

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 STATE
 CHG: CWNAAS
 POL: JDSTEMPEL
 NONE
 CHG POL(2) ECON, OR ICA RF

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
 SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE

LIMDIS

EO. 12065: XGDS 4/25/09 (STEMPEL, J.D.)OR-P
 TAGS: PINT, PGOV, IR
 SUBJ: IBRAHIM YAZDI AS FOREIGN MINISTER

REF: A)TEHRAN 4244 B)TEHRAN 3245 (EXDIS)

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: YAZDI'S NOMINATION AS FOREIGN MINISTER RAISES MORE QUESTIONS THAN IT ANSWERS. MIXED SIGNALS ON YAZDI'S ROLE WITH PLO. BANI-ASADI WILL PROBABLY REPLACE YAZDI. YAZDI WILL EXPRESS HIS VIEWS INTELLIGENTLY BUT THEY WILL BE ANTI-WEST. END SUMMARY

3. PRIME MINISTER BAZARGAN'S APRIL 24 ANNOUNCEMENT THAT YAZDI WOULD BE FOREIGN MINISTER POSES MOST INTERESTING QUESTION: WAS HE PROMOTED OR KICKED UPSTAIRS? BASIC BIODATA ON YAZDI SUBMITTED IN REFTELS; BELOW WE DEAL WITH SOME IMPONDERABLES IN THE YAZDI EQUATION.

4. SPECULATION IS RIFE THAT YAZDI WAS KICKED UPSTAIRS BECAUSE HE WAS EITHER GETTING IN BAZARGAN'S WAY, OR HAD LOST HIS UTILITY AS A GO-BETWEEN WITH THE PGOI AND THE COMMITTEE STRUCTURE. EVIDENCE FOR LATTER VIEW IS ADDUCED BY THOSE WHO SAW YAZDI GET INTO FURIOUS SHOUTING MATCH WITH COMMITTEE GROUP AT AIRPORT WHEN LIBYAN PRIME MINISTER JALLUD ARRIVED ON APRIL 22. EYEWITNESSES SAY YAZDI WANTED TO KEEP JALLUD ON PLANE UNTIL HE EXPLAINED WHERE LIBYANS HAD HIDDEN IMAN MUSA SADR. COMMITTEE WANTED TO LET PM LAND AND TAKE HIM TO QOM. KHOMEINI'S SON RUSHED TO SCENE AND CONVINCED YAZDI TO YIELD TO COMMITTEE VIEW. TWO GOOD SOURCES SAY YAZDI'S DAYS AS DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER WERE NUMBERED FROM THAT MOMENT.

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5. ALTERNATE VIEW (THERE'S ALWAYS ONE IN IRAN) SAYS THAT YAZDI ROLE AS MAN WHO BROUGHT PLO TO IRAN WAS CREATING PROBLEMS FOR BAZARGAN, AND PROMOTION TO FOREIGN MINISTER WAS CONSIDERED BEST WAY TO GIVE YAZDI MORE AUTHORITY FOR HANDLING PLO AND AT THE SAME TIME GET HIM AWAY FROM THE PM'S OFFICE. NON-IRANIAN NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENT CLOSE TO PLO CHIEF HASSAN DISPUTES THIS VIEW, AND SAYS PLO HAS BEEN HAVING PROBLEMS WITH YAZDI. (HE ALSO CONFIRMED INFORMATION REPORTED EARLIER THAT PLO ARE TRAINING MUJAHIDDIN AND FEDAYEEN AND JUST ABOUT EVERYONE WHO WANTS TO LEARN WEAPONRY.) SOURCE CLOSE TO YAZDI WHO HELPED ARRANGE ENTRY FOR PLO IN EARLY DAYS SAYS PLO BECAME ANNOYED WITH YAZDI WHEN HE WANTED TO RESTRICT PLO TO TRAINING NEW REVOLUTIONARY GUARDIANS CORP. THERE IS SOME LEEWAY IN VARIOUS STORIES, BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT IN SOME WAY YAZDI ROLE WITH PLO, FOR GOOD OR BAD, WAS CONNECTED WITH HIS BEING NAMED FOREIGN MINISTER.

6. ANOTHER IRANIAN SOURCE INDICATES THAT EMBARRASSMENT OVER REVELATION THAT YAZDI HAS U.S. PASSPORT (HE ADMITTED THIS IN PERSIAN PRESS EVENING APRIL 24) AND CHARGES THAT HE WAS A CIA AGENT MEANT HE HAD TO BE GOTTEN OUT OF PM'S OFFICE. BAZARGAN'S PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT YAZDI'S DEPUTY FOR REVOLUTIONARY AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO WOULD BE GIVEN TO SOMEONE ELSE SUGGESTS SOME TRUTH TO THIS. NAMING OF HOSSEIN BANI-ASADI (BAZARGAN SON-IN-LAW; INFLUENCE OF FAMILY AND DOWREH LIVES ON IN REVOLUTIONARY IRAN) TO DEPUTY PORTFOLIO FOR QUOTE COOPERATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE UNQUOTE IS NOT A DIRECT REPLACEMENT FOR YAZDI, BUT MOST OBSERVERS FEEL HE WILL EVENTUALLY GET HOLD OF YAZDI'S REVOLUTIONARY RESPONSIBILITIES, SINCE HE HAS BEEN DEPUTY TO THE MINISTER FOR REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM, YADOLLAH SAHABI, AS WELL AS BAZARGAN RELATIVE.

7. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY, NOT INCONSISTENT WITH EITHER OF THE ABOVE, IS THAT YAZDI, WITH THE PGOI'S BEST CONNECTIONS TO THE COMMITTEE COMPLEX, WAS SEEN AS THE BEST MAN TO BEGIN TO START PULLING IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOGETHER INTO A COHERENT WHOLE. HE HAS BEEN DEALING IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXTENSIVELY ANYWAY, AND HIS APPOINTMENT AS MINISTER NOW GIVES HIM A MANDATE OVER THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AS WELL.

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8. YAZDI THE MAN: US CORRESPONDENT WHO HAS FOLLOWED YAZDI PERSONALLY SINCE PARIS SAYS YAZDI IS CONSUMMATE MEDIA MANIPULATOR (VIEW THOSE OF US WHO HAVE DEALT WITH HIM SHARE) WHO IS REALLY DEVOUT BELIEVING MOSLEM. CORRESPONDENT DESCRIBES HIM, HOWEVER AS MAN WHO ALWAYS HAS HIS MASK ON; IN TEN MONTHS, ONLY TIMES HE SHOWED INNER PERSONALITY WERE ONCE IN PARIS IN DISCUSSION OVER KHOMEINI ROLE WHEN HIS RELIGIOUS SIDE CAME OUT, AND AT TIME OF US EMBASSY SACKING WHEN HE BLEW UP AT PHOTOGRAPHERS OF EVENT AND ORDERED THEIR CAMERAS BROKEN AND FILM EXPOSED.

9. EMBASSY DEALINGS WITH YAZDI: HE IS A HARD MAN TO REACH, BUT IN PERSON-TO-PERSON CONTACT, EITHER OVER PHONE OR IN PERSON, HE IS VERY SMOOTH AND FRIENDLY. HE UNFOLDS UNPALATABLE NEWS WITH JUST A SHADE OF APOLOGY, AND HAS EXCELLENT UNDERSTANDING OF HOW TO MANIPULATE VALUE SYSTEM OF HIS LISTENERS TO PRODUCE REACTION HE WANTS TO ACHIEVE. HE HAS GOOD POLITICAL TOUCH, BUT VERY MUCH BELIEVES US IS CAUSE OF IRAN'S TROUBLES FOR PAST 26 YEARS. HE IS NOT HARD-LINE OR STRIDENT ABOUT IT, BUT FIRMLY COMMITTED TO VIEW. AS FOREIGN MINISTER HE COULD TURN OUT TO BE PERSIAN REFLECTION OF STRAIN OF ANTI-US, ANTI-WESTERN THOUGHT IN THE TRADITION OF KRISHNA MENNON AND NUMEROUS YANKEE WAITING AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE 60'S AND 70'S. IN TRUE PERSIAN FASHION, HE WILL PROBABLY BE MODERATELY ASSERTIVE IN PUBLIC AND MORE REASONABLE IN PRIVATE. UNLESS HE GETS CARRIED AWAY BY HIS NEW INCARNATION, HE WILL PROBABLY REMAIN SOMEONE WE CAN TALK TO WITH SOMEWHAT BETTER PROSPECTS OF GETTING RESULTS (ONCE HE AGREES TO A POSITION) THAN MANY OF HIS REVOLUTIONARY COLLEAGUES
DIFFER. NAAS##

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STATE
POL:JDSTEMPEL
POL:DMCGAFFEY
NONE
CHG POL(3) OR, ECON, ICA RF

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, PRIORITY

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, US, IR
SUBJ: INTERVIEW IN IRAN TIMES - DR. IBRAHIM YAZDI

1. AYANDAGAN OF MAY 9 REPORTED AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN THE IRAN TIMES (A U.S. PAPER) WITH THE SON OF FOREIGN MINISTER DR. IBRAHIM YAZDI. THE INTERVIEW DISCUSSES DR. YAZDI'S U.S. CITIZENSHIP STATUS, PURPORTEDLY QUOTING A FORMER EMBASSY TEHRAN OFFICIAL.

2. EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF PERTINENT PORTION FOLLOWS: QUOTE IN PRESENT CONDITIONS IF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TAKES ANY STEPS AGAINST YAZDI, IT IS PROBABLE THAT HE MAY LOSE HIS U.S. CITIZENSHIP. HE ADDED THAT IT WILL BE SILLY FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO CANCEL YAZDI'S CITIZENSHIP. HE ADDED: IF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI IMPRISONS YAZDI, HE WILL ENJOY THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. CONSULATE IN IRAN. IF HE MAKES ANY COMPLAINTS FROM THE PEOPLE IN CHARGE OF THE PRISON, THE U.S. EMBASSY IN IRAN WILL FORWARD A PROTEST TO IRANIAN GOVERNMENT AND RETURN HIM TO THE USA. THE OFFICIAL ADDED: THESE POSSIBILITIES ARE SILLY IN FACT. UNQUOTE.

3. AS DR. YAZDI HAS REPEATEDLY DENIED U.S. CITIZENSHIP HERE, THIS STORY WILL BE EMBARRASSING, AND WE EXPECT QUESTIONS ABOUT IT. PLEASE PROVIDE THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE INTERVIEW, AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE, ASAP. NAAS##

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 161960

E.O. 12065 GDS 6/20/79 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: IR

SUBJECT: PRESS GUIDANCE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).
2. FOLLOWING CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE HAS BEEN APPROVED.
 - Q. IS EBRAHIM YAZDI A U.S. CITIZEN?
 - A. WE CANNOT CONFIRM THAT HE IS A U.S. CITIZEN.
 - Q. DOES HE NOW HAVE OR HAS HE EVER HELD A U.S. PASSPORT?
 - A. STATE DEPARTMENT PASSPORT FILES ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND PROTECTED BY THE PRIVACY ACT. WE CANNOT, THEREFORE, CONFIRM OR DENY REPORTS OF ANY INFORMATION IN THESE FILES.
 - Q. IF DR. YAZDI IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, CAN HE RETAIN HIS U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND PASSPORT IF HE IS CONSIDERED AN IRANIAN CITIZEN UNDER IRANIAN LAW?
 - A. ALTHOUGH THE U.S. DOES NOT ENCOURAGE DUAL CITIZENSHIP AS A MATTER OF POLICY, IT DOES ACCEPT ITS EXISTENCE IN INDIVIDUAL CASES AS A MATTER OF FACT RESULTING FROM THE CONFLICTING LAWS OF OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH CANNOT BE CONTROLLED BY THE U.S. THUS, SOME U.S. CITIZENS MAY POSSESS ANOTHER NATIONALITY AS A RESULT OF THOSE CONFLICTING LAWS.
 - Q. IF IN FACT DR. YAZDI IS A U.S. CITIZEN, HAS HE LOST HIS U.S. CITIZENSHIP BY ANY ACTIONS-HE HAS TAKEN? IF SO, IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN THE PROCESS OF REVOKING HIS CITIZENSHIP?
 - A. AS I INDICATED PREVIOUSLY, IF WE HAD ANY INFORMATION ON THIS QUESTION, IT WOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE PRIVACY ACT.

VANCE
BT
#1960

SECRET

Believe that the Dr. Yazdi of your 20 September letter to Charlie Naas is probably Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, a dentist, with whom Embassy officers have been in contact in the past. Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi was one of the founders in 1946 of the Islamic Society of University Students, an anti-communist but pro-Mossadegh Islamic fundamentalist organization. It was led by Muhammad Maghshab and Qolam Ali Bazargan. In 1960, Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi was an employee of the "Drug Production Company". No further information.

from CIA 10/2/78

SECRET

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 PP RUQMR
 DE RUEHC #3952 2811835
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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RD;-3 10/5/99 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINT, IR

SUBJECT: YAZDI IN NEW YORK

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. IRAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER WAS PLAINLY DETERMINED TO CREATE A STRONG IMPRESSION OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY AS A NEW BREED OF MAN. LIKE IRAN'S STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS WHOSE RANKS HE RECENTLY LED, HE DID NOT SEEM INTERESTED IN WINNING FRIENDS AS MUCH AS DEMANDING ATTENTION TO HIS CAUSE AND PROCLAIMING ITS JUSTICE. WHATEVER INTERESTS THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE IN THE UN OR THE US SEEMED OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE TO YAZDI'S DESIRE FOR PSYCHIC SATISFACTION AND THE PROMOTION OR PROTECTION OF HIS OWN POLITICAL FUTURE IN IRAN.

3. IT WAS, AFTER ALL, THE RETURN IN TRIUMPH OF ONE WHO HAD BEEN SCORNE IN EXILE. THUS, AS A STREET FIGHTER LECTURING THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, HE TOLD THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS OF 25 YEARS OF MISTAKES IN US FOREIGN RELATIONS RANGING FROM CHINA, VIETNAM TO IRAN AND AFRICA. HE TOLD THE UNGA OF HIS SATISFACTION AFTER "SCREAMING THE OUTRAGE OF MY PEOPLE... FROM THE SIDEWALKS" TO "HAVE PENETRATED THE WALLS AND YOU ARE HEARING ME LOUD AND CLEAR." SIMILARLY, HE USED HIS FIRST MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY TO RELIEVE HIMSELF OF THE BROODING PAIN OF 25 YEARS OF US SUPPORT FOR THE SHAH AND 7 MONTHS OF DOUBTS HE HAS HAD ABOUT OUR FRIENDSHIP.

4. YAZDI ON THIS VISIT WAS MORE AGGRESSIVELY SURE OF HIMSELF AND YET ALSO VERY INSECURE. THUS, HE AFFECTS A MODIFIET-MAO DRESS CODE AND ORNAMENTS HIS DISCOURSE WITH SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS LIKE ALIENATION THAT WE BELIEVE MANSOUR FARHANG MAY DEVISE FOR HIM. HIS REMARKS ARE NOT

QUALIFIED BY UNCERTAINTY OR BY SENSITIVITY TO THE PERCEPTIONS OF HIS LISTENERS. HIS ORIENTATION IS STRONGLY IDEOLOGICAL AND IDEALISTIC, BUT THERE IS LITTLE IN HIS THOUGHT THAT IS DEEP, SUBTLE OR ORIGINAL. HE DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE A POLITICIAN'S TALENT FOR INFLUENCING HIS AUDIENCE NOR IS THERE MUCH SIGN OF A POLITICIAN'S FLEXIBILITY IN HIS APPROACH.

5. POLITICS, HOWEVER, ARE A CONTINUING PREOCCUPATION. HIS EVERY WORD IN A MEETING IS RECORDED BY ONE OR MORE NOTETAKERS. IN FACT, THE NOTETAKERS MAY BE THE PRINCIPAL AUDIENCE ON THESE OCCASIONS. HE INSISTED ON HAVING THE VIDEOTAPE OF HIS WETA INTERVIEW BEFORE LEAVING THE STUDIO. HE TOLD A DEPTOFF PRIVATELY THAT HE FELT THREATENED SOMEHOW BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN IN THE US WHEN THE TEHRAN PRESS REPORTED OUR CHARGE'S "DEMARCHÉ" ON EXECUTIONS. THE APPROACH SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE, HE SAID, TO THE MFA WHERE HE HAD INSTRUCTED HIS OFFICERS NEVER TO SPEAK TO THE PRESS. HE MADE CLEAR IN THE SAME PRIVATE CONVERSATION THAT HE VERY MUCH HOPED FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW US AMBASSADOR WHO WOULD BE SYMPATHETIC TO THE REVOLUTION. WE SUSPECT THAT YAZDI SINCERELY FEARS THE US MAY SEEK TO OVERTHROW THE ISLAMIC REGIME AND IS INTENT ON PERSONALLY MANAGING THE US-IRAN RELATIONSHIP HIMSELF TO PROTECT THE REVOLUTION.

6. YAZDI MAY FEEL VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY POLITICAL FACTIONS IN TEHRAN. HE TOLD ONE IRANIAN CONTACT OF INTENSE IN-FIGHTING AND THE NEED TO CONTINUE PURGES UNTIL "WE FEEL SECURE WITH OUR OWN PEOPLE." HE SAID TO ANOTHER CONTACT THAT HE TOLD KHOMENI HE SHOULD STAY OUT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND CITED THE APPOINTMENT OF AN AMBASSADOR TO BAHRAIN AS A VICTORY HE ACHIEVED OVER THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT. THUS, IF YAZDI IS TO HAVE ANY INFLUENCE AND POLITICAL FUTURE IN IRAN, HE MUST PROTECT HIMSELF AGAINST THE CHARGE THAT HE IS AMERICA'S NO. 1 AGENT. HE SUCCESSFULLY DEMONSTRATED THE ABSURDITY OF THAT CHARGE THIS WEEK. UNFORTUNATELY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS, HE CLEARLY BELIEVES MUCH OF WHAT HE SAYS TO ENDEAR HIMSELF TO IRANIAN AUDIENCES. VANCE

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TEHRAN 11217

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RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0033
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 11217

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STAT 10/23/79
APPRV: CHARGE:LBLAINGEN
DRFTD: POL:HPRECHT:GO
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL2 CEG ICA
ECON CONS CARMON
RF 8/WFB

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/23/95 (LAINGEN, L. BRUCE) OR-P
TAGS: IR, LE, PINT
SUBJECT: YAZDI ON LEBANON AND PALESTINIANS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).
2. DURING CALL OF CHARGE AND VISITING DEPTOFF ON FON MIN YAZDI, WE REFERRED BRIEFLY TO US EFFORTS TO STABILIZE SITUATION IN LEBANON. YAZDI SAID CONDITIONS IN NORTHERN LEBANON WERE BECOMING INTOLERABLE FOR SHIAS WHO WERE CONSIDERING JOINING FORCES WITH PALESTINIANS AGAINST ISRAELIS AND CHRISTIANS. US MUST USE PRESSURE TO STOP ISRAELI ATTACKS. 02
3. WE REPLIED THAT US WAS ATTEMPTING TO RESTRAIN ISRAEL BUT PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ATTACKS MUST ALSO BE ENDED IF ISRAEL WAS TO CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE. IT SEEMED TO US THAT IRANIAN REVOLUTION, WHICH MOBILIZED ENTIRE PEOPLE IN PEACEFUL DISPLAY OF POLITICAL WILL, WAS A BETTER MODEL FOR THE PALESTINIANS. YAZDI SAID IRANIANS HAD BEEN WORKING ON PLO TO THAT END. IRANIANS WANTED PLO TO INJECT GREATER USE OF ISLAMIC SOLIDARITY IN ITS APPEAL. IF PLO CONTINUED SECULAR APPROACH, VICTORY WAS NOT ASSURED. IF PLO DID CREATE A PALESTINIAN STATE ON PURELY SECULAR TERMS, THE MARXISTS AND RADICAL PALESTINIANS WOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO TAKE OVER. YAZDI SEEMED TO THINK THAT IRANIANS HAD MADE SOME IMPRESSION ON PALESTINIANS. HE ALSO MADE QUITE CLEAR IRAN'S COMMITMENT TO THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE: "WE HAVE HELPED THEM AND WE WILL HELP THEM IN THE FUTURE." LAINGEN
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TEHRAN 11217

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CHG:LBLAINGEN
POL:VLTOMSETH/BJH
NONE
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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USINT BAGHDAD
AMCONSUL DHAHRAN
AMEMBASSY DOHA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY PARIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 7/5/85 (TOMSETH, V.L.) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, IR
SUBJ: 4TH OF JULY RECEPTION

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DESPITE UNCERTAINTIES OF OUR SITUATION HERE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF IRAN'S REVOLUTION, MISSION DECIDED TO CONDUCT OBSERVANCES OF THE 4TH OF JULY IN AS NORMAL MANNER AS POSSIBLE. THIS INCLUDED AN OFFICIAL VIN D'HONNEUR TO WHICH THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS, BUSINESS AND PRESS REPRESENTATIVES, AND A NUMBER OF SENIOR PGOI OFFICIALS WERE INVITED. FEW AMONG THE LATTER GROUP BOTHERED TO R.S.V.P., AND THUS IT WAS SOMETHING OF A PLEASANT SURPRISE THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER DID IN FACT ATTEND. FM YAZDI LED A LARGE DELEGATION FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. DEPUTY PM AMIR-ENTEZAM WAS ALSO THERE, AS WERE THE MINISTERS OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE (MINACHI) AND AGRICULTURE (IZADI). CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR MOULAVI CAME AND SO DID GEN. EFTEKHARI OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIES ORGANIZATION, COL. IRAN-NEJAD OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND VICE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY GEN. MADANI. WE ARE INCLINED TO REGARD THIS TURNOUT AS A CONSCIOUS EFFORT ON THE PGOI'S PART TO TELL US THAT IT IS SERIOUS IN ITS DESIRE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH US. SEVERAL

CONFIDENTIAL

OF THE OFFICIAL IRANIANS ASKED MISSION OFFICERS ABOUT OUR
PLANS FOR SENDING AN AMBASSADOR. LAINGEN##

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19 11172 JUL 79
20 DEPARTMENT OF STATE
21 TO EMBASSY TEHRAN
22 TO SACSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2020

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DATE

SECTION 21 OF

1. O.C. 12055; GDS 7/24/80 (JOHNSON, MARK) 04-1
TAGS: EFIN, EGEM, PEPR, IR
SUBJECT: CALL ON MINISTER OF FINANCE ARDALAN

1. (C- ENTIRE TEXT)

2. CHARGK, ACCOMPANIED BY VISITING DEPUTY, CALLED ON MINISTER OF FINANCE ALI ARDALAN JULY 23. ARDALAN WAS JOINED BY DEPUTY MINISTER DR. IBBRAHIM-ZADEH WHO INTERVIEWED.

3. CHARGK OPENED CONVERSATION BY EXPLAINING OUR UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE REVOLUTION. WE WERE WILLING TO WORK WITH IRAN IN THE TASK OF REBUILDING OUR RELATIONS AND STOOD READY TO COOPERATE IN THOSE AREAS WHERE IRAN FELT WE COULD PLAY A USEFUL ROLE. CHARGK SAID WE SHARED COMMON INTERESTS AND ASSETS, SUCH AS OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIPS, WHICH COULD AID THIS REBUILDING.

4. ARDALAN REPLIED BY OFFERING HIS VISITORS A HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF THE LONG AND FRUITFUL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. THE MEMORIES OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO WORKED IN IRAN IN THE EARLY YEARS AFTER IRAN'S CONSTITUTIONAL SPRING WERE CHERISHED BY IRANIANS. ARDALAN MENTIONED EARLY OF MR. JORDAN, AN AMERICAN WHO HELPED ESTABLISH ALBORN COLLEGE WHERE MANY IRANIANS HAD GOTTEN THEIR FIRST TASTE OF HIGHER EDUCATION. SIMILARLY, IRANIAN PATRIOTS REMEMBERED PEOPLE LIKE MORGAN SHUSTER AND WENDELL WAGNERVILLE IN TABRIZ WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE. HE AGREED THAT THESE RELATIONSHIPS WOULD INFLUENCE THE FUTURE. ARDALAN STATED THAT THE NEW GROUP OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD HAVE A POSITIVE FEELING TOWARD IRAN.

5. TURNING TO SUBJECT OF BANK NATIONALIZATIONS, THE PROVISIONS AND RESPECTED. THIS WAS REQUIRED BY BOTH ISLAMIC TRADITION AND GOVERNMENT LAW, HE SAID. NO TIME-TABLE WAS SET FOR THIS COMPENSATION AS THE PCOI, BEING TO STUDY A SPECIAL INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE, WAS STILL INVESTIGATING THE VARIOUS BANKS. IBBRAHIM-ZADEH ADDED THAT THE COMMITTEE IS NOW IN THE VERGE OF MERGING THE NATIONAL BANKS INTO A FEW MAJOR BANKS. PERHAPS FIVE OR SIX.

6. CHARGK THEN RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF REACTIVATING THE U.S.-IRAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OR THE BUSINESS COUNCIL AS A WAY OF IMPROVING THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN AMERICANS AND IRANIAN FIRMS. ARDALAN SAID HE WAS IN FAVOR OF DOING THIS ALTHOUGH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MATTERS LIKE THE CLEARING OR COUNCIL RESTED WITH THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE. ARDALAN'S MINISTRY WOULD BE WILLING TO BACK UP ANY

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PROPOSAL PUT FORTH BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE. LOOKING FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD, DID THE MINISTER SEE ANY ROLE FOR THE JOINT COMMISSION? THE CHARGE SAID WE WERE NOT PUSHING THE COMMISSION BUT WANTED TO SEE ARDALAN'S VIEWS. THE MINISTER FELT THAT IDEA WAS BASICALLY GOOD, BUT HE HAD NO PARTICULAR VIEWS ON TIMING. THIS SUBJECT WOULD NEED STUDY BY THE INTERESTED PARTS OF THE GOVT.

F. CHARGE USED CASE OF OTE AS ILLUSTRATION OF WHAT WE WERE ATTEMPTING TO AVOID. MINISTER WAS BASICALLY AWARE OF PROBLEM BUT HAD NO REAL INVOLVEMENT IN THIS DISPUTE, WHICH HE HOPED COULD BE SOLVED THROUGH DIALOGUE RATHER THAN COURTS. ARDALAN THEN WENT ON TO MAKE WHAT WAS PROBABLY HIS CENTRAL MESSAGE DURING MEETING: U.S. SHOULD AVOID FORMING IMPRESSIONS OR DRAWING CONCLUSIONS ABOUT IRAN BASED ON THE RUMORS BEING FLOATED IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE BY IRANISMS WHO HAD FLED DURING THE REVOLUTION. ARDALAN SAID THESE PEOPLE -- "ANTI-REVOLUTIONARIES" -- WERE TRYING TO UNDERMINE IRAN'S CREDITWORTHINESS BY SPREADING LIES. ARDALAN EMPHASIZED THAT "WE ARE GOING TO PAY EVERY PENNY WE OWE."

G. REFERRING TO ARDALAN'S COMMENTS ON "IMAGE," CHARGE EXPRESSED REGRET OVER EXPULSION OF NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT YUSSEF IBRAHIM. CHARGE SAID THIS KIND OF ACTION CANNOT CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE. THE PICTURE OF THE REVOLUTION WILL BECOME LESS BALANCED IF IRAN CONTINUES TO EXPEL JOURNALISTS. ARDALAN TOOK NOTE OF THESE REMARKS BUT OFFERED NO SUBSTANTIVE REPLY, SAYING BT
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ONLY THAT IT SHOULD BE RAISED WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY.
9. ALTHOUGH MEETING WAS SOMEWHAT SHORT ON SUBSTANCE, IT
WAS VERY CORDIAL IN TONE. THE MINISTER CONVEYS A PROPER-
SOCIAL IMAGE AND DOES NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING
A FORCEFUL PERSONALITY. WE SUSPECT THAT HE LOOKS TO HIS
ARTICULATE AND ENERGETIC DEPUTY, IBRAHIM-ZADEH, FOR
DIRECTION. ZADEH, FOR INSTANCE, SEEMED MORE POSITIVE ON
THE WORK OF THE BANKING COMMITTEE AND ON THE RESTRUCTURING
OF THE BUSINESS COUNCIL.

10. COMMENT: MEETING ENDED ON A PERSIAN NOTE. AS WE
WERE TAKING OUR LEAVE, IBRAHIM-ZADEH DREW BEPSOFF ASIDE.
HE SAID HE HAD SOME FRIENDS. THEY NEEDED VISAS. COULD
WE DO ANYTHING FOR THEM... END COMMENT. LAUGH
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 27285

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R.O. GDS 4/13/86 (TAYLOR, CLYDE D.) OR-S
TAGS: ECON, EGEN, IR
SUBJ: MINISTER ALI ARDALAN AND ECONOMIC POLICIES
REF: TEHRAN 2758

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING IS BASED UPON AN APRIL CALL ON MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND FINANCE DR. ALI ARDALAN, OTHER CONTACTS AND ARDALAN'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS. ARDALAN, AN OLD SCHOOL LAWYER/ECONOMIST AND NATIONAL FRONT MEMBER, RESPONDES A MODERATE COURSE IN ECONOMIC POLICY. HE WANTS GOOD ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE U.S. AND OFFERED HIS OFFICE AS LIAISON POINT; U.S. INVESTMENT IS WELCOMED BUT ON CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. HE IS PRESSING FOR TAX REFORM, WITH LOWER EMPLOYEE AND EMPLOYER TAXES AS WELL AS INCENTIVES TO SETTLE OLD OBLIGATIONS. RESPECT FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY AND INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY WILL BE MAINTAINED, BUT HE IS PUZZY CONCERNING THE TREATMENT OF FOREIGN CONTRACTS MADE WITH THE OLD REGIME. HE SEEMS TO RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTIES IN INDUSTRY AND THE DILEMMA POSED BY THE CONFLICTING DESIRES TO GET THE COUNTRY BACK TO WORK AND YET RE-ORIENTATE THE ECONOMY'S STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY. MORE THAN ANY OTHER MINISTRY, HE HAS RETAINED MUCH OF THE PREVIOUS MANAGEMENT TEAM, WITH FOUR OR HIS FIVE UNDER-SECRETARIES BEING HOLDOVERS. ARDALAN IS A WELL-INTENTIONED GENTLEMAN, BUT HIS PROCLIVITY TO DISCUSS ONLY AND NOT EXECUTE POLICY IS UNFORTUNATE AT A TIME WHEN IRAN NEEDS DIRECTION IN ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND NEW POLICIES. END SUMMARY

2. (OU) ACTING ECONOMIC COUNSELOR CALLED ON MINISTER ARDALAN APRIL 8. MOST OF THE ONE HOUR WAS DEVOTED TO U.S./IRAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PROBLEMS OF CONTRACT RESOLUTIONS, U.S. BUSINESS TRAVEL AND THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERLOOPERS NOT DEALING WITH IRANIAN BUSINESSSES IN THE U.S. (REETF) THE MINISTER'S ADVISOR, ENGLISH-SPEAKING, EX-UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ECONOMICS PROFESSOR DR. ABRAHIM-ZADEH AT-TEHRAN; A THIRD AND UNIDENTIFIED GENTLEMAN MAY HAVE JOINED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU. MORE, USING PSN ECONOMIC ADVISOR FACILITATION AS TRANSLATOR, CONVEYED USUAL, FIRST-OFFICIAL CONTACT GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS TO ARDALAN. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HIS EFFORTS IN RESOLVING THE NY FEDERAL RESERVE/ARDALAN OF IRAN BOND FIDES PROBLEM IN FEBRUARY AND IN CATCHING UP ON 101 EXTERNAL DEBT OBLIGATIONS. IN RESPONSE TO BROFF'S EXPRESSED DESIRE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS AND WORK HARMONIOUSLY IN AREAS OF ECONOMIC POLICY AND BILATERAL COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES, ARDALAN

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SAID HE TOO DESIRED TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS CARRIED FROM
THE PREVIOUS REGIME AND DEVELOP/CONTINUE MUTUALLY BENE-
FICIAL COMMERCIAL TIES.

3. (LON) EMBROFF, AFTER DESCRIBING IN DETAIL VARIOUS
PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE "NORMALIZATION" OF BILATERAL
ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS, SOUGHT FROM ARDALAN INFORMATION
AND ADVICE ON HOW BEST TO PROCEED. ARDALAN SAID, AS RE-
PORTED IN BRIEFTEL, THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF THE ACTIVITIES
OF SUCH AS SOURI AND NASHEMI IN THE U.S., BUT HE PLEADED
FOR UNDERSTANDING AND PATIENCE ON U.S. PART, REMINDING
THAT THE REVOLUTION WILL CONTINUE TO AFFECT IRAN'S BE-
HAVIOR FOR SOME TIME, DESPITE BEST EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE
ITS INSTITUTIONS ON MORE NORMAL PATTERNS. EMBROFF
SAID CBI GOVERNOR MOHIAVI, RESPONDING TO AMERICAN BUSINESS-
MEN'S PROBLEMS IN COMMUNICATING WITH IRANIAN ENTITIES,
HAD SUGGESTED TO MFA MINISTER SANJARI THE EARLY ESTAB-
LISHMENT OF A BUSINESS CONTACT OFFICER IN IRAN'S
WASHINGTON EMBASSY (SEE TEHRAN 23682). ARDALAN, PROBABLY
MORE AWARE OF THE REALITIES AT THAT TIME, NEITHER
ENDORSED OR REJECTED THE IDEA; HE SAID IT IS TOO EARLY
TO EXPECT SOMETHING EFFECTIVE, THAT WE SHOULD GIVE THEM
MORE TIME. HE DID OFFER HIS OWN OFFICE AS A POINT OF
CONTACT IN CASES WHERE U.S. FIRMS WERE NOT ABLE TO
COMMUNICATE EFFECTIVELY WITH IRANIAN AGENCIES AND IN
WHICH AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN NEEDED ASSURANCES CONCERNING
THEIR SAFE ENTRY AND EXIT FROM IRAN. HE SUGGESTED THAT
THE EMBASSY UTILIZE THE IRANIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
INDUSTRY AND MINES IN RESOLVING COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS
BETWEEN U.S. AND IRANIAN PRIVATE FIRMS. (DR. ISRAHIM-
ZADEH AT THIS POINT SAID THAT THE MINISTER WAS OFFERING
TO SET UP A SPECIAL DEPARTMENT AS A CONTACT POINT ON
U.S. ECONOMIC CONCERNS. EMB TRANSLATOR DID NOT HEAR
THIS AND THE IDEA SEEMS A BIT EXCESSIVE. EFFORTS TO
REACH ISRAHIM-ZADEH SUBSEQUENTLY HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL.)
DR. ISRAHIM-ZADEH SAID THAT WHILE THE MINISTRY WOULD DO
ITS BEST TO INSURE THE SAFE MOVEMENT AND DEPARTURE OF
AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN, WE MUST ANTICIPATE THAT FORTUNARIERS
WHO WERE PARTLY TO ILLEGAL TRANSFERS OR FRAUDULENT SCHEMES
WOULD, IF THEY RETURNED, FACE THE PROSPECT OF LEGAL

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ACTION. LASTLY, CONCERNING U.S./IRAN RELATIONSHIPS, ARDALAN SAID IRAN WOULD WELCOME NEW INVESTMENT, ALTHOUGH THE MERITS OF EACH WOULD BE EVALUATED, BUT BASICALLY UNDER POLICIES OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT (E.G., CONCERNING EQUITY PARTICIPATION CEILINGS).

4. (LOU) ARDALAN EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER IRAN'S IMAGE ABROAD AND ASKED FOR HELP IN ERADICATING FALSE IMAGES AND INFORMATION SO AS TO ADVANCE A RETURN TO NORMALCY PERHAPS ANTICIPATING A COMMENT FROM EMOFF CONCERNING THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS AND EXECUTIONS, ARDALAN SAID HIS SON CALLED HIM THAT MORNING FROM ABROAD AND SAID THAT THE FOREIGN PRESS WAS MAKING A BIG THING ABOUT THE BOVEYDA EXECUTION. ARDALAN ASKED, "WHAT IS THE BIG COMMOTION? EVERYONE KNEW HE WOULD BE EXECUTED SOME TIME." EMOFF COMMENTED THAT THE U.S. AND WESTERN PRESS WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED THAT HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME WOULD BE CHARGED AND TRIED FOR VARIOUS MATTERS, BUT WE EXPECTED FROM A REVOLUTION WHICH PRO-FESSED ABHORANCE OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME'S LACK ADHERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES TO FOLLOW DUE PROCESS IN THESE TRIALS. TO THIS, ARDALAN ONLY REITERATED THAT WE MUST BE PATIENT, THAT REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR IS STILL RUNNING ITS COURSE.

5. (LOU) MINISTER ARDALAN, IN RESPONDING TO EMOFF'S APPRECIATION FOR EFFORTS TO CATCH UP ON OVERDUE PUBLIC DEBT SERVICE, SAID ALL GOI EXTERNAL DEBT SERVICE THROUGH MARCH HAD BEEN MET BY NO RUZ (MARCH 21) AND THAT OBLIGATIONS FALLING DUE IN APRIL WERE ALREADY BEING PROCESSED. COMMENT: WE CAN BUT CONCLUDE THAT ARDALAN IS ILL-INFORMED. WE ARE AWARE FROM U.S. BANKERS OF PUBLIC SECTOR DEBT YET UNPAID FROM EVEN JANUARY, E.G., INDUSTRIAL CREDIT BANK. ARDALAN MIGHT BE CORRECT AS FAR AS GOI DIRECT AND GUARANTEED DEBT, BUT IS LIKELY THAT EVEN SOME OF THE LATTER IS STILL OVERDUE.

6. (U) ARDALAN ANNOUNCED APRIL 5, THAT A NEW TAX SYSTEM BASED ON ISLAMIC JUSTICE WOULD BE DECLARED SHORTLY. HE DESCRIBED THE NEW TAX PHILOSOPHY AS REFLECTING THE ONENESS OF GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE. THUS, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT HAVE TO PURSUE PEOPLE FOR TAX AS BEFORE; PEOPLE WILL WILLINGLY PAY THEIR FAIR AND REASONABLE TAXES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR INCOME. HE SUGGESTED THAT TAXES ON EMPLOYEE SALARIES WILL BE LOWERED AND EXEMPTIONS FROM INCOME TAXES BROADENED. TAXES ON PROPERTY (LAND AND DWELLINGS) WILL REFLECT THE RECENT DECREASES IN VALUE AND MAY BE LOWERED IN RATE BY AS MUCH AS 30 PERCENT. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL APPROVED FACILITIES BY WHICH SOME 160,000 PENDING TAX CASES INVOLVING INDIVIDUALS AND CORPORATIONS UP TO YEAR 1345 (1966/67) CAN BE RESOLVED.

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WE SAID THAT THESE CASES, WHICH INVOLVE AMOUNTS NOT EXCEEDING RIALS 500,000 (ABOUT \$7,000), CAN BE SETTLED BY PAYING THE AMOUNT BELIEVED OWED AND THE PERSON/FIRM WILL BE GIVEN A TAX CLEARANCE. THE SAME POLICY APPLIES TO THOSE HAVING DISPUTED CASES NOT EXCEEDING RIALS 100,000 SINCE 1345. THOSE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS OWE MORE THAN THE MAXIMUM AMOUNTS MENTIONED CAN SETTLE WITH A 20 PERCENT DEDUCTION FROM THE AMOUNT CLAIMED, WITH FOREGIVENESS OF FINES AND OTHER CHARGES. COMMENT: IRAN'S TAX SYSTEM IS BURRIED IN YEARS OF UNSETTLED CLAIMS. FEW CORPORATIONS ARE MORE CURRENT THAN TWO OR THREE YEARS PAST. APART FROM PUBLIC SECTOR INDIVIDUALS WHOSE TAXES ARE WITHHELD, FEW INDIVIDUALS OR FIRMS MADE EFFORTS TO PAY TAXES SINCE SEPTEMBER 1979, FIRSTLY BECAUSE OF STRIKES IN THE TAXATION DEPARTMENT OF THE MEAF AND SECONDLY IN THE BELIEF THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE REVOLUTION WOULD AT LEAST PARTIALLY REMOVE THEIR OBLIGATIONS. ARDALAN'S PROGRAM CONCERNING OLD CLAIMS IS A GOOD STANT IN CLEARING THE DECKS, WHILE PRESERVING SOME INTEGRITY TO TAX OBLIGATIONS. HIS EXPECTATION OF THE "IRRESISTABLE URGE TO PAY TAXES" ESCAPES THE WESTERNER'S PERCEPTION OF THE EAST, MUCH LESS OF THE WESTERNER'S RELATIONSHIP TO GOVERNMENT. IT IS TRUE THAT IN THE TIME OF MOSSADEQ IRANIANS WERE RELATIVELY WILLING TAX PAYERS, BUT WE DOUBT THAT THE PROFESSION OF TAX COLLECTOR LIVED WITH THE SHAH.

7. (LOU) ARDALAN REPORTEDLY ANNOUNCED THAT THE PGOI HAS NO INTENTION OF NATIONALIZING COMPANIES NOR INFRINGING ON PRIVATE PROPERTY. STOCKS OF COMPANIES WILL REMAIN IN THE SAME PREVIOUS NAMES. HE SAID THAT MOST COMPANIES ARE BANKRUPT AND THEIR DEBTS TO GOVERNMENT EXCEED THE LEVEL OF THEIR ASSETS. THUS, SHAREHOLDERS OF THESE COMPANIES SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY DIVIDENDS FOR SOME TIME. HE SAID THAT BANKS WERE IN A MISERABLE STATE BECAUSE OF STRIKES AND ECONOMIC INACTIVITY AND THAT HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CBI ALL OF THEM WOULD HAVE COLLAPSED. SOME BANKS, HE SAID, HAD LOANED MORE THAN THEIR CAPITAL.

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HE SPOKE OF CONSIDERABLE ASSISTANCE BEING RENDERED, BUT CAUTIONED AGAINST EXPECTING AN EARLY RECOVERY. COMMENT: ARDALAN HOPEFULLY WAS MISREPORTED CONCERNING THE BANK'S. AT LEAST ONE, MELLI, IS CREDITED BY ITS PRESIDENT (SHORAKA) AND FOREIGN BANKERS AS NOT HAVING BEEN BANKRUPT. THE ACCUSATION THAT SOME BANKS LOANED IN EXCESS OF THEIR CAPITAL DEFIES MONETARY THEORY AND NEEDS NO COMMENT.

8. (C) ARDALAN'S PUBLICLY EXPRESSED POLICY CONCERNING RESPECT FOR CONTRACTS WITH FOREIGNERS MADE BY THE PREVIOUS REGIME IS FUZZY AND HIS IMPRECISE STATEMENTS TO EMBODY PROBABLY REFLECT THE FACT THAT THE PGOI WILL NOT BE CLEAR ON THE ISSUE UNTIL IT HAS MARSHALLED STAFF AND STUDIED AND EVALUATED THOSE CONTRACTS. THE PRESS REPORTED ARDALAN SAYING, CONCERNING SUCH CONTRACTS, THAT "MOST OF THE NON-ESSENTIAL ONES WILL BE CANCELED, BUT ALL CONTRACTS, HOWEVER, WILL BE STUDIED AND REVIEWED TO DETERMINE WHETHER THEY ARE ESSENTIAL OR NOT. SINCE THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT PRESENT IS IN AN EXCEPTION SITUATION, THE SELLING COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY COMPENSATION. HE SAID HE WOULD EXPECT THAT COUNTRIES PARTY TO CONTRACTS WOULD UNDERSTAND IRAN'S PROBLEMS AND ITS NEED TO REVIEW CONTRACTS; IN THE MEANWHILE THEY SHOULD NOT DEMAND COMPENSATION. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE AND HOPE THAT THE LATTER STATEMENT IS THE GOVERNING ONE ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT AFTER THE BUREAUCRACY RETURNS TO WORK, REVIEWS AND EVALUATES THE STATUS OF CONTRACTS, THAT LEGITIMATE CLAIMS WILL BE PAID EVEN IF THE CONTRACTS ARE CANCELED.

9. (LOU) ARDALAN GIVES EVIDENCE OF RECOGNIZING THE DEFICIENCIES IN INDUSTRY AND THE DILEMMA FACED BY THE OFTEN CONFLICTING GOALS OF RESTORING EMPLOYMENT AND YET REORIENTING THE ECONOMY'S STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY. AN EXAMPLE IS HIS COMMENT THAT THE NATIONAL IRANIAN STEEL COMPANY IS A NON-ECONOMICAL INDUSTRIAL UNIT WITH A MONTHLY LOSS OF MORE THAN RIALS 2.5 BILLION. ITS MILL, THE SOVIET ENGINEERED AND TECHNICALLY SUPERVISED BOF MILL OUTSIDE ISFAHAN, LAST YEAR SHOWED EXPENSES OF RIALS 62 BILLION WITH ONLY RIALS 22 BILLION IN REVENUES, A RIALS 40 BILLION OR \$567 MILLION LESS. (COMMENT: THE MILL HAS ALWAYS SHOWED A LOSS AND OPERATED WELL BELOW CAPACITY, BUT ITS PERFORMANCE WAS JUSTIFIED AS A LOSS LEADER OF THE INDUSTRY; FURTHER, LAST YEAR WOULD HAVE BEEN MOST BUSINESSES WORST YEAR DUE TO SIX MONTHS' STRIKE ACTION WIDELY, AS IN THE CASE OF SUCH PUBLIC INDUSTRIES, MAINTAINING FULL PATROLL. COUNTRY-WIDE, THE GOVERNMENT FACES THE DEMAND AND POLITICAL NEED TO GET PEOPLE WORKING AND REDUCE THE HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RESULTING FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY STRIKES AND ECONOMIC DAMAGES. YET MANY OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNITS IT WOULD HAVE TO ASSIST IN ORDER TO

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RESUME EMPLOYMENT ARE INEFFICIENT AND OFTEN OWNED OR MANAGED BY PERSONS WHOSE TIES WITH THE OLD REGIME MAKE IT EVEN MORE UNPALATABLE TO PROVIDE RECOVERY CREDITS. THUS, THE PGOI FACES "CATCH-22" POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY WHICH WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE EVEN UNDER MORE FAVORABLE, STABLE CIRCUMSTANCES.

10. (C) TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, ARDALAN HAS RETAINED MORE SENIOR OFFICIALS IN HIS MINISTRY THAN ANY OTHER MINISTER. WHILE HE HAS REDUCED THE NUMBER OF UNDERSECRETARIES FROM SEVEN TO FIVE, FOUR OF THE FIVE ARE HOLDOVERS. THEY ARE: DEPUTY MINISTER REZA GHOLI ARAB; UNDERSECRETARY AND DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR THE CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT SEYED AHMAN BEHGOO (A NEW APPOINTEE); FOR ECONOMIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS UNDERSECRETARY DR. AHMAD KOOROS, WHO IS FROM ANSARY'S TIME; FOR TREASURY, SOHRAB PARZAN, FROM YEGANEH'S TIME; AND FOR TAXATION, HASSAN ALI REGAI, FROM MEHRAN'S TIME. DR. JAMSHID ASHRAFI, FORMER UNDERSECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT AND CREDITS, WAS OUT OF IRAN ON OFFICIAL BUSINESS WHEN THE GOVERNMENT FELL. HE WAS BURNED AND HOSPITALIZED IN LONDON AND COULD NOT RETURN. FRIENDS ARE ADVISING HIM NOT TO RETURN AND IT IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED THAT HE WOULD NOT GET HIS OLD JOB BACK. HIS DIRECTOR GENERAL REZA KHALEGHI-RAD IS THE DE FACTO UNDERSECRETARY FOR THAT BUREAU, WITH DR. KOOROS HAVING AUTHORITY TO SIGN FOR ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS. THE NEW ADVISOR TO THE MINISTER, DR. IBRAHIM-ZADER, APPEARS TO HAVE SUBSTANTIAL INFLUENCE ON ARDALAN, INFLUENCE WHICH TO DATE APPEARS TO BE MORE REVOLUTIONARY/RADICAL THAN ARDALAN'S NATURAL BENT. HE WAS A MUCH-PUBLICIZED SPOKESMAN FOR IRAN AT THE GENEVA OPEC MEETING. WE HAVE NO IMPRESSIONS YET CONCERNING THE UNDERSECRETARIES' TENDENCIES UNDER THE PGOI. OUR LONG-TIME CONTACT DR. KOOROS, U.S. EDUCATED AND WITH AMCIT WIFE AND CHILDREN (WHO REMAIN IN THE U.S. SINCE DECEMBER), DOES NOT RETURN OUR CALLS. HE, ALONE OF THE TOP SIX IN MANAGEMENT, SPEAKS ENGLISH.

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11. (C) BIOGRAPHIC ON ARDALAN: IN APPEARANCE ARDALAN SEEMS LATE 60S AND HAS A KINDLY GRANDFATHER IMAGE. HE IS OLD-PERSIAN POLITE AND, CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS BASED ON SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC HE ESPOUSED AT GENEVA, HE NEVER EVEN SLIGHTLY "TURNED THE KNIFE" ON THE U.S. DURING A ONE-HOUR DISCUSSION CENTERING ON OUR COMMERCIAL, CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIPS. FROM OTHER CALLERS WE ARE TOLD THAT HE IS FLUENT IN FRENCH, BUT IF HE SPEAKS ANY ENGLISH HE KEEPS IT HIDDEN. IMF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR JANAGIR AMUZEGAR, WHO WAS A CLASSMATE OF ARDALAN AT TEHRAN FACULTY OF LAW, DESCRIBED ARDALAN TO EMBOFF AS "OLD SCHOOL." HE THINKS HE HAS NEVER LEFT IRAN. HE DID NOT RISE ABOVE THE "ASSISTANT SECRETARY" LEVEL IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (UNDER JAMSHID AMUZEGAR) BECAUSE OF HIS NATIONAL FRONT ALLEGIENCE. JANHANGIR BELIEVED HE SHOULD HAVE ATTAINED AT LEAST THE DEPUTY MINISTER LEVEL BASED ON HIS SKILLS. DIR. GEN. KHALEGHI-ROD (PROTECT) DESCRIBES ARDALAN AS HONEST, SINCERE AND A GENTLEMAN, AS DO SEVERAL OTHER OF OUR CONTACTS. BUT HE SAYS HE IS UTTERLY INCAPABLE OF COPING WITH THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS HE FACES. ACCORDING TO KHALEGHI-ROD, ARDALAN, WHO IS CHARGED WITH ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM, MERELY DISCUSSES, MAYBE AGREES WITH SUGGESTIONS, BUT SELDOM PROVIDES NECESSARY AUTHORITY OR SHOWS INITIATIVE TO EXECUTE SOLUTIONS. NAAS

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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP: STATE
APPRV: JHG:CVNAAS
DRFTD: POL:VTOMSETH/SJ
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL ECOM

T.O. 12065: GDS 5/21/79 (NAAS, C.W.) OR-M
TAGS: ELAR, PEPR, IR
SUBJ: MEETING WITH MIN OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS
FOROUBAR

1. (C - EMPIRE TEL: REPORTING CABLE)

2. SUMMARY: I MET WITH MINISTER OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS FAROUBAR FOROUBAR MAY 21. WE DISCUSSED IRANIAN UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE PGOI'S PROGRAMS TO COMBAT IT, EFFORTS TO REVERSE THE COUNTRYSIDE-TO-CITY MIGRATION OF RECENT YEARS, THE ROLE WORKER COMMITTEES AND TRADE UNIONS AS WELL AS U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS. END SUMMARY

3. I BEGAN MY REMARKS BY NOTING THAT IRAN AND THE U.S. HAVE MANY INTERESTS IN COMMON AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW DAYS WOULD NOT DISRUPT MORE TEMPORARILY THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. FOROUBAR SAID THAT HE HOPED, TOO, THAT THAT WOULD BE THE CASE, AND ADDED THAT HE WAS CONVIDENT THAT IF THE U.S. UNDERSTANDS THE NATURE OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, THERE WOULD BE NO SERIOUS PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD. HIS ONLY CONCERN, HE SAID, WAS THAT IRAN'S COMMITMENT TO A POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT WOULD BE MISINTERPRETED. I REPLIED THAT WHILE I HAD BEEN IN WASHINGTON IN MARCH I HAD BEEN GIVEN A SIMPLE SET OF INSTRUCTIONS TO BE CARRIED OUT UPON MY RETURN TO IRAN, I WENT TO CALL ON SENIOR IRANIAN OFFICIALS TO EXPRESS TO THEM THAT THE U.S. UNDERSTANDS THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, THAT WE ACCEPT IT, AND THAT IT IS COMPATIBLE WITH U.S. INTERESTS WHICH ARE BASED UPON THE PRESERVATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF IRAN. AS FOR IRAN'S ADHERENCE TO NON-ALIGNMENT, I NOTED THAT WE HAVE CLOSE AND CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH MANY COUNTRIES WHICH FOLLOW A NON-ALIGNED POLICY AND THAT I EXPECTED THE SAME WOULD BE TRUE IN THE CASE OF IRAN. FOROUBAR CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE HOPED IT WOULD INDEED BE POSSIBLE TO PUT ASIDE THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF THE PAST.

4. I THEN TURNED TO THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT, NOTING THAT A NEW ERA IN IRAN REQUIRES NEW APPROACHES AND ASKING IF THE MINISTER COULD ENLIGHTEN ME ON THE PGOI'S POLICIES IN THIS REGARD. FOROUBAR SAID THAT AS HAD BEEN THE CASE WITH ALL POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS, THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION HAD LEFT A LEGACY OF ECONOMIC DISRUPTION FOR THE PGOI TO DEAL WITH. CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS HAD BEEN HALTED AND INDUSTRIES IDLED, AND CONSEQUENTLY ONE OF THE FIRST TASKS OF THE PGOI HAD BEEN TO GET PEOPLE BACK TO WORK. THUS, IT WAS DECIDED TO REACTIVATE STALLED PRO-

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PLANS, ESPECIALLY THOSE SUCH AS ROADS AND HOUSING WHICH EMPLOYED LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE, EVEN IF SOME OF THOSE PROGRAMS WERE OF DUBIOUS VALUE. EFFORTS HAD BEEN CONCENTRATED IN URBAN AREAS BOTH TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE LIVING IN THOSE AREAS TO REMAIN AND THE UNEMPLOYED IN URBAN AREAS TO RETURN TO THE COUNTRYSIDE. IN ADDITION, THE GOVERNMENT HAD IMPLEMENTED AN AMBITIOUS UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SCHEME TO EASE THE TRAUMA ENDURED BY ECONOMIC DISLOCATION. FOROUHAR CLAIMED THAT POSITIVE RESULTS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED AND THAT UNEMPLOYMENT HAD BEEN REDUCED.

5. I SAID THAT I HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT CONFUSED ABOUT THE MECHANISM OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SCHEME BY WHAT I HAD READ ABOUT IT IN THE PRESS AND ASKED FOROUHAR TO CLARIFY THE MATTER FOR ME. HE SAID THAT IT ENVISIONED AN ALLOWANCE OF UP TO TEN BILLION RIALS PER MONTH FOR A PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS. INITIALLY, DISBURSEMENTS WERE TO BE PAID ONLY TO THOSE WHO HAD BEEN PAYING INTO THE SOCIAL SECURITY FUND. HOWEVER, IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY DECIDED TO EXPAND THE SCOPE TO ALL INDIVIDUALS WHO CAN DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY WERE PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED AND ARE NOW UNEMPLOYED. THIS WILL BE DONE SUBSIDIZED BY PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS OPERATING ON THE SCHEDULES OF INDIVIDUALS. FOROUHAR SAID THAT IN THE LAST MONTH OF FARVARDIN (MARCH 21 THRU APRIL 20) 1976, 122,000 RIALS HAD BEEN DISBURSED. AN IMPORTANT IMPLICATION OF FOROUHAR'S STATEMENT WAS THAT THE LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN FARVARDIN REQUIRES NO MORE THAN THAT AMOUNT; WE ARE INCLINED TO CONCLUDE, HOWEVER, THAT THE LEVEL OF DISBURSEMENT WAS DETERMINED MORE BY BUREAUCRATIC CONSIDERATIONS THAN BY DEMAND FOR ASSISTANCE. END COMMENT.

6. TO THE QUESTION OF THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE IRANIAN WORKFORCE AND THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY REGARDING THE URBAN UNEMPLOYED, FOROUHAR GAVE A STANDARD LECTURE ON THE DEPRESSION OF IRANIAN AGRICULTURE UNDER THE SWAM DRIVING IRANIAN PEASANTS TO THE CITIES TO FIND WORK. HE SAID THAT THIS PROCESS TENDED TO FEED ITSELF, I.E., AS MORE PEOPLE LEFT THE FARM, FARM INCOME FELL FURTHER AND FURTHER BEHIND THOSE OF PEOPLE IN THE CITIES. NONETHE-

LESS, MANY PEOPLE RETAINED TIES TO THEIR FORMER VILLAGES, AND THE GOVERNMENT HOPED THAT IF RURAL INCOMES COULD BE RAISED TO EVEN 70 PERCENT OF URBAN INCOMES, MANY OF THESE PEOPLE WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO HOME. WHILE OFFERING NO STATISTICAL EVIDENCE, FOROUHAR CLAIMED THAT THE PCOI BELIEVES THAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IN RECENT MONTHS HAD INDEED RESULTED IN A REVERSAL OF THE COUNTRYSIDE-TO-CITY MIGRATION WHICH HAD SO DOMINATED IRAN'S RECENT HISTORY. IRONICALLY, THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN PROGRAMS, SUCH AS LOANS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED, AND ITS SUCCESS IN GETTING PEOPLE BACK TO WORK IN URBAN INDUSTRIES HAD PARTIALLY OFFSET THE GAINS IN THIS REGARD SINCE SOME INDIVIDUALS WHO MIGHT HAVE OTHERWISE RETURNED TO THEIR RURAL HOMES HAD BEEN TEMPTED TO REMAIN IN THE CITIES IN THE HOPE OF GETTING EITHER WORK OR GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE.

7. FOROUHAR CONCEDED THAT HIS MINISTRY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE VARIOUS WORKER COMMITTEES HAD SOMETIMES BEEN A PROBLEM FOR HIM. HE SAID THAT HE WAS "NOT IN FAVOR (WORDS HE CHOSE VERY CAREFULLY AND WENT TO SOME PAINS TO DIFFERENTIATE FROM "OPPOSED")" OF WORKER INTERFERENCE IN MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS. NONETHELESS, HE BELIEVED THAT THERE IS AN IMPORTANT ROLE FOR "LEGITIMATE" TRADE UNIONS, TRADE UNIONS FORMED BY THE WORKERS THEMSELVES RATHER THAN THE KIND OF SHAM ORGANIZATIONS THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SHAH HAD FORMERLY SPONSORED. HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD OF COURSE BE PREPARED TO OFFER PROPER ENCOURAGEMENT TO WORKERS' OWN EFFORTS.

8. IN CLOSING, I DREW FOROUHAR'S ATTENTION TO THE COOPERATIVE PROGRAM BETWEEN HIS MINISTRY AND OUR OWN DEPARTMENT OF LABOR WHICH EXISTED IN THE PAST. WHILE NOTING THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT CERTAINLY WAS NOT THE TIME TO CONSIDER RESUMPTION OF SUCH A PROGRAM, I SAID THAT I WISHED HIM TO KNOW THAT WE WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO ANY LATER REQUESTS HIS MINISTRY MIGHT HAVE FOR LIMITED, SPECIALIZED HELP WHICH WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE. FOROUHAR APPEARED TO BE GENUINELY PLEASED BY MY OFFER, AND EXPRESSED HIS HOPE THAT THE PRESENT UNCERTAINTIES OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WOULD SOON PASS AND BE FOLLOWED BY A NEW ERA OF COOPERATION BASED UPON THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

9. COMMENT: FOROUHAR WAS RELAYED ABOUT WHAT HE APPEARED TO REGARD AS A MOMENTARY AND MINOR IRRITANT IN IRANO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. THIS WAS CONSISTENT WITH THE POSTURE OF THE OTHER CABINET MEMBERS I MET WITH YESTERDAY WHO SEEMED TO WANT TO REASSURE ME THAT, WHILE IRAN WILL NOT TOLERATE WHAT IT INTERPRETS TO BE INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, IT GENUINELY DESIRES A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH US. (FORNMIN YAZDI SINCE HAS GIVEN A PRESS CONFERENCE AT WHICH HE REPUTEDLY MADE SOME VERY INFLAMMATORY REMARKS ABOUT U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS.)

NAAS

امام خمینی:

" این ننگ را ما به کجا ببریم که برخی
از اهالی مملکت حالا که آمریکا را ملت شکست
داده است باز روابط با آمریکا دارند. "

دانشجویان مسلمان بیرو خط امام

بها ۱۴۰ ریال