

TELEGRAM

1978 NOV 22 PM 1341

INDICATE
 COLLECT
 CHARGE TO
11502

FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL
O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 11502 CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN
ACTION:	E.O. 11652: XGDS-4 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, PINS, IR SUBJECT: ALI AMINI MOVES
POL-3 AMB DCM ECON2 PM USICA OR CRU SHIR TABR ESFA	1. BOSTON GLOBE'S STEVE ERLANGER (PROTECT) IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF SAID FORMER PRIME MINISTER ALI AMINI TOLD HIM NOV 20 THAT OPPOSITION WAS COMING TO AGREEMENT ON COALITION GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT NAMING INDIVIDUAL, AMINI SAID CANDIDATE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN CHOSEN WHO HAD BEEN OUT OF POLITICS FOR 15 YEARS BUT WAS A RESPECTED INDIVIDUAL WITH CONSIDERABLE EXPERIENCE. AMINI SAID HE WAS MEETING WITH BAZAARIS NOV 23 TO DISCUSS SUPPORT FOR SUCH A COALITION GOVERNMENT. IDEA INCLUDED CONCURRENT NAMING OF ADVISORY COUNCIL TO SHAH WHICH WOULD CONSIST OF OLDER OPPOSITION LEADERS, LEAVING ROOM IN PROPOSED CABINET FOR YOUNGER, MORE DYNAMIC OPPOSITIONISTS AS WELL AS SOME INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD SERVED AS UNDERSECRETARIES IN MINISTRIES. AMINI WOULD NAME NO NAMES. 2. IN COURSE OF TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION, AMINI SAID SHAH MUST

DRAFTED BY: POL:JDStempel:lab	DRAFTING DATE 11-22-78	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: DCM: CWNeas
CLEARANCES: POL:GBLambrakis			

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION
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OPTIONAL FORM 152(H)
(Formerly FS-413(H))
January 1975
Dept. of State

STAY, NOT ONLY BECAUSE HE IS NATIONAL LEADER, BUT
 BECAUSE "ARMY WOULD FALL APART" IF HE LEFT. ERLANDER
 ADDED THAT HIS OWN MEETINGS WITH A FEW SELECTED MIDDLE-
 GRADE OFFICERS TO WHOM HE HAD BEEN INTRODUCED THROUGH
 FRIENDS CONFIRMED FACT THAT ARMY WAS BASICALLY LOYAL TO
 SHAH. IF HE WENT, HOWEVER, JUNIOR OFFICERS WOULD NOT
 NECESSARILY FEEL CONSTRAINED TO LINE UP WITH THEIR
 SENIORS SENATORS. (COMMENT: WHILE EMBASSY DOES NOT AGREE WITH
 AMINI STATEMENT THAT ARMY WOULD "FALL APART" BASIC
 LOYALTY OF SENIOR OFFICERS REMAINS WITH SHAH, AND ANY
 SCENARIO WHICH PUT HIM IN SERIOUS TROUBLE WOULD SIGNIFI-
 CANTLY INCREASE INTERNAL STRESSES AMONG IRANIAN
 MILITARY.)

[Signature]
SULLIVAN

2

73 Nov 78 2:38z

ACTION

ACTION
 PK3
 INFO
 AMB
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NNNNV ESB079BRA447
 OO RUQMRH
 DE RUEHC #6190 3270320
 ZNY SSSSS ZZH
 O 230106Z NOV 78
 FM SECSTATE WASHDC
 TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
 ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
 RUESRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 3652
 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 9986
 RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 9989
 RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 3563
 RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 7307
 RUTALS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 3331
 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 4665
 RUSBKR/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6586
 RUHFOLD/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4221
 RUQMPF/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9257
 RUSNAAA/USCINCPAC VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 BT
 S E C R E T STATE 296190

STUTTGART FOR ELG, KUWAIT PASS BRAZEL PASS BLUMENTHAL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO 22, 11/22/78

ALL ADDRES TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION
 1. OIL PRODUCTION INCREASED NEARLY ONE MILLION BARRELS TO
 ABOUT 5.2 MILLION BARRELS, OF WHICH 4.5 MILLION BARRELS
 WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR EXPORT. A FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL IN-
 CREASE IS EXPECTED TOMORROW, WHICH WILL BRING PRODUCTION
 ALMOST BACK TO NORMAL LEVELS. A TENTATIVE LABOR TRUCE
 WOULD THUS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED, AT THE COST OF
 MAJOR ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS PROMISED.

2. MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER GENERAL
 RECEIVED MAJLIS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE 191 TO 27, 8 NOV
 VOTING AFTER TWO DAYS OF DEBATE. AHRARI MADE
 SPEECH TAKING SAME CONCILIATORY LINE AS HIS
 AFTER TAKING OFFICE, UNDERSCORING OPPOSITION
 COME SO LONG AS THEY ACT WITHIN CONSTITUTION,
 WORD FOR MAINTAIN THE SHAH ON THE THRONE.

GROUP OF BIZARI MEMBERS MET EMBASSY
 AND REQUESTED IMMEDIATE ACTION
 SEEK A SEPARATE SOLUTION, INCLUDING

THE CONSTITUTION. THESE BAZAARIS CLAIM THEY ARE
WANT TO PRESS KHOMEINI ON THIS OUTCOME.

A COMMUNICATION FROM KHOMEINI CALLS FOR MASS SUPPORT
FOR THE STRIKING OIL WORKERS. THIS INDICATION THAT OIL
WILL NOT BE OVER HAS LED TEHRANIS TO DESCEND ON GAS
STATIONS TO STOCK UP.

CONSULATE SHIRAZ REPORTS THAT NOVEMBER 19 SHOOTING
INCIDENT, ALTHOUGH RECEIVING INTERNATIONAL PRESS COVERAGE,
IS MUCH EXAGGERATED WITH NUMBER DEAD PERHAPS TEN PERCENT
OF OPPOSITION CLAIM OF 200. WHATEVER THE FACTS, INCIDENT
WILL PROBABLY BECOME THE JALEH SQUARE OF SHIRAZ. MONDAY
AND TUESDAY THE BAZAAR AND HALF OTHER CITY SHOPS WERE
CLOSED, AND TODAY VIRTUALLY ALL OF SHIRAZ IS CLOSED IN
PROTEST.

TELEPHONE AND TELEX FACILITIES ARE FUNCTIONING AT
ONLY A FRACTION OF CAPACITY BECAUSE OF STRIKE INTERRUPTIONS.
IT IS NOT CLEAR THIS INTERRUPTION IS DELIBERATE SINCE
MAINTENANCE INEVITABLY INVOLVED. RUMORS THAT
OUTAGES ARE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED SEEM TO BE TRUE.

THERE WILL BE NO SITUATION REPORT TOMORROW (THANKS-
UNLESS EVENTS WARRANT. AS THIS CABLE IS DRAFTED,
THE PRESS REPORTS OF SERIOUS FIGHTING IN THE TEHRAN
BARRIERS.

SECRET

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TELEGRAM

1978 NOV 25 AM 9 27

INDICATE
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11520

FROM	AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION	SECRET
O. 11652:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE		
TAGS:	11520		
SUBJECT:	SECRET TEHRAN		
ACTION:	LIMDIS		
E.O. 11652:	GDS LIMDIS		
TAGS:	PINS, PINT, IR		
SUBJECT:	AMBASSADOR'S MEETINGS WITH SHARIF-EMAMI AND ALI-AMINI		
1.	I MET SEPARATELY AND CONSECUTIVELY AFTERNOON NOVEMBER 24 WITH EX-PRIME MINISTERS SHARIF-EMAMI AND ALI-AMINI. THE TWO MEN OFFER AN INTERESTING CONTRAST. SHARIF-EMAMI IS THE HEAVY, SLOW, GERMAN-TRAINED ACOLYTE OF THE SHAH, WHO HAS HANDLED THE ACCOUNTS OF THE PAHLEVI FOUNDATION AND WAS THE SHAH'S CHOICE AS THE LAST LEADER IN HIS CAMPAIGN OF LIBERALIZATION. ALI-AMINI IS AN ELFIN LITTLE MAN, FRENCH-EDUCATED, PERSONALLY WEALTHY, IRREVERANT ABOUT THE SHAH, AND THE FAIR-HAIRED AMERICAN PROTEGE OF THE KENNEDY PERIOD.		
2.	SHARIF-EMAMI, WHOM I MET ALONE IN THE HOME OF THE ZIAI MOTHERS, GAVE ME A LONG RECITAL OF A PROPOSAL MADE TO HIM BY MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT. IT WAS THE		
DRAFTED BY:	AMB:WHSullivan:bks	DRAFTING DATE	11/25/78
TELE. EXT.	1600	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:	AMB:WHSullivan
PERMISSIONS:			

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CLASSIFICATION

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FAMILIAR CALL FOR A REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH WOULD REPLACE THE SHAH AND PASS THE AUTHORITY FOR FORMATION OF A NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT ON TO SOME VAGUELY DEFINED GROUP WHO WOULD THEN HOLD FREE ELECTIONS AND ASSURE THE RETENTION OF THE MONARCHY FOR THE CROWN PRINCE.

3. I GAVE HIM A FEW WELL-CHOSEN GROUPS ON THE UNREALITY OF THIS PROPOSAL AND TOLD HIM THAT IT HAD BEEN MADE TO ME INDIRECTLY AT LEAST THREE TIMES. I STRESSED THAT THERE COULD BE NO COMPROMISE WITH KHOMEINI, THAT THE SHAH HAD TO REMAIN AS BOTH KING AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AND THAT THE NATIONAL FRONT HAD TO FACE THOSE FACTS AS REALITY. I WAS PARTICULARLY HEAVY HANDED IN MAKING THESE POINTS, PARTLY BECAUSE I THINK SHARIF-EMAMI IS NOT VERY BRIGHT AND PARTLY BECAUSE I THINK HE MAY HAVE BEEN PUT UP TO THIS INTERVIEW BY THE SHAH TO TEST OUR STEADFASTNESS. AT ANY RATE, I MADE HIM REPEAT THE LESSON POINT-BY-POINT AFTER I FINISHED MY LECTURE TO BE SURE HE HAD IT RIGHT.

4. AFTERWARDS, I URGED HIM AND THE ZIAI BROTHERS, WHO LATER JOINED US, TO WORK ON BAZAARIS, INDUSTRIALISTS, AND MULLAHS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE SHAH WAS SINCERE IN SEEKING A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE AND TO DEFUZE TENSIONS IN THE PERIOD OF MOHARRAM. I STRESSED THAT THE SHAH WAS WILLING TO MEET ANY DOUBTERS PRIVATELY AND THAT THEY SHOULD HELP RECRUIT THOSE WHO WOULD BE INFLUENTIAL TO MEET WITH HIM.

5. SUBSEQUENTLY, I SAW ALI-AMIMI, WHO TOLD ME HE HAD ALSO BEEN DELUGED WITH THESE SAME OFFERINGS FROM THE NATIONAL FRONT AND HAD TOLD ALL OF THEM TO GO BACK AND GET THEIR HEADS RIGHT BEFORE TRYING TO PURSUE THEIR AMBITIONS. HE SAID HE HAD FOUND ONE SENSIBLE NATIONAL FRONT TYPE WHOM HE WAS BRINGING TO SEE THE SHAH THAT SAME EVENING. (I UNDERSTOOD IT TO BE FORMER MOSSADEQ MINISTER SADIQI, ?) ALTHOUGH AMIMI SEEMED A LITTLE CONFUSED ABOUT HIS FIRST NAME,) AMIMI CONSIDERS HIM HONEST, REALISTIC, AND SENIOR TO SANJABI IN THE FRONT CONSTELLATION. HE BELIEVES THE SHAH COULD NAME HIM PRIME MINISTER IN A COALITION GOVERNMENT. HE SAYS THE BAZAARIS SUPPORT HIM AND THAT HE HAS THE SYMPATHY OF SHARIAT-MADARI.

6. AMIMI ALSO TOLD ME OF HIS MEETINGS WITH UNIVERSITY, BAZAAR, AND INDUSTRIAL TYPES WHOM HE HAS BEEN ROUNDING UP TO MEET THE SHAH. HE WILL BRING THE UNIVERSITY GROUP TO SEE THE SHAH ON SATURDAY AND HOPES TO GET THE BAZAARIS TOGETHER BY MONDAY.

7. I TOLD AMIMI THAT I HAD DISCUSSED AT LENGTH WITH THE SHAH THE PROBLEM OF DISTRUST IN WHICH THE POLITICIANS AND BAZAARIS APPROACH THE PROBLEM OF REACHING AGREEMENTS WITH HIM. I SAID THAT MOST OF THEM WERE TRYING TO GET THE UNITED STATES TO ACT AS THEIR GUARANTER IN ANY DEALS THEY MADE WITH THE SHAH. I POINTED OUT THAT SUCH GUARANTEES WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR A FOREIGN POWER TO MAKE. HOWEVER,

I SUGGESTED THAT HE, ENTEZAM, AND WHATEVER OTHER NOTABLES MIGHT BE APPOINTED BY THE SHAH AS HIS "PRIVY COUNCIL" COULD ACT AS GUARANTEES. AMIMI SAID HE HAD BEEN THINKING OF THE SAME THING. HE AND HIS GROUP, WITH GENERAL PUBLIC CONFIDENCE, COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE SHAH AND THE POLITICIANS. IF ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER VIOLATED THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENTS, THE COUNCIL COULD DECLARE A FOUL. HE FELT THIS WOULD BE ~~AN~~ ADEQUATE ASSURANCE TO BOTH SIDES, SINCE HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WOULD BE ABOVE REPROACH AND REPROOF.

8. FINALLY, WE TALKED ABOUT THE NEED TO ASSURE AGAINST CONFRONTATIONS DURING MOHARRAM. I SAID I HAD SENT GENERAL GAST TO TALK WITH GENERAL OVEISII ABOUT THE NEED TO WORK OUT PRECISE GROUND RULES BETWEEN THE MARTIAL LAW AUTHORITIES AND THE MULLAHS WITH RESPECT TO PROCESSIONS, ETC., DURING MOHARRAM. I EXPRESSED A FEAR THAT TUDEHI PROVOCATION SQUADS WOULD INFILTRATE THE FAITHFUL AND PRODUCE CONFRONTATIONS.

9. COMMENT: THERE IS A GLACIAL AMOUNT OF MOVEMENT BACK TOWARDS SOME SENSE OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE SHAH AND THE OPPOSITION. IF AMIMI AND OTHERS CAN CONTINUE TO STIMULATE THIS AND AT THE SAME TIME THE SHAH CAN KEEP THE MILITARY FORCES STEADFAST, THERE MAY BE A POSSIBILITY TO PRECLUDE SOME OF THE WORST POTENTIALS OF MOHARRAM.

I INTEND TO WORK ON SOME OF THE MILITARY ACTIVISTS IN

THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO CHANNEL THEIR ENERGY INTO CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS.

Sullivan
SULLIVAN

CONFIDENTIAL

November 30, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The File

FROM:

NEA - MARILYN MCAFEE

SUBJECT:

Debriefing of Dr. Abbas Mirakhor,
Chairman of the Department of Economics,
University of Alabama, Huntsville,
November 29, 1978

Dr. Mirakhor has been in Iran from September 1977 until about a week ago, where he was serving as Chairman of the Department of Economics at Farah Pahlavi University, a department he organized. He is Iranian, but a U.S. permanent resident. He accepted the appointment at Farah Pahlavi to pursue research on OPEC and developments in Iran January 1978 to date.

Dr. Mirakhor seemed a sensitive observer of developments in Iran. While he has spoken with religious leaders (including Shariat-Madari) and with elite Iranians, his principal contacts seemed to be the middle class, Western educated, "silent moderates" who, he says, are holding back and are both afraid to get involved and unsure how to affect the developing cataclysm. Dr. Mirakhor is very Persian in his assumption that the U.S. can influence developments in Iran. His cry was clearly for the U.S. to aid the moderates as the only hope for a long term solution to Iran's problems and the only means to avoid an extremist government of the right or the left. He clearly sees the need for U.S. influence to promote a coalition of the moderates and to help them suggest a strength that would move their numbers from the sidelines into active involvement in politics and government.

Dr. Mirakhor believes that the Shah has better than a 50% chance of weathering the immediate storm. He does not believe that he can prevail, as an absolute monarch, in the long run. He believes the key to resolving the crisis is for the U.S. to advance the cause of the moderates in the ensuing months to ensure the installation of a representative government. This is premised on his assumption that the worsening of the economic situation from strikes and shortages will lead to greater quiescence rather than fury on the part of the masses.

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30 Nov 78 07:40

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NOV 78

WASHDC

OPMAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

EMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 3789

EMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 0140

EMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 1077

EMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 3673

EMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 7452

EMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 3461

EMBASSY SUBMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 4321

EMBASSY CONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6573

CONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4259

CONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 3269

USCINCPAC VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

SECRET STATE 302290

CAIRO FOR AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD WITH CUBEL BYRD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO. 26, 11/29/78

1. ALL IRAN IS GIRDING FOR A MAJOR CONFRONTATION DURING THE MONTH OF MOHARRAM. BBC'S PERSIAN LANGUAGE SERVICE HAS REPORTED KHOMEINI'S CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE ON DECEMBER 2. ELECTRICAL WORKERS IN ISFAHAN THREATEN A 24-HOUR BLACK OUT THAT DAY WHICH WOULD ALSO CUT WATER SUPPLIES. IN EFFECT, HOWEVER, THE PERIOD OF CONFRONTATION HAS ALREADY BEGUN. A RESURGENCE OF STRIKES IN CUSTOMS, POSSIBLY IRAN AIR AND RADIO AND TV WORKERS, AND SPORADICALLY IN POWER DISTRIBUTION HAVE SERIOUSLY IMPACTED ON LIFE IN THE COUNTRY. LABOR PROBLEMS AT SHIRAZ AND TEHRAN REFINERIES (WHERE TROOPS MOVED IN) HAVE RESULTED IN LONG LINES AT GAS STATIONS AS AUTO OWNERS SEEK TO STOCK UP. RELATIVELY SMALL DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED IN TEHRAN AND OTHER CITIES.

2. THE EMBASSY REPORTS THAT CHANCES OF ARRANGING A CIVILIAN COALITION GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO ASHURA (DECEMBER 11) SEEM REMOTE. RECENT VISITORS TO THE SHAH DESCRIBE HIM AS VERY DEPRESSED.

3. AN AMERICAN WHO IS IN TOUCH WITH KHOMEINI SUPPORTERS TOLD A DEPARTMENT OFFICER TODAY THAT OPPOSITION FORCES IN IRAN ARE DELIBERATELY SHOWING RESTRAINT IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS AMERICANS IN IRAN BECAUSE KHOMEINI STILL HARBORS HOPE THAT AMERICANS WILL REVERSE THEIR POLICY OF "TOTAL SUPPORT FOR THE SHAH." SHOULD KHOMEINI ABANDON THAT HOPE, AMERICANS COULD EXPECT FAR MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION IN IRAN. SAME SOURCE DESCRIBED SPLIT DEVELOPING BETWEEN KHOMEINI FORCES AND NATIONAL FRONT POLITICIANS WHO HOPE TO WORK OUT COMPROMISE DEAL WITH THE SHAH. HE DESCRIBED KHOMEINI BACKERS AS EAGER FOR CONTACT WITH THE USG. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, OFFICER WAS TOLD BY LARGE AMERICAN FIRM THAT ITS REPRESENTATIVE IN A PROVINCIAL IRANIAN

CITY (KERMANSHAH) WAS WARNED BY THE POLICE CHIEF THAT YOUTHFUL DEMONSTRATORS WERE ACQUIRING ARMS.

4. OIL PRODUCTION CONTINUES TO RISE WITH 5.9 MILLION BARRELS PRODUCED ON NOVEMBER 29. GAS SHIPMENTS TO THE WEST WERE RESUMED TWO DAYS AGO.

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11755

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MRN

E.O. 11652:
 TAGS:
 SUBJECT:

FROM: AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL - EXDIS

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 CIA WASHDC

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 11755

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4
 TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR
 SUBJ: POLITICAL MODERATES ORGANIZING

DCM2
 AMB
 POC
 ADM
 CRU-0

SUMMARY: MODERATE GROUP OF PROFESSORS, GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND OTHERS ARE EVOLVING PLANS FOR ASSISTING IN CREATION OF MODERATE CIVILIAN GROUP SOON AFTER ASHURA. THEY NOTE THEY NEED APPROVAL OF THE SHAH AND OF AT LEAST THE MODERATE RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION. THEIR TACTICS ARE EVOLVING.

END SUMMARY

1. MEETING SET UP NOV 29 PRIMARILY TO PROVIDE BRIEFING FOR VISITING CIA OFFICIAL DR. ROBERT BOWIE TURNED INTO WIDER DISCUSSION OF PLANS A MODERATE GROUP HAS FOR ASSISTING IN FORMATION OF A NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. VICE CHANCELLOR MEHDI HERAVI OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY BROUGHT HIS FRIEND DR. PARVIZ SORURI, DEAN OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY MEDICAL SCHOOL, FOR DISCUSSION WITH BOWIE AND POL COUNSELOR. REFERRING TO AN EARLIER CONVERSATION

ANNEX
 POL:GBLambrakis
 DRAFTING DATE: 11/30/78
 TEL. EXT.: 1110
 CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: MIN:GNAas

ABOUT 10 DAYS AGO WHICH HERAVI HAD WITH POL COUNSELOR, HERAVI EXPOSED HIS GROUP'S PLANS. FOR PAST YEAR HERAVI AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN MEETING REGULARLY TO DISCUSS POLITICAL SITUATION, IN PARTICULAR HOW TO PRESERVE THE POSITION OF MODERATES BEING THREATENED BY POLARIZATION BETWEEN SHAH'S LOYALISTS AND KHOMEINI'S OPPOSITION. GROUP BEGAN WITH PROFESSORS BUT HAS EXPANDED TO INCLUDE OTHERS, SOME OF WHOM HAVE SINCE BECOME MINISTERS IN GOVERNMENT. THE TEN CURRENT MEMBERS OF GROUP INCLUDE, IN ADDITION TO SORURI AND HERAVI, PRESENT MINISTER OF JUSTICE HOSSEIN NAJAFI, PRESENT MINISTER OF STATE FOR EXECUTIVE AFFAIRS MOSTAFA PAYEDAR, TEHRAN MAYOR JAVAD SHAHRESTANI, PROMINENT COLUMNIST AHMAD AHRA, JOURNALIST AND HIGH CIVIL SERVANT AHMAD SAMII, AND UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS DR. HASSAN GHOFURI, DR. ABOLFASIAL GAZI, AND DR. HAKAMI.

2. GROUP HAD CONSIDERED GETTING PROMINENT PERSONALITY SUCH AS DR. SORURI'S FATHER, PROMINENT JURIST AND EX-MINISTER MOHAMAD SORURI, TO CALL A MEETING OF 40 or 50 LEADING MODERATES AND DISCUSS CREATION OF A MODERATE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. AFTER DISCUSSING MATTER WITH SORURI, ALI AMINI AND OTHERS, GROUP IS LEANING AWAY FROM IDEA ABOUT SUCH A LARGE MEETING TOWARD FOCUS ON SOMETHING WHICH WILL BRING MORE RAPID ACTION, SO THAT A GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE READY IN THE WINGS TO TAKE OVER FROM

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OPTIONAL FORM 152(H)
 (Formerly FS-413(H))
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PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT PERHAPS AS EARLY AS A WEEK AFTER ASHURA (I.E., ABOUT DECEMBER 20).

3. GROUP VISUALIZES FOUR OR FIVE EMINENT PEOPLE LENDING THEIR SUPPORT AND PRESTIGE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THEY HAVE IN MIND SORURI SENIOR, AMINI, ABDULLAH ENTEZAM, DR. MOHAMAD HOSSEIN NAJM (AN ELDERLY RETIRED DIPLOMAT) AND PERHAPS ALLAHYAR SALEH, FORMER LEADER OF NATIONAL FRONT. THEY WOULD BE HAPPY TO ADD A PROMINENT CURRENT LEADER OF NATIONAL FRONT IF THAT IS POSSIBLE. THESE MEN COULD SERVE AS A COUNCIL TO A NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OR AS MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO IN THE GOVERNMENT. THEY WOULD ASSIST A PRIME MINISTER IN SELECTING A GOVERNMENT MADE UP OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SHAH AND TOP RELIGIOUS LEADERS. ALTHOUGH THEIR ORIGINAL CANDIDATE WAS MAYOR SHAHRESTANI, THEY HAVE NOW DECIDED BETTER CANDIDATE FOR PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE MINISTER OF JUSTICE NAJAFI. HE HAS EXCELLENT STANDING WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS SUCH AS SHARIAT-MADARI, BEING GRANDSON OF A VERY FAMOUS RELIGIOUS LEADER OF ISFAHAN. HE HAS ALSO MADE A NAME FOR HIMSELF REFUSING IN THE PAST TO ACT AS A TOOL OF SAVAK'S GENERAL NASSIRI AND OF PRINCESS ASHRAF.

4. THE FIRST PROBLEM IS GETTING GROUP OF 4 OR 5 EMINENT PEOPLE TO AGREE TO SERVE. DR. SORURI, WHO KNOWS THEM ALL WELL (THEY ARE HIS PATIENTS), BELIEVES THEY REQUIRE

~~AN~~ EXPLICIT SIGN FROM THE SHAH THAT HE WISHES THEM TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A TASK AND THAT HE WILL MAKE APPROPRIATE PUBLIC GESTURE TO FACILITATE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S WORK. THE GESTURE THEY HAVE HIT UPON ~~RELATES~~ RELATES TO PROPERTIES OWNED BY THE SHAH'S FAMILY. THEY BELIEVE SHAH IS WRONG IN GETTING AZHARI GOVERNMENT TO APPOINT A COMMISSION OF THREE JURISTS TO INVESTIGATE ROYAL FAMILY'S PROPERTIES, AS HAS JUST BEEN ANNOUNCED. THEIR INVESTIGATION WILL BE DIFFICULT AND LONG, AND WHATEVER THEY DECIDE WILL HAVE NO CREDIBILITY WITH THE PEOPLE. MUCH BETTER THAT THE SHAH HIMSELF DECIDE, AND ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY, THE RETURN OF SPECIFIED PROPERTIES HELD BY MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY TO THE GOVERNMENT. AFTER ALL EVERYBODY BELIEVES THE SHAH HIMSELF IS BEST JUDGE OF WHERE THOSE PROPERTIES COME FROM, AND IN ANY CASE HOLDERS OF THE PROPERTY WOULD NOT BE SERIOUSLY HURT SINCE THEY PROBABLY HAVE MORE THAN ADEQUATE RESERVE OF FUNDS STASHED AWAY OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. THIS GESTURE WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED BY THE PEOPLE AND WOULD HELP THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THEY TOOK IN POL COUNSELOR'S REMARK THAT SUCH A GESTURE MIGHT STRIKE SOME AS THE SHAH CONTINUING TO "FEED THE ALLIGATORS," BUT THEY THOUGHT IT WAS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE COURSE. SHAH COULD FOLLOW THIS WITH ANNOUNCEMENT HE IS GIVING PAHLAVI FOUNDATION BACK TO THE PEOPLE, AS HE HAS ALREADY PROMISED TO DO BUT HAS NOT DONE.

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5. ANOTHER HURDLE IS MECHANICS OF THIS PROCESS. THESE EMINENT MEN WOULD NOT MOVE WITHOUT GETTING PERMISSION FROM THE SHAH FOR WHAT THEY ARE TO DO, AND WOULD NOT THEMSELVES MAKE SUCH SUGGESTIONS OR DEMANDS OF THE SHAH. GROUP THOUGHT THESE IDEAS COULD MOST EFFECTIVELY BE FED TO THE SHAH BY THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, SINCE THE SHAH HAS REACHED A STAGE AT WHICH HE NO LONGER TRUSTS ANY IRANIAN. MOREOVER, THESE CONSERVATIVE OLD GENTLEMEN WOULD NOT TALK BACK TO THE SHAH, OR PRESS HIM. THEIR FUNCTION IS TO LEND PRESTIGE AND GOOD REPUTATION TO MORE DYNAMIC YOUNGER GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD PREPARE THE COUNTRY FOR FREE ELECTIONS.

6. IT IS THEREFORE NECESSARY THAT SHAH INVITE THESE PEOPLE TO COME MEET WITH HIM AND GIVE THEM A DIRECTIVE TO ASSIST IN LAUNCHING OF NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT AFTER ASHURA. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF SHAH HIMSELF SUGGESTED MINISTER OF JUSTICE NAJAFI AS A GOOD CHOICE FOR PRIME MINISTER. OTHERWISE, THERE WAS ALWAYS THE RISK THAT SOME OTHER ADVISER MIGHT GET TO THE SHAH WITH ANOTHER NAME, AND THESE EMINENT MEN WOULD NOT QUARREL IF THE SHAH SUGGESTED THAT NAME. THIS LED TO SOME DISCUSSION OF NAMES, WITH THE HOPE EXPRESSED ON ALL SIDES THAT RIVALRY FOR THE POST OF PRIME MINISTER OUGHT NOT TO ARISE. DUE NOTE WAS TAKEN OF PROBABILITY THAT ALI ANJANI, WHO IS CURRENTLY CONDUCTING A TALENT SEARCH FOR MODERATES ON BEHALF OF THE

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SHAH, MIGHT HAVE DECIDED ON ENTEZAM AS NEXT PRIME MINISTER. SHOULD NAJAFI NOT BE ACCEPTABLE, HERAVI AND SORURI READILY AGREED NAJAFI COULD BE PUT IN AS DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO ASSIST ENTEZAM.

7. CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION FOLLOWED ON SAD STATE OF PRESENT AFFAIRS. SORURI AND HERAVI GAVE EXAMPLES OF SURPRISINGLY EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION AMONG OPPOSITION. WHEN NOT EVEN THE IRANIAN ARMY IS CAPABLE OF SUCH EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, SUSPICION MUST FALL ON ONLY GROUP IN IRANIAN HISTORY WHICH HAS BEEN WELL ORGANIZED--THE TUDEH COMMUNIST PARTY. HERAVI LIKENED MANY ACTIVITIES OF THE OPPOSITION TO DATE TO THE TACTICS USED BY THE PETROGRAD SOVIETS AGAINST THE KERENSKY SOCIALISTS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. THEIR AIM IS TO DEMORALIZE THE CIVIL SERVANTS AND OTHER MODERATES. STRIKE ACTIVITIES, RUMOR MONGERING, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND KILLING, ALL WORK TO THAT END. SORURI GAVE AS A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE THE DAY HE ARRIVED FOR WORK AT THE HOSPITAL AT 6 A.M. TO FIND A LEAFLET DIRECTING DOCTORS NOT TO WORK, OR TO WORK VERY LITTLE. THIS LEAFLET HAD BEEN DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT TEHRAN DURING THAT NIGHT.

8. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, HERAVI AND SORURI AGREED TO TRY TO DO WHAT THEY WANTED WITHOUT DIRECT EMBASSY ASSISTANCE FOR THE MOMENT. HERAVI IS PLANNING TO SEE NAJAFI AND PUT THE MATTER TO HIM. HE WILL LET NAJAFI BE THE JUDGE OF WHETHER OR NOT HE CAN OBTAIN AT LEAST TACIT APPROVAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification
.17

OPTIONAL FORM 152a+
(Formerly FS-412(1))
January 1977
Dept. of Sta

FROM SHARIAT-MADARI AND SOME OF THE OTHER AYATOLLAHS.
SORURI WILL APPROACH AMINI TO SEE IF AMINI WILL NOT ACT
AS INTERMEDIARY WITH THE SHAH, EITHER FOR THE GROUP OF
EMINENT ELDERS OR FOR HERAVI, SORURI, AND ONE OR TWO
OTHERS OF THEIR GROUP TO SEE THE SHAH AND PUT THE PROPOSI-
TION TO HIM. THEY SAID THEY WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH.

SULLIVAN

18

SECRET

31 Nov 78 0178330

ACTION

ACTION
POL3
INFO
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DOM
OR
ICA
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EC2
CRU2
9J

UNVV 858011BRA549
RUQMR
RUQMR #3264 3350443
88888 ZH
023332 NOV 78
SECRET WASHDC
ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
EAST EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
LIMA/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 3773
MEXICO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 6188
NORONHA/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 6105
ROYALS/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 3887
RUSSIA/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 7489
SOUTH AFRICA/AMEMBASSY LAOS IMMEDIATE 3484
UNITED STATES/COMMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 4394
USSR/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6595
WEST GERMANY/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4242
YUGOSLAVIA/AMCONSUL WUHRINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
TURKEY/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9279

SECRET STATE 303564
FOR AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD WITH CODEL BYRD

SECRET / GDS
TEHRAN EITHER NO. 27, 11/30/78
ALL AGENTS TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION
WITH TQARRAN VIRTUALLY BEGUN. CONCERNS AND RUMORS ARE
CIRCULATING. THIS SITUATION IS NOT HELPED BY THE STRIFE
AT NIGHT WHICH HAS CRIPPLED THE ALREADY POOR
CIRCULATION OF NEWS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE BBC HAS
LONDON TIMES EDITORIAL CALLING FOR A REGENCY
FOR THE SHAH, WHICH HAS TEHRAN BUZZING.
WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE SHAH, IT WILL
DEMAND TO CURB THE BBC PERSIAN

THE DECEMBER 1 MACNBIL/LEHRER REPORT
WILL FEATURE AN INTERVIEW WITH

SOURCE WHO SPENT A NUMBER OF
SHARIATMADARI TEN DAYS AGO REPORTS

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY
Tehran, Iran

[Handwritten signature]
file available
op m

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Ahmad Djadali, IIAF Procurement
Jack H. Shellenberger, PAO

DATE & PLACE: Djadali Residence - December 3, 1978

SUBJECT: Attitudes toward the Shah

DISTRIBUTION: AMB, DCM, POL, POL/MIL, ECON, CONS, OR, ICA/NEA

Background: Early during my tour here, I became acquainted with Ahmad and his family through Ahmad's fiancee who is a secretary at the Voice of America. The Djadalis are a middle class family. His father is a retired civil servant; his sister a university student. Ahmad, himself, has a MA in Political Science from Georgetown and is now doing his military stint as a civilian in the IIAF procurement office with special responsibilities for liaison with Lockheed personnel. He says his work is such that he is best advised not to visit my office or even play tennis at the Embassy. So we periodically get together at the modest apartment of his family off Roosevelt north of the Embassy.

Ahmad is very concerned by what he considers a serious erosion of support for the Shah on the part of the military personnel he sees daily. Stories and rumors are rampant that the generals now in charge are acquiring huge sums in preparation for a fast exodus. Allegiance to the Shah is a temporary expedient on their part; as for the lower ranking military, it is wavering. The root cause of all the malaise is the Shah himself who permitted his family and confidantes to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses. What we are witnessing is a sudden widespread revulsion against the Pahlavi dynasty which no amount of allusion to past contributions (land reform, women's rights, education) can dispel.

An unfortunate byproduct of all this is the alienation taking place between the Iranian people and the USG and foreigners in Iran. Ahmad is genuinely convinced that I and my family are in some peril here, that we should be as inconspicuous as possible. His father chimed in to say that he has no doubt that the Russians are injecting themselves into the situation through the Tudeh. Religion is only a cover for expression of discontent in Iran, both opined.

Interestingly, both are skeptical that incidents of violence around the country are the exclusive work of the opposition. They suspect the military government is behind certain of these incidents to justify their seizure of power.

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CONFRONTATION:

HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE FOR
AND

MUST REMAIN, SINCE HE RECOGNIZES THE
SHAH WITHOUT THE SHAH.

THAT IF SHARIATMADARI PERCEIVES
FOLLOWING ASHURA (DECEMBER 11)
WHEN THE ULTIMATE CONFRONTA-

POKE WITH PM GENERAL AZHARI NOVEM-
HE IN GOOD SPIRITS. HOWEVER, AZHARI
WORRIED ABOUT HIS OFFICERS, AND FEELS
TO THEM TO PULL THEM TOGETHER AS A
INDICATION OF DISSENSION IN THE
HE ALSO SAID HE WAS BRINGING IN GERMANS,
TO REPLACE STRIKERS AT POWER PLANTS.

WITH SECURITY FORCES ARE REPORTED IN TEHRAN,
AND FOUR OTHER CITIES. VANCE

SECRET
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Comment: While neither of these contacts represents any institution, and neither has high standing, their views seemed to warrant recounting as reflective of some middle class thinking these days in Tehran.

JHShellenberger:mh

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1978 DEC -4 PM 1:38

TELEGRAM

INDICATE
 COLLECT
 CHARGE TO

	FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL EXDIS	
E.O. 11652:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE		
TAGS:			
SUBJECT:	CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN <u>11843</u>		
ACTION:	EXDIS		
	E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/4/08 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P		
	TAGS: PINS, PORS, IR		
	SUBJ: OPPOSITION PROPOSALS FOR DEPARTURE OF SHAH		
POL:3 ✓	REF: (A) TEHRAN 11097, (B) TEHRAN 11083		
AMB	SUMMARY: DR. MINATCHI TOLD EMBOFF PROPOSAL FOR A REGENCY		
MIN			
ECON02	COUNCIL IS BEING PUT TO LEADING KHOMEINI REPRESENTATIVES		
ON			
IME	DEC 4. THEY WILL GO TO PARIS TO CONVINCING KHOMEINI, WITH		
ICA			
OR	PRESSURE IF NECESSARY, TO ACCEPT THEM. MINATCHI HAD		
SY			
ADM	HEARD RUMOR SHAH MIGHT BE READY TO AGREE TO REGENCY		
DAO			
AFOSI	COUNCIL. ALI AMINI HAD TOLD MINATCHI "FOREIGN MILITARY		
CRU	ADVISERS" HAD SAID MILITARY COMMANDERS WOULD NOT AGREE		
ISF	TO DEPARTURE OF SHAH AND SAID IF COUNCIL IDEA ADOPTED,		
SHIR	SHAH WOULD HAVE TO CHANGE MILITARY COMMANDER. EMBOFF		
TABR	DENIED U.S. ADVISERS WOULD HAVE MADE SUCH STATEMENTS.		
	ARMED		
	MINATCHI SAID OPPOSITION WOULD ACCEPT PRESENT SERVICE S		
	HEADS ON REGENCY COUNCIL. IN REPLY TO MINATCHI QUESTION		
	AS TO WHETHER HE SHOULD CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS, EMBOFF SAID		
	ALL PEACEFUL EFFORTS ARE USEFUL AND URGED REALITY OF		
DRAFTED BY:	POL:JDStempel	DRAFTING DATE 12/4/78	TEL. EXT. 1112
	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: MIN:CMNaas		
CLEARANCES:	POL:GBLambrakis		

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFICATION
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50152-101

OPTIONAL FORM 152
(Formerly FS-413)
January 19
Dept. of St

SITUATION BE IMPRESSED ON ALL SIDES. END SUMMARY

1. AT MINATCHI'S REQUEST, EMBOFF STEMPEL MET AGAIN WITH DR. NASSER MINATCHI, TREASURER OF COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AND ASSOCIATE OF AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI. MINATCHI WANTED TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS AND HEAR ANY LATEST U.S. IDEAS, BECAUSE HE WAS MEETING WITH TWO OF THREE LEADING KHOMEINI AYATOLLAHS OVER LUNCH TO PREPARE THEM FOR TRIP TO PARIS WITHIN NEXT TWO OR THREE DAYS. AYATOLLAHS WHO WILL GO TO PARIS ARE MONTAZARI OF QOM AND RAFSANJANI OF TEHRAN OF (THEY, PLUS TALEQANI/~~OF~~ TEHRAN, MAKE UP KHOMEINI "HIGH COMMAND" WITHIN IRAN, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI). THEY WILL PLACE BEFORE KHOMEINI THE IDEA OF A REGENCY COUNCIL TO REPLACE THE SHAH (SEE REFTELS FOR DETAILS) WHICH WOULD THEN APPOINT A COALITION GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE PREPARED TO "PRESSURE" KHOMEINI TO ACCEPT THIS. ALL OPPOSITIONISTS AND THE SHARIAT-MADARI GROUP IN QOM AND MASHAD HAVE AGREED TO COOPERATE WITH AND SUPPORT SUCH A GOVT.

2. MINATCHI DESCRIBED PAST TEN DAYS' NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALI AMINI AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER SHARIF-EMAMI WHICH LED UP TO PRESENT SITUATION AND SAID BOTH AMINI AND SHARIF-EMAMI HAD ACCEPTED IDEAS AS VALUABLE ON FIRST HEARING, ONLY TO BECOME STANDOFFISH. (MINATCHI SAID AT FIRST MEETING WITH AMINI, LATTER HAD SAID "AMERICANS

HAVE AUTHORIZED CONTACT WITH YOU." EMBOFF DENIED THIS, AND SAID WE SIMPLY HAD URGED AMINI AND OTHERS TO TALK WITH ALL THOSE INVOLVED.) ~~AMINXSHARIFEMAMI~~ EMBOFF SAID HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THE SHAH WOULD REJECT ANY SOLUTION THAT DID NOT ENABLE ^{HIM} ~~AMINI~~ TO REMAIN AS CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY. MINATCHI SHOULD NOT RPT NOT LET WISHFUL THINKING MISLEAD HIS GROUP ON THAT SCORE. MINATCHI ADDED NONE OF HIS GROUP REALLY TRUSTED AMINI OR SHARIF-EMAMI IN ULTIMATE ANALYSIS BECAUSE THEY "WERE AFRAID."

3. OTHER PROBLEM WAS SITUATION WITHIN ARMY, WHICH EMBOFF HAD DISCUSSED WITH MINATCHI AT LAST MEETING. ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, AMINI TOLD HIM THAT "FOREIGN MILITARY OFFICERS, WHO ADVISE IRANIAN ARMED FORCES" TOLD ~~MIN~~ AMINI THAT IF SHAH GOES, ARMY COMMANDERS WOULD NOT OBEY WHOEVER FOLLOWED. EMBOFF ASKED IF THAT MEANT U.S. OFFICERS AND MINATCHI SAID AMINI CERTAINLY MEANT IT THAT WAY. EMBOFF FLATLY DENIED U.S. OFFICERS MAKE SUCH COMMENTS, ESPECIALLY TO POLITICAL LEADERS. AS MINATCHI KNEW, HOWEVER, EMBOFF AT LAST MEETING (REF A) HAD EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT MILITARY OFFICERS WOULD WILLINGLY GO ALONG WITH SCENARIO WHICH SAW SHAH'S DEPARTURE. MINATCHI SAID SHAH COULD ALWAYS NAME NEW TROOP COMMANDERS BEFORE HE LEFT, AND IN ANY CASE, THERE WOULD BE LOYALISTS ON REGENCY COUNCIL. HE NAMED FOLLOWING RETIRED GENERALS

WHO WERE ACCEPTABLE TO OPPOSITION: ASGHAVI, JAM, BATMANGELIDJ, GARZAN AND REZVANI, PLUS RETIRED ADMIRAL MADANI, WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS VERY TRUSTED BY THE SHAH, A BRILLIANT MAN, AND SYMPATHETIC TO THE NATIONAL FRONT. WHEN EMBOFF EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT SERVING TROOP COMMANDERS WOULD EASILY ACQUIESCE IN THEIR OWN REPLACEMENT, MINATCHI SAID THAT WAS POSSIBLE, BUT THEN STATED THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY HAVING MEMBERS OF PRESENT ARMED SERVICES ON REGENCY COUNCIL. EMBOFF ASKED HIM QUESTION SECOND TIME, AND MINATCHI SAID THIS WAS TRUE, BASIC POINT WAS TO GET SHAH OUT OF POWER -- ALL OPPOSITIONISTS HAD AGREED THEY COULD SERVE UNDER REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH HAD PRESENT MILITARY LEADERS ON IT. (COMMENT: THIS REPRESENTS MODEST CHANGE FROM PROPOSITION PUT FORWARD IN REFTEL. WHILE IT WOULD NOT MAKE THIS PROPOSAL ANY MORE PALATABLE TO SHAH, IT ^{IS} ~~NOT NEARLY~~/USEFUL TO KEEP IN MIND. ~~FOR REGENCY COUNCIL PURPOSES~~)

4. MINATCHI DESCRIBED IDEA OF REGENCY COUNCIL -- IN HIS AND OPPOSITION'S EYES, THIS IS NOT ADVISORY COUNCIL SET FORTH IN AMENDED ARTICLE 38 OF SUPPLEMENTARY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF 1907. OPPOSITION CONCEPT IS THAT REGENCY COUNCIL AS A GROUP WOULD ASSUME REGENCY IN PLACE OF SHABANOU AND HAVE NO NEED FOR STATUTORY COUNCIL. REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TWO OR THREE GENERALS FROM LIST ABOVE, FOUR CIVILIANS, AND PRESENT CHIEF OF STAFF

AND OTHER SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES "IF THIS WAS NECESSARY." EMBOFF MADE NO COMMENT OTHER THAN TO NOTE THAT THIS PROPOSAL SEEMED UNACCEPTABLE TO SHAH.

5. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING, MINATCHI ASKED IF EMBOFF PERSONALLY THOUGHT HE SHOULD GO AHEAD DISCUSSING PROPOSAL AND EVEN SEND AYATOLLAHS TO PARIS, SINCE IT SEEMED THAT THE SITUATION WAS NOT YET FULLY RIPE. EMBOFF REPLIED CONTINUED DISCUSSION WAS PREFERABLE TO VIOLENCE, AND PROBED POSSIBILITY THAT SHARIAT-MADARI AND KHOMEINI LEADERS IN COUNTRY MIGHT BE DRAWN AWAY FROM HARD INSISTENCE THAT SHAH LEAVE. MINATCHI WAS MILDLY UNCOMFORTABLE WITH QUESTION, BUT EVENTUALLY OPINED THAT SUCH A SHIFT SEEMED UNLIKELY. HE EXPRESSED HOPE EVENTS MIGHT SHIFT VIEWS ON BOTH SIDES AND HOPED VIOLENCE WOULD NOT ACCOMPANY CONTINUAL POST-CURFEW ACTIVITIES. EMBOFF URGED HIM TO DESCRIBE REAL SITUATION AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLE TO AYATOLLAHS, ADDING THAT NONE OF US WANTED BLOODSHED AND THAT THE BEST WAY TO AVOID IT WOULD BE FOR "PEOPLE" TO SHOW A LITTLE MORE FLEXIBILITY AND BASE THEIR OWN IDEAS ON WHAT MIGHT PROVIDE THE STUFF OF COMPROMISE. MINATCHI NODDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD.

6. MINATCHI ADDED RITUAL PITCH THAT U.S. TAKE THIS PROPOSAL TO THE THRONE " TO PAVE THE WAY," AND ACCEPTED WITH GOOD GRACE EMBOFF'S CHIDING THAT HE WAS ONCE AGAIN TRYING TO GET U.S. TO MEDDLE IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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OTHER DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING REPORTED
SEPTEL.

7. COMMENT: ASIDE FROM ACCEPTANCE OF PRESENT SENIOR
MILITARY MEN ON PROPOSED REGENCY COUNCIL, ONLY NEW
ELEMENT IS FORTHCOMING PITCH TO KHOMEINI. AS FAR AS
WE KNOW, THIS WILL BE ONLY EFFORT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE
opposition's
FROM HIS OWN SUPPORTERS TO PRESS KHOMEINI FOR ANY
"GIVE" DEVELOPING IN HIS POSITION.

SULLIVAN
[Signature]

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification
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OPTIONAL FORM 152a(H)
(Formerly FS-413(H))
January 1979

TELEGRAM

DEC -5 PM 1:35 11843

INDICATE
COLLECTOR
CHARGE TO

FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL		
E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 11843 EXDIS		
ACTION: DCM:2 AMB POL CRU	EXDIS E.O. 12065: RDS 12/4/98 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P TAGS: PINS, IR, PINT SUBJ: MORE STIRRING AMONG MODERATE LEADERS		
SUMMARY: HEAD OF TEACHERS' UNION SPEAKS OF FINDING A "THIRD WAY" TO AVOID EITHER RESURGENCE OF SHAH'S POWER OR KHOMEINI VICTORY. HE BELIEVES SHAH MUST GO, HOWEVER, YIELDING TO A REGENCY COUNCIL. THIS IDEA IS CURRENT AMONG NATIONAL FRONT OPPOSITIONISTS TOO. END SUMMARY			
1. ON DEC 3 POL COUNSELOR WAS INVITED FOR CONVERSATION WITH MOHAMAD DERAKHSHEH, HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION WHO IS ACTIVE POLITICALLY WITH FRIENDS IN VARIOUS OTHER OCCUPATIONS. DERAKHSHEH WENT ON AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT THE NEED HE AND LIKE-MINDED MODERATE OPPONENTS OF THE SHAH FEEL FOR FINDING SOME "THIRD COURSE" WHICH WILL NOT BE THAT OF KHOMEINI. HE AND HIS FRIENDS VISUALIZE THIS AS INVOLVING THE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH IN FAVOR OF A			
DRAFTED BY: POL:GB Lambrakis	DRAFTING DATE 12/5/78	TEL. EXT. 1110	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: MIN:CWNags

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OPTIONAL FORM
(Formerly FS-
Jan
Dept.

50152-101

REGENCY COUNCIL TO BE MADE UP OF HIGHLY RESPECTED MEN -- JUDGES, ETC. THIS COUNCIL WOULD THEN APPOINT REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF POLITICAL LEADERS FROM NATIONAL FRONT, OTHER PARTIES, BAZAARIS, HIMSELF, ETC. WHO WOULD FORM GOVT, PREPARE FREE ELECTIONS AND WAIT FOR NEW GOVT TO COME OUT OF FREELY ELECTED NEW MAJLIS.

2. DERAKHSHESH WAS AWARE ~~OK~~ THIS ^{IS} KIND OF SOLUTION MANY ARE TALKING ABOUT. HE DID NOT SHOW GREAT APPRECIATION FOR EFFECT DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH WOULD HAVE ON MILITARY HIGH COMMAND (THINKING THAT COULD BE HANDLED WITH FORMER RETIRED OFFICERS OF GOOD REPUTE) BUT WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS, AND SEEMED TO BE MODERATELY IMPRESSED, BY PROBLEMS THAT WOULD ARISE IF ARMY CRUMBLED. HE KEPT REPEATING NEED FOR ARMY TO BE "NATIONAL" RATHER THAN OWING ITS ALLEGIANCE TO ONE MAN, THE SHAH. HAVING DONE HIS MILITARY SERVICE AS AN OFFICER HIMSELF IN REZA SHAH'S ARMY, HE REMEMBERED CORRUPTION AND COWARDISE OF TOP OFFICERS. EVERTHELESS, HE GRANTED THE POINT THAT CHANGE IN ARMY MIGHT HAVE TO BE MORE GRADUAL, WHILE IT SERVES AS AN UMBRELLA TO PROTECT BASIC CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

3. DERAKHSHESH VOLUNTEERED THAT HE FEARED EITHER A RELIGIOUS DICTATORSHIP UNDER KHOMEINI OR A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER ONCE KHOMEINI IS SWEEPED ASIDE. HIS OBJECTIVE IS TO START IRAN ON THE ROAD TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC GOVT. HE DID NOT QUARREL WITH POL COUNSELOR'S POINT THAT IRAN WAS HEADED

THAT WAY UNDER SHAH'S LIBERALIZATION PLAN, BEYOND EXPRESSING CONTINUING INABILITY TO BELIEVE ANYTHING THE SHAH SAYS. HE SAID HE OR HIS FRIENDS WOULD IMMEDIATELY BE BRANDED TRAITORS AND LOSE THEIR FOLLOWERS IF THEY ACCEPTED TO WORK IN A GOVT UNDER THE SHAH. HE KEPT RETURNING TO THE POINT THAT THE SHAH MUST GO -- OTHERWISE KHOMEINI FOLLOWERS WILL NOT BE REDUCED IN POWER SUFFICIENTLY TO ALLOW DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS TO BECOME ACTIVE AND ORGANIZE A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS FOR IRAN.

4. DERAKHSHESH SHOWED HE WAS IN TOUCH WITH MANY TEACHERS, PULLING OUT LONG ROLLED PETITIONS, MANY OF THEM WITH HUNDREDS OF SIGNATURES ON THEM, WHICH HE HAS BEEN RECEIVING FROM THE PROVINCES. IN ONE CASE THE TEACHERS HAD SOUGHT REFUGE IN A MOSQUE AND SIGNED THIS PETITION AFTER FIVE OF THEIR NUMBER HAD BEEN ARRESTED. ALL THE PETITIONS ARE ANTI-SHAH.

5. DERAKHSHESH COMPLAINED OF HAVING BEEN ARRESTED WHEN HE AND HIS PEOPLE TRIED TO PRINT SOME TRACTS AND A NEWS-PAPER EARLIER THIS YEAR. HE NOTED THE SHAH HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN APPOINTING SHARIF-EMAMI, WITH HIS IMAGE, AS PRIME MINISTER AT A TIME OF SUCH GREAT CRISIS. SHAH MIGHT HAVE SALVAGED A GREAT PART OF THE SITUATION IF HE HAD APPOINTED A COALITION GOVT INCLUDING SOME OPPOSITION FIGURES. HE INDICATED NEED HE AND HIS FRIENDS FELT TO BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE DESPITE HOPELESSNESS OF POLITICAL

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MRN

ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, WHILE TEST OF STRENGTH BETWEEN KHOMEINI AND SHAH IS AT ITS HEIGHT. HE AGREED WITH POL COUNSELOR THAT ONCE MOHARRAM PERIOD HAS PASSED IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE SITUATION TO SEE WHETHER COMPROMISE SOLUTION WITH SHAH CONTINUING IN ROLE OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH WOULD NOT MAKE SENSE FOR POLITICAL MODERATES LIKE HIMSELF, WHO RECOGNIZE DANGER OF MOB RULE, OR WORSE, SHOULD KHOMEINI OPPOSITION HAVE ITS WAY. HE ALSO TOOK IN (SEVERAL TIMES DURING MEETING) POL COUNSELOR'S POINT THAT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF MODERN IRAN REMAIN FOR ANY FUTURE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL ENCOURAGING WITH AND, BY ~~RECOGNIZING~~ POPULAR BELIEF THAT ROOT CAUSE OF ALL THEIR PROBLEMS IS THE SHAH, EXPECTATION IS AMONG THE PEOPLE CREATED, THAT PROBLEMS WILL DISAPPEAR WHEN SHAH GOES. DISAPPOINTMENT WHEN PROBLEMS DO NOT DISAPPEAR COULD REDOUND AGAINST ANY FUTURE GOVT. EVEN ONE OF NATIONAL FRONT OPPOSITION. NEVERTHELESS, DERAKHSHESH EXPRESSED STRONG DOUBTS ANY SOLUTION WHICH DID NOT INCLUDE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH COULD WORK.

6. COMMENT: DERAKHSHESH IS TYPICAL OF MANY MODERATE LEADERS WHO ARE AFRAID OF KHOMEINI VICTORY AND WOULD LIKE TO FIND A "THIRD WAY." IN DERAKHSHESH'S CASE HE IS CONVINCED THIS WOULD NOT WORK UNLESS SHAH LEFT IN FAVOR OF A REGENCY COUNCIL. THAT IS POSITION VERY CLOSE TO OPPOSITIONIST NATIONAL FRONTS, AS EXPRESSED BY MINATCHI

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TO EMBOFF VERY NEXT DAY (SEPTEL). THEY HAVE CLEARLY BEEN IN TOUCH.

SULLIVAN

33

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Classification

OPTIONAL FORM 152a(H)
(Formerly FS-413(H))
January 1975
Dept. of State

AMB
DCM
POL
PM
ECON
ADM
ISF
TAGR
CONS
SHIR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AIRGRAM

Shiraz A-54

CONFIDENTIAL

2

HANDLING	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL	MESSAGE REFERENCE NO. A-34
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TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INFO: AMCONSULS ISFAHAN AND TABRIZ (VIA INTERNAL POUCH)
FROM: AMCONSUL SHIRAZ DATE: 12/6/78
12065:
E.O. ~~13526~~ GDS-12/6/78 (TOMSETH, VICTOR L.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR
SUBJECT: WHITHER IRAN AFTER MOHARRAM?
REF:

DEPT. DISTRIBUTION			
ORIGIN/ACTION			
AF	ARA	CU	EA
EB	EUR	INR	IO
L	NEA	PER	PM
REP	SCI	SS	SY
AGR	AID	AIR	ARMY
CIA	COM	DOD	DOT
FRB	HEW	INT	LAB
NAVY	NSA	NSC	OPIC
STR	TAR	TRSY	USIA
XMB			

SUMMARY: (C) Opponents of the Pahlavi regime hope to bring it down during the month of Moharram while the hope in Tehran appears to be that Moharram will prove the inability of oppositionists to achieve their political objectives without first compromising with the Shah. Both these hopes may be overly optimistic. The odds, as seen from Shiraz, seem to favor continued confrontation even after Moharram. If this state of affairs does indeed persist, the evolution of attitudes within the military will become crucial. Whatever the ultimate political denouement here, the military will almost certainly figure prominently in it. Our national interests will best be served by elimination of the unrest which has been so disruptive in recent months. Under the circumstances, the best policy we can pursue may well be to let events reach their natural conclusion with a minimum of attempted manipulation on our part. END SUMMARY

(C) Opposition elements in Shiraz and elsewhere in southern Iran appear to hope that through a combination of strikes and other crippling labor actions, demonstrations and shop closures, and general confrontations

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tation of the government reaching a culmination during the month of Moharram that the Shah will be driven from his throne and Iranians everywhere will at long last achieve political self-realization. The hope in Tehran, on the other hand, as seen from Shiraz seems to be that Moharram will prove the inability of the opposition to overthrow the Pahlavi regime and that thereafter pressures will rapidly build on opposition leaders to compromise with the Shah.

(C) Both these hopes may be overly optimistic. Despite rumours of arms shipments clandestinely flooding the country, it does not seem likely that the Iranian military is in any immediate danger of being out-gunned by opponents of the regime. The latter to date have been armed with little more than their zeal, whatever they have found lying in the streets, and an occasional home-made explosive device. Thus, given the current weaponry mismatch and assuming the military is as yet unprepared to take on the job of deposing the Shah for his opponents, the odds are in favor of his being able to hang on for awhile longer if that is his choice.

(C) A coalition government, however, even one including opposition elements, anticipatory to national elections in June would have dubious prospects for success. It is conceivable that some relatively moderate elements opposed to monarchical absolutism (if not monarchy itself) as well as a host of opportunists of all political shades would be tempted to join a coalition government, but those committed to the elimination of the monarchy as an institution almost surely would continue to hold out. This latter group, at least in southern Iran, seems large and determined. Further, given the atmosphere of hostility, suspicion and cynicism which dominates the view of these irreconcilables, it is unlikely in the extreme that any coalition government, even one including certified opponents of the regime, would have much credibility among them. They are inclined to view just willingness to deal with the Pahlavi regime as, ipso facto, a traitorous act.

(C) Under such circumstances, confrontation could easily continue virtually unabated. Those dedicated to the Shah's overthrow would attempt to keep up the pressure on him and what would be perceived as his government. They would most probably focus their efforts on the kinds of economic actions which have proven so disruptive heretofore. At the same time, the government would be attempting to carry out the day-to-day chores of national administration in an environment of

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political urgency and economic chaos and to organize national elections handicapped by differing points of view among the coalition members and lack of popular consensus. As the elections approached, the in-fighting among coalition partners would almost inevitably escalate to the point where the coalition itself might be seriously jeopardized. If the elections could be pulled off, it is doubtful (given the present attitudes of hardcore oppositionists) that they would have any more meaning or ultimate utility than the elections which used to be held periodically in South Vietnam.

(C) The evolution of the attitude of the military in coming weeks thus becomes critical. At the moment, senior officers in Shiraz appear to view their mission in very narrow terms. Not long ago Shiraz's martial law administrator described himself as a neutral force standing between the government and opponents who wish to attack it violently. He scrupulously avoided condemning opposition as such, however, claiming it is not his job to judge political issues. These latter require political solutions which, he said, can only be found in Tehran. Such an attitude can be tenable over the longer term only if the required solutions are indeed found. And in the case of Iran that is the rub. If a mutually derived compromise between the Shah and the majority of his people is not possible, an outside force will sooner or later have to impose one. The military, given its natural distaste for political turmoil of any sort and its coercive power, becomes the obvious candidate for this task.

(C) In this instance, assumption by the military of the role of political arbitrator might follow one of two general courses. Conventional wisdom would seem to be on the side of a more conservative approach in which the military simply takes on responsibility for both keeping the peace and seeing to it that the business of government is carried out. This would require much greater direct intervention in areas other than law enforcement than has been the case so far under the Azhari government. The need for legitimacy and perhaps sentiment would seem to favor retention of the Shah, although probably more for window dressing than anything else, under such an approach. However, keeping him on the throne would almost surely mean continuation of considerable popular opposition to the government.

(C) While there are certainly precedents for unpopular military regimes, and some of them have demonstrated remarkable viability, popular opposition is not something that is usual-

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ly courted for its own sake. Indeed, members of the military like to be liked no less than anyone else. This fact, coupled with the somewhat messianic role often tempting to military elites in the third world, might prompt the military here to act as an "honest broker" between the Iranian people and the Shah many of them are attempting to overthrow. Such a scenario could entail an invitation from the military to the monarch to take an extended vacation abroad pending resolution of the political situation in Iran, a recommendation that he abdicate in favor of his son and a council of regents, or simply elimination of the Pahlavi dynasty in response to the popular will.

(C) Whatever the ultimate outcome of events here, however, it seems almost certain that the military will figure prominently in it. Our national interests will be best served by elimination of the unrest which has proven so disruptive in recent months. A more central role for the Iranian military in directing government affairs will not guarantee such an outcome, and certainly any attempt on our part to influence the political process in that direction would be fraught with considerable risk. Similarly, despite the Shah's obvious unpopularity, repudiation of him at this point would serve little purpose and most probably would be viewed by many, even among his opponents, as no more than great power cynicism. Nonetheless, it is extremely doubtful that the Shah will ever again be able to exercise the leadership role he once did. Further, it is far from inevitable that the ultimate political denouement in Iran, whether it be in favor of retention of the Shah or something else, would be inimical to our national interests. Under the circumstances, our best policy might well be to urge moderation and accommodation, while remaining alert to the possibility of external interference, but otherwise to let events reach their natural conclusion.

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TELEGRAM

1978 DEC -7 PM 12:30

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FROM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL LIMDIS
E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT:	ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN <u>11999</u> LIMDIS
ACTION:	E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/7/98 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P TAGS: PINS, PORS, PGOV, IR SUBJECT: OPPOSITION LEADERS RELEASED; DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED SUMMARY: GOI RELEASED KARIM SANJABI AND DARIUS FOROUHAR EVENING DEC 6. PAIR WILL MEET WITH FRONT LEADERS DEC 7. NATIONAL FRONT (INF) WILL PARTICIPATE IN DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED FOR DEC 10 (TASSUA). U.S. PROFESSOR COTTAM RUMORED IN IRAN. END SUMMARY. 1. DR. NASSER MINATCHI CALLED EMBOFF STEMPEL AT HOME AFTER CURFEW DEC 6 TO DISCUSS NEWS THAT GOI HAD RELEASED KARIM SANJABI AND DARIUS FOROUHAR. MINATCHI CONFIRMED RELEASE AND SAID HE HAD TALKED TO TWO MEN BY TELEPHONE. MEETING OF MAJOR NATIONAL FRONT LEADERS WAS SET FOR LATE AFTERNOON DEC 7 TO DISCUSS NEXT MOVES. MINATCHI NOTED GOI HAD MADE DECISION TO RELEASE PAIR ON DEC 4, AND RELEASE WAS BEING VIEWED AS GESTURE OF GOODWILL, AT LEAST BY MODERATE INF LEADERS. LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI) CONTACT TOLD EMBOFF MORNING DEC 7 THAT RELEASE WAS "INTERESTING" BUT DID NOT CHANGE MUCH AND ASKED TO

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OPTIONAL FORM 1
(Formerly FS-4)
January 1977
Dept. of State

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GET IN TOUCH MORNING DEC 8.

2. MINATCHI SAID INF HAD ALREADY MADE PLANS TO PARTICIPATE IN LARGE DEMONSTRATION BEING ORGANIZED BY AYATOLLAH TALEQANI TO BEGIN AT 9 A.M. DEC 10. ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, DEMONSTRATION WILL BEGIN NEAR SHANAZ SQUARE, AT EAST END OF SHAH REZA AND MOVE WEST, BEING JOINED BY GROUPS WHICH WILL FORM UP AT OTHER LOCATIONS IN CITY. MINATCHI SAID IDEA WAS TO HAVE MASSIVE EFFORT; COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) HAD PLANNED SEPARATE HUMAN RIGHTS MARCH FOR SAME DAY BUT HAD GIVEN UP IDEA WHEN RELIGIOUS LEADERS OPTED FOR LARGE-SCALE, ALL-HANDS EFFORT. MINATCHI THOUGHT MOST OPPOSITION GROUPS WOULD PARTICIPATE.

3. EMBOFF WAS CALLED FROM LONDON BY JOURNALIST WHO WISHED TO CONFIRM STORY THAT U.S. PROFESSOR RICHARD COTTAM, WHO IS CLOSE TO INF LEADERS, WAS IN IRAN. EMBOFF EXPRESSED IGNORANCE OF MATTER. TO BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, COTTAM IS NOT HERE. WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF DEPARTMENT COULD DISCREETLY CONFIRM HIS PRESENCE IN PITTSBURGH.


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OPTIONAL FORM 152a(H)
(Formerly FS-413(H))
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Dept. of State

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Ali AMINI
(Phonetic: ahmeeNEE)

IRAN

Former Prime Minister

Addressed as:
Dr. Amini

A moderate and an anti-Communist, Ali Amini has been attempting to return to office since shortly after he resigned under extreme pressure following 14 months as Prime Minister during 1961-62. He has no real power base, but he has many friends in the opposition and might be acceptable as the leader of a national conciliation government. Two possibly insurmountable factors working against him are his personal and political estrangement from the Shah for almost two decades and the widespread--though apparently invalid--suspicion in Iran that he is a pawn of the United States. (In truth, he blamed the United States for bringing about his 1962 resignation from office and subsequently commented that this country was a bad enemy and a worse friend.) Recently, the Shah did sound out Amini on the possibility of accepting the prime ministership, but Amini insisted on control of the armed forces and SAVAK (National Intelligence and Security Organization), conditions that would have left the monarch powerless. (S)

Amini's Program

If his past record and recent public and private statements are true indications of his beliefs, Amini would be a reformer rather than a revolutionary, if he became Prime Minister again. He refuses to condone anarchy and would continue martial law--with significantly less resort to force--for an indefinite period. He would take whatever measures were necessary to keep the oil fields operating. He would dissolve the present Parliament and hold new elections to establish a healthy democratic climate in which the needs

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of the people could be met in accordance with the law. He favors a government of technicians but would probably have to include a sampling of politicians and religious representatives if they helped him back to power. Planning much of the present crisis on ill-conceived economic policies and erratic economic planning, he would probably cut defense spending to finance additional development. He would attempt to adopt policies--such as further land reform--that would encourage a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. He would also attempt to halt the flight of capital out of the country. He says he would investigate all charges of official corruption over the past 15 years and prosecute all offenders. In early 1978 Amini was supporting the Shah's continuance in power; by September he was "regretfully" calling for his resignation; and in early November he seemed bent on a constitutional monarchy--at least for the present. (S)

Early Life and Career

Amini has a doctorate in law and economics from the University of Paris. After a series of judicial and governmental financial posts, he was elected to Parliament in 1947. He has served as Minister of National Economy (1950-51), of Finance (1953-55), and of Justice (1955). He was Ambassador to the United States during 1955-58. (U)

When Amini became Prime Minister in May 1961, Iran was in the midst of its most acute political crisis since 1953. He dissolved Parliament, announced sweeping reforms, and arrested numerous military and government officials on charges of corruption. His tenure was a whirlwind of reform with little support from anyone except the Shah--and that was uncertain. Amini accomplished a great deal; but in July 1962, differences with the Shah, a financial-budgetary crisis, civil disorders related to the postponement of elections, and personal exhaustion led to his resignation. (C)

After his resignation, Amini was kept under police surveillance and prevented from opposition political activity--he was threatened with prosecution for corrupt land dealings that apparently

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involved his wife and other family members. (He seems to be personally honest.) In the late 1960s, the government sought to discredit him with the old charges of corruption and for serving as an agent for foreign oil companies. He apparently spent the next decade managing and increasing his substantial, inherited wealth and exploring ways to return to power. (C)

Personal Data

Amini, 71, sometimes speaks without considering the consequences, and he may have a vindictive streak. He has a good sense of humor and is an intelligent conversationalist. He has traveled widely in the United States, Europe and the Middle East. His mother was a member of the Qajar dynasty that ruled Iran until the father of the present Shah helped overthrow it in 1921. Amini speaks fluent French and adequate English. (C)

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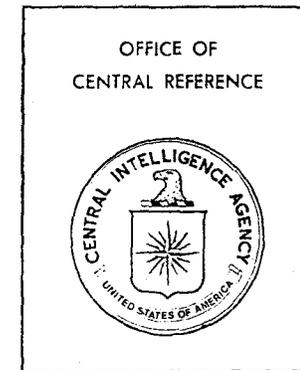
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Karim SANJABI
(Phonetic: sanjaBEE)

IRAN

Secretary General,
Executive Committee,
National Front (since
September 1978)

Addressed as:
Mr. Sanjabi



On 23 August 1978, Karim Sanjabi announced the resurrection of the National Front coalition of the 1950s as the Iran National Front (usually referred to as the National Front--NF). The present NF, while untested, in terms of popular support, is the largest and most extensively organized political opposition group in Iran. Sanjabi describes the new NF as a formal organization but not a formal political party. The old NF supported Prime Minister Mohammad Mosadeg in his power struggle with the Shah. After the downfall of Mosadeg in 1953, many NF members fled the country and moved to Europe or the United States; Sanjabi stayed in Iran. In 1977, after many years of enforced inactivity and in response to indications of political liberalization, he began the task of rejuvenating the NF. (C)

In his August 1978 announcement, Sanjabi bitterly attacked the Shah personally and called his political liberalization program a sham. In later statements he declared that the NF would boycott any future elections unless they were "free," and he demanded an investigation into the fortunes amassed by some Iranians. He said that he had no objection to the continuation of the monarchy--provided that it was a truly constitutional one--and that the government would have to choose between real democracy and military rule. Sanjabi declared that the NF demanded three elements in any future government: nationalism, democracy and socialism. (U)

In October 1978 Sanjabi flew to Paris to see exiled religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, whose following far outnumbers that of the NF. There they issued a joint statement that contained three points: the monarchy must not be

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supported; the "national-Islamic movement" could not approve an illegal monarchy; the government should be based on democratic principles approved by a referendum. Sanjabi returned to Iran on 10 November and issued a hardline statement rejecting any coalition or cooperation with the Shah and the government; he claimed that he had reached an understanding (and he may have formed an alliance) with Khomeini. On the following day he was arrested, a government action that clearly was meant to encourage moderate opposition politicians and to discourage those opposition leaders who were considering overthrowing the Shah. Sanjabi was released on 6 December. (C)

The National Front

The NF is an umbrella organization of several groups whose members are mostly white-collar, middle-class professionals. NF members are generally united in calling for the Shah's adherence to the Constitution of 1906, but they differ widely otherwise. Some are willing to work with the Shah in the hope of obtaining some power in the projected June 1979 elections; others are willing to participate in the elections but want to reduce the Shah's powers substantially; and the most radical members want the Shah to step down. Sanjabi apparently decided to cast his lot with the NF's most radical component, and this decision led to his meeting with Khomeini and his subsequent arrest. (C)

Early Life and Career

Karim Sanjabi was born in 1904. A Kurd, he is a member of the Sanjabi tribe. At the age of 13, he was exiled with other members of the tribe to Baghdad for three years. (During World War II he and some relatives, including his father, were arrested by the British occupation forces; to this day Sanjabi detests the British and the military.) He received a law degree from Tehran University in 1928 and then spent the next seven years in France, where he received a doctorate in law from the University of Paris. (His thesis was entitled *Agricultural Reform in Iran*.) Returning to Iran, he entered the Ministry of Education in 1935, then moved to the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In the mid-1940s he helped found the Iran Party, which later became a major component of the NF. A

successful and highly paid attorney in Tehran, he became dean of the Law Faculty of Tehran University in 1944 and vice president of that faculty in 1946. (C)

An early supporter of Mosadeq, Sanjabi worked closely with him during the period of his ascendancy. After the Prime Minister was overthrown, Sanjabi went into hiding. Later he was removed from his university position and imprisoned. On his release, he stayed out of politics for a while. He resumed political activity in 1960, however, and became a member of the Central Committee of the Iran Party; he also returned to the university. He was arrested again in 1961, released, rearrested in 1963, and released in 1965. Emerging from this last imprisonment physically and mentally exhausted, he returned to Tehran University as a professor but avoided political activity. He remained out of the limelight until the events of 1978 permitted the NF to regroup after a hiatus of 25 years. (C)

Personal Data

Sanjabi is soft spoken but direct. He speaks Kurdish, French, and Arabic and reads a little English. Sanjabi is married. He and his wife, Fakhri, have three children. (U)

8 December 1978

Naser MINATCHI
(Phonetic: meenAchee)

IRAN

National Front Leader

Addressed as:
Mr. Minatchi

Lawyer and human rights activist Naser Minatchi is one of two "bosses" of the Tehran bazaar, a traditional power base of the Islamic opposition. He is also treasurer of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom (CDHRF). As head of the board of directors of the Hoseyenyeh Ershad Religious Center in Tehran, he has for some time been a behind-the-scenes supporter of the moderate religious opposition leaders, and he is a close friend of Ayatollah Kazem Shariat-Madari. (The center was recently reopened after being closed five years ago because of speeches made there against the Shah.) (S)

The sensible and moderate Minatchi supported the regime of Prime Minister (August-November 1978) Jafar Sharif-Emami and asserted that the moderate religious opposition should work with the government toward political liberalization. He believes that the Shah is the protector of Iran against anarchy and Communism. In October 1978 he traveled to Paris to see religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and he is now looking for a way around Khomeini's extremist demands. He believes that Khomeini's demands can be defused and the Constitution saved if the moderate religious leaders support a program whereby the Shah leaves the country and a council of state takes over that would support a government of national reconciliation with a mandate to hold elections as soon as possible. (S)

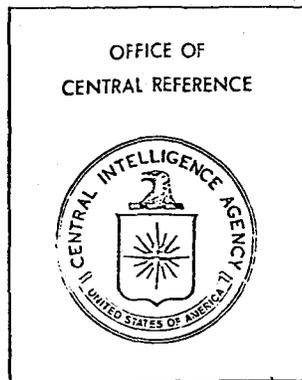
Minatchi has long felt that his human rights efforts have left him "exposed," and as "protection" he has been doggedly seeking official US endorsement of his activities. He visited Washington in August 1978 for talks with human rights officials at the State Department. He has been candid and informative with US Embassy officials in Tehran. (S)

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Medhi PIRASTEH
(Phonetic: peerAsteh)

IRAN

Leader, Constitutional
Defenders Front (since
August 1978)

Addressed as:
Mr. Pirasteh

Medhi Pirasteh is a flamboyant opportunist. When he founded the Constitutional Defenders Front as his own political group, claiming support from 300 Iranians, he announced that its purpose was "to fight for the cause of effective implementation of the Constitution in compliance with the teaching of Islam." In an October 1978 conversation with US officials, he said that his program included reaching an accommodation with the religious opposition that would separate it from other anti-Shah elements--and presumably ally it with him; pursuing a more effective anticorruption campaign; and reforming bureaucratic procedures in order to benefit the common people. (C)

Pirasteh has good relations with the Shi'a community and claims to have secured the release from jail of several followers of exiled religious opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Pirasteh has wanted to be Prime Minister for many years and allegedly has good contacts in the Palace, but his last important government positions were as Ambassador to Iraq during 1964-67 and to Belgium during 1967-71--posts he himself considered exile. He seems to be well disposed toward the United States, but this attitude may result from a belief that this country has considerable influence in internal Iranian affairs. Some US Embassy officers in Tehran suspect that he is a British agent. (C)

Career

Pirasteh claims to have a doctorate from Tehran University, but he probably has just a law degree. After 14 years in the court system and the Ministry of Justice, he was appointed public

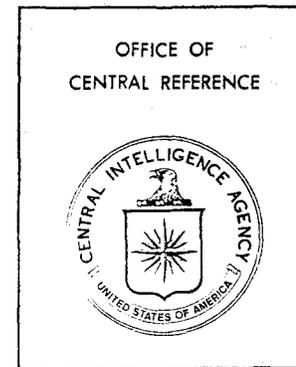
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prosecutor in Tehran in 1946. He quickly showed a talent for graft, embezzlement, political intrigue, and doing favors for the right people, including several associated with Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister. Entering Parliament in 1948, he proved to be a staunch follower of the Shah during the latter's battles with Prime Minister (1951-53) Mohammad Mosadeg. Later, as governor general of Fars (1959-61) and Khuzestan (1962-63), he was an effective administrator with a flair for adopting popular causes. He served as Minister of Interior in 1963. (C)

Personal Data

Pirasteh, about 71, is devious, dishonest, intellectually shallow, long-winded, publicity hungry, boastful and sometimes crude. He is a man of action, however, and he does have a record of some accomplishment. He speaks adequate English, but he is more comfortable using French. (C)

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Ahmad BANI-AHMAD
(Phonetic: bahnee AHmahd)

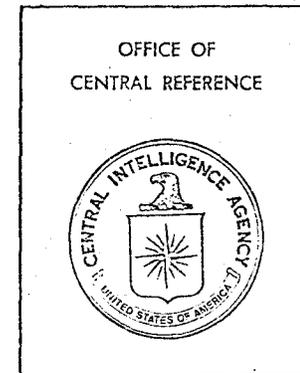
IRAN

Leader, Unity for
Freedom Party

Addressed as:
Mr. Bani-Ahmad

Ahmad Bani-Ahmad, a veteran educator and a member of the Majles (lower house of Parliament) since 1975, resigned his seat as Deputy from Tabriz on 9 November 1978 to protest government policies. A political gadfly, he has been critical of recent governments. He disputed casualty figures published by the government of then Prime Minister Jafar Sharif-Emami after demonstrations in September 1978 and went on a hunger strike that lasted until the government resigned. In October he called for the scrapping of plans to purchase two nuclear reactors from France, charging that corruption and irregularities were involved in the decision to make the purchase. Bani-Ahmad favors the formation of a Cabinet of national unity as a means of returning stability to the country, and he has blamed the government of Prime Minister Qolam Reza Azhari for failing to end internal disturbances. He is politically ambitious and appears to have channels of communication to other political leaders and to the bazaars, traditional Islamic centers of power. (C)

A former member of the now moribund Resurgence of the People of Iran (RPPI) Party, created by the Shah to advance his Shah-people revolution, Bani-Ahmad announced the formation of his own political group in July 1978 but did not announce his withdrawal from the RPPI until August 1978, when he became convinced that he could withdraw with impunity and create his own party. Like other new Iranian parties, his Unity for Freedom Party--leftist with socialist leanings--is largely elitist, has few adherents, and is without a program. In October, while in Rome attending a "Non-Communist Iranian Students Congress," Bani-Ahmad announced that the party would apply for membership in the Socialist International. (C)



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Bani-Ahmad was born into a well-known and respected family in Rezaiyeh. After receiving a diploma in literature from the Rezaiyeh Teachers College, he served successively as teacher, principal and superintendent of various area schools. During the 1950s, following completion of his military service, he was acting manager of the Education Department and director of the Religious Endowments Office. (C)

Bani-Ahmad, about 58, has written three books. He speaks Turkish and English. (U)

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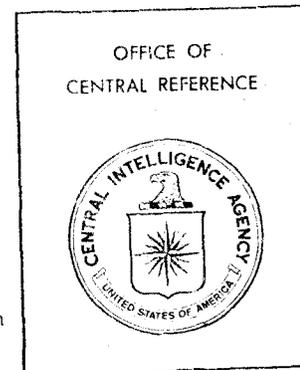
IRAN

Abdol Karim LAHIJI
(Phonetic: IaheeJEE)

National Front Leader

Addressed as:
Mr. Lahiji

A leading dissident lawyer, Abdol Karim Lahiji has defended many human rights cases and is a prominent oppositionist member of the Committee for the Defense of Freedom and Human Rights. He was briefly hospitalized with bruises in April 1978, not long after he had defended 11 students in a civilian court trial. (C)



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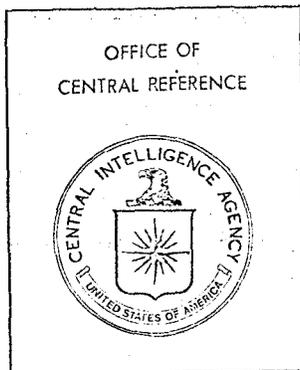
Mohammad DERAKHSHESH
(Phonetic: dehrakhSHESH)

IRAN

Former National Union
Party Leader

Addressed as:
Mr. Derakhshesh

Political opposition leader Mohammad Derakhshesh served briefly in 1961 as Minister of Education. In 1973 he was named spokesman of the then newly formed National Union Party, which favored implementation of the Shah-people revolution. Derakhshesh was also once a leader of the now disbanded Mehregan Club and was a close friend of the late Amir Asadollah Alam, former Prime Minister and close friend of the Shah. (S)



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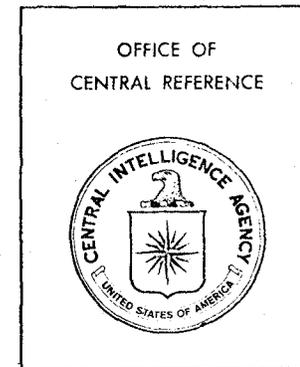
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Kazem SHARIAT-MADARI
(Phonetic: shareeAHT-mahdaREE)

IRAN

Religious Opposition
Leader



Kazem Shariat-Madari is an ayatollah (prominent leader) and has long been one of the senior figures in Shi'a Islam. During the 11 months of demonstrations, civil disturbances and riots that started in January 1978, he has emerged as the public spokesman for the religious opposition and as the most influential Shi'a clergyman in the country. In September 1978 Shariat-Madari reportedly declared himself the "sole" Shi'a leader. If he has indeed assumed that title, it will undoubtedly cause friction with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who also claims it. (Khomeini has lived in exile for 14 years; he is an uncompromising foe of the Shah and calls for the end of the dynasty.) The religious community in Iran is more fragmented than Western observers had previously assumed, and jealousy among its leaders is common. These divisions and rivalries may have become less noticeable in the current anti-Shah campaign, but they remain. (C)

Unlike many of his fellow clergymen, Shariat-Madari is not opposed to modernization; he favors the incorporation of selected Western concepts into Islam and insists that he is not against all change. His central complaint against the government centers on Article 27 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law of 1907. This article provides for the examination of all legislation by five prominent religious leaders for conformity with Islamic law and implies clerical veto power over both the Parliament and the sovereign. In his drive toward modernization, the Shah has simply ignored Article 27; Shariat-Madari asserts that the spiritual leaders must be able to exercise their legally mandated voice in formulating legislation and supervising its implementation. (C)

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In the past Shariat-Madari has been more willing to compromise with the Shah than has Khomeini. Caught up in the events of the last three months, however, he seems to have taken a more militant stance. He characterized the military government formed by Gen. Qolam Reza Azhari on 6 November 1978 as no different from its predecessors except in tactics, and he warned of grave consequences unless it was replaced by a civilian government. He has even begun to echo Khomeini's call for an Islamic republic in which the Shi'a clergy would exert great influence and power. He maintains that this form of government would be democratic because the overwhelming majority of Iranians are Muslims. (C)

Early Life and Career

The son of a clerical family, Kazem Shariat-Madari was born in about 1902. He began his early religious education in his hometown of Tabriz and later studied in the Iranian holy cities of Qom and Meshed and the Iraqi holy cities of Najaf and Karbala. In the early 1960s he won recognition as a mojtahed (religious scholar) and then achieved the status of a marjeh (a preeminent clergyman who has the right to command the faithful and whose religious instructions should be followed). Eventually he achieved the title of ayatollah. His main political base was in the Tabriz bazaar, but his influence radiated throughout Tabriz and Azerbaijan--bazaar merchants have contributed heavily to both Shariat-Madari and Khomeini. Shariat-Madari developed a secondary base in Qom, where he now heads a religious school that is one of the most respected in Shi'a Islam. (Qom is a bustling, commercial city southwest of Tehran, as well as a center of pilgrimages and learning; alcohol, gambling, movies, and women in modern dress are not permitted there. It was a clash between religious forces and police in Qom that began Iran's year of turmoil.) (C)

Personal Data

Shariat-Madari is a serene man who invariably dresses in black and light-gray robes and wears the black turban that marks him as a descendant of Ali, the leading imam of the Shi'as. He speaks Arabic and is an expert on Shi'a commercial law. The ayatollah is married; it is not known whether he has any children. (U) *See Station Report 9/10/78 at Baghdad*

8 December 1978

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O 281445Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2099
INFO RUEHCR/USINT BAGHDAD 0799
RUQMEH/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN 1891
RUMJPG/USLO PEKING 0186
RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 1780
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4163
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1159
RURMCD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 2620
RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3622
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3848
RUSEBK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5010
RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0250
RUQMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4733
RUETCC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4042
RUQNAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1178
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1288
RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0596
RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3271
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3478
RUFERRC/AMEMBASSY ROME 1150
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0774
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
RUSNAAA/USCINCPAC

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

E.O. 12065: GDS 12-8-78 (PERET, W.G.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PORS, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: POLITICAL/SECURITY REPORT, DEC. 8, 1978

1. LAST NIGHT CONTINUED RELATIVE LULL IN DISTURBANCES IN TEHRAN. DEMONSTRATION WITH SHOOTING WAS REPORTED IN JALEH SQUARE AFTER CURFEW, BUT VERY LITTLE CHANTING OR SHOOTING WAS REPORTED IN NORTH TEHRAN. ARSONISTS THREW FIREBOMB INTO HOME OF ASST AIR ATTACHE BUT IT FAILED TO IGNITE. FIREBOMB WAS ALSO THROWN INTO BRITISH RESIDENCE BUT DID NO DAMAGE. CONSULATE SHIRAZ REPORTS INCREASED CROWD NOISE AND SHOOTING AFTER CURFEW FOR PAST TWO NIGHTS. LOCAL SECURITY FORCES SAY IT IS ALL TAPE RECORDED BUT THIS IS UNLIKELY, SINCE ELECTRICAL POWER HAS BEEN OUT FOR MUCH OF THIS PERIOD. SOME OF THE DISTURBANCES HAVE BEEN REAL. TROOPS HAVE BEGUN BREAKING INTO HOUSES, APPARENTLY IN PURSUIT OF DEMONSTRATORS. POWER OUTAGES HAVE BECOME UNUSUALLY LONG; LAST NIGHT'S OUTAGE, FROM 2100-2130 AND AGAIN STARTING AT 0330Z, WAS CONTINUING IN SOME SECTIONS OF TOWN AT MIDDAY. CONSULATE ISFAHAN REPORTS PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION YESTERDAY. BOMB EXPLODED NEXT TO APART OF AMCIT LAST NIGHT. HEAVY GUNFIRE WAS EVIDENT NIGHT OF DEC 5-6 BUT DID NOT RECUR LAST NIGHT. A FEW MORE SHOPS OPENED YESTERDAY, EVEN A BANK. MOST SHOPS REMAINED CLOSED. POWER WAS OF COURSE CUT AGAIN, AS IT WAS IN TEHRAN TOO. CONSULATE TABRIZ REPORTS MODERATELY HEAVY FIRING IN BAZAAR AND GOLPSTAN PARK AREA THIS MORNING.

2. TODAY REMAINS GENERALLY QUIET. NO DISTURBANCES ARE

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

TEHRAN 12052/1

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRG: STAFF 12/8/78
APPRV: DCM:CM/AS
DRETD: PCL:WGP/RETT:JF
CLEAR: 1.POL:G/LAMBRAK
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM
ECON-2 PM USICA
OR ADMIN SY-2
AFOSI PAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

REPORTED IN TEHRAN. EMBASSY ANNOUNCEMENT THAT DEPENDENTS CAN FLY TO UNITED STATES AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE HAS INEVITABLY CAUSED A STIR. WE ARE EMPHASIZING THIS IS NO EVACUATION, BUT NERVOUS AMCIT COMMUNITY IS IN PART DETERMINED TO HEAR WHAT IT WANTS TO HEAR. SPECIAL PAN AM FLIGHT WILL LEAVE AT MIDNIGHT TONIGHT FOR ISTANBUL, CARRYING NONOFFICIAL AMCITS WHO WISH TO LEAVE AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE.

3. TWO DAYS BEFORE SUNDAY, BEING HERALDED AS GREAT DAY OF CONFRONTATION, THERE IS MUCH POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN DIRECTION OF NONVIOLENT COMPROMISE. THESE EFFORTS ARE SIGNIFICANT BUT WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL AS TO WHETHER THEY CAN DEFUSE SITUATION AT THIS LATE DATE. DR. NASSER MINATCHI OF COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM TOLD EMBASSY THAT RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP AND GOI HAVE AGREED ON PEACFUL SCENARIO FOR SUNDAY--MARTIAL LAW AUTHORITIES TO PERMIT MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION, AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO KEEP IT PEACEFUL AND RELIGIOUS, REPELLING ANY RADICAL ELEMENTS WHO ATTEMPT TO PARTICIPATE. AGREEMENT WAS OBTAINED THROUGH GOOD OFFICES OF ALI AMINI. MARCHERS WILL ASSEMBLY AT EIGHT POINTS: SEYED KHADAN BRIDGE ON OLD SHEMIRAN ROAD; SHAHNAZ SQUARE; SHAHREZA AT OLD SHEMIRAN ROAD (THIS WILL BE THE TALEGHANI GROUP); ARK SQUARE, JUST NORTH OF BAZAAR (THIS WILL BE THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION GROUP); CUSTOMS HOUSE SQUARE; SHAH SQUARE EAST OF BAZAAR; KENNEDY SQUARE IN WEST TEHRAN, AND VANAK SQUARE. ALL GROUPS WILL HEAD FOR SHAHREZA AT OLD SHEMIRAN ROAD FOR MARCH WEST ON SHAHREZA TO SHAHYAD MONUMENT. MARCH IS EXPECTED TO LAST FROM 0900 TO 1500. (COMMENT: IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING SOME KHOMEINI PEOPLE, IF NOT KHOMEINI HIMSELF, SAYS IT HAS ACHIEVED AGREEMENT WITH REGIME, WE ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT ABILITY OF SHARIATMADARI OR OTHER RELIGIOUS MODERATES TO CONTROL RADICALS. IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT FOR PROVOCATERS TO TRANSFORM MARCH INTO BLOODY CONFRONTATION.)

4. IRANIAN PRESS SOURCE, NOT CONSIDERED WHOLLY RELIABLE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

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O 081445Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2100
INFO RUEHCR/USINT BAGHDAD 0800
RUCMDH/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN 1392
RUMJPG/USIO PEKING 0187
RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 1791
RUCMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4164
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1190
RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 0621
RUSBOT/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3623
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3849
RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5011
RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0251
RUQMTW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4734
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4043
RUOMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1179
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1289
RUCMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0597
RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3272
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3479
RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1151
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0775
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUHQQA/USCINCPAC

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12050

TOLD EMOFF HE MET YESTERDAY WITH PRIMIN AZHARI, WHO SAID 50 PROMINENT PEOPLE CARRIED LETTER TO COM THE DAY BEFORE, ASKING AYATOLLAHS TO CALM THE MULTITUDES. SOURCE SAID. SHARIATMADARI, GOLPAYAGANI, AND NAJAFI MAY ISSUE A COMMUNIQUE TO THAT EFFECT, URGING PEACFUL, RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OF MOHARRAM AND CAUTIONING AGAINST DESIGNS OF SUBVERSIVES. OTHER REPORTS WE HAVE (SEPTELS) INDICATE CONSIDERABLE DOUBT IN SHARIATMADARI'S MIND AS TO EXACT ACTIONS TO TAKE.

5. LMI REPRESENTATIVE TAVASSOLI (PROTECT) ALSO REPORTED SIGNS OF ACCOMMODATION TO EMOFF TODAY, NOTING FOR EXAMPLE, THAT TROOPS HAVE MOVED AWAY FROM HEDAYAT MOSQUE AND OTHERS WHERE OPPOSITION NATIONAL FRONT MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD. HE CONFIRMED THAT UNDERGROUND CELLS ARE ARMING THEMSELVES BUT DOUBTED THEY WOULD TAKE ACTION. NATIONAL FRONT BELIEVES GENERAL KHOSRODAD IS ONE OF COMMITTEE OF TWELVE CONSPIRING AGAINST IT, AND ALLEGEDLY HELPED ARRANGE THE ARSON OF NOVEMBER 5. REGARDING LARGER QUESTION OF POLITICAL COMPROMISE, TAVASSOLI STATED LMI STILL INSISTS ON REMOVAL OF SHAH AS PRECONDITION. HE ALSO HOPED FOR A PEACFUL MARCH ON SUNDAY AND CALLED ON USG "THROUGH ITS CONTROL OF THE ARMY," TO KEEP TROOPS FROM OPENING FIRE. EMOFF SHARPLY DISPUTED CHARGE OF "CONTROL" AND SAID USG WILL USE WHATEVER INFLUENCE IT HAS FOR PEACE.

6. AYATOLLAH SHEIKH NOURI OF TEHRAN TOLD ANOTHER EMOFF THAT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY WILL ACCEPT SHAH AS CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH. REGARDING SUNDAY HE SAID RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY WANTS A PEACFUL MARCH AND HOPES GOI FEELS THE SAME. A

CONFIDENTIAL
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CHRG: STATE 12/8/78
APPRV: DCM:GWNAA5
DRFTD: POL:WGPERRT:JI
CLEAR: 1.FCL:GMLAMBRAK
DISTR: POL-3 AMB PCM
ECON-2 PM USICA
OR ADMIN SY-2
AFOSI DAO

TEHRAN 12050/2

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TEHRAN 12050/

COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE, BUT SINCE OPPOSITION DOES NOT TRUST THE SHAH, US3 SHOULD GUARANTEE THE SETTLEMENT. ANOTHER SOURCE HAS TOLD US AYATCLLAH GEOMI OF MASHAD IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE FOR SHAH WITHIN CONTEXT OF A COMPROMISE SOLUTION.

7. COMMENT: ALL THIS SEEMS TO INDICATE RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION BACKING AWAY FROM BLOODY TEST OF STRENGTH. PROBLEMS REMAIN, HOWEVER. A PEACFUL MARCH, EVEN UNDER THE BEST SCENARIO, WOULD INEVITABLY INCLUDE BANNERS AND SHOUTS IN FAVOR OF KHOMEINI AND AGAINST THE SHAH. FURTHERMORE, NO WORD HAS COME FROM PARIS THAT KHOMEINI HIMSELF WANTS A PEACEFUL SUNDAY, AND GCI HAS NOT ALTERED PUBLIC STANCE THAT MARCHES WILL NOT BE PERMITTED. EVEN IF TROOPS HAVE NOT ENFORCED TOUGH LANGUAGE OF MARTIAL LAW DIRECTIVES TO THE LETTER, THEY HAVE CONSISTENTLY BROKEN UP CROWDS IN TEHRAN UP TO NOW, USUALLY FIRING OVER THEIR HEADS BUT OCCASIONALLY AT THEM. PERSIAN SUBTLETY IS CLEARLY AT WORK, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT IT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL FOR THE GOVERNMENT. SULLIVAN

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TEHRAN 12050/2

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O 081633Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2105
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01

TEHRAN 12055

CHRG: STATE 12/8/78
APPRV: DCM: CWNAAS
DRETD: POL: STESCUADERO:
CLEAR: 1. POL: GMLAMBRAZ
R: POL AMB DCM
ECON-2 PM USICA
OR ADMIN SY-2
AFOSI DAO CRU

E.O. 12065:RDS-4 12-8-88 (ESCUDERO, S.T.) OR-P
TAGS: PINR, IR
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH AYATOLLAH NOURI

REF: A) TEHRAN 11892 B) C-PR-8-40197

SUMMARY: EMBOFF MET WITH AYATOLLAH YAHYA ALLAMEH NOURI AT HOME OF PROMINENT BAZAARI HAJI KASHANI FOR THREE HOURS EVENING OF DECEMBER 7. AYATOLLAH EXPRESSED MODERATE VIEW OF POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO PRESENT IRANIAN POLITICAL CRISIS INCLUDING WILLINGNESS TO HAVE SHAH REMAIN CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH (BUT NOT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ARMED FORCES) PROVIDED U.S. WOULD BE WILLING TO SERVE AS GUARANTOR OF SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT. WITHOUT CONFIDING SPECIFIC INFORMATION REGARDING DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED FOR ASHURA, NOURI NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE ISLAMIC AND OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS THAT THEY SHOULD BE PEACEFUL. HE URGED SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS TO STAY HOME RATHER THAN JOIN IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. USE ITS INFLUENCE TO RESTRAIN THE BEHAVIOR OF THE IRANIAN SOLDIERY. NOURI WAS RECEPTIVE TO IDEA THAT FURTHER MEETINGS SHOULD TAKE PLACE WITH EMBOFF AND BETWEEN EMBOFF AND OTHER IRANIAN AYATOLLAHS. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF OPENED DISCUSSION WITH STATEMENT OF U.S. POSITION IN SUPPORT OF THE SHAH AND OF SHAH'S EXPRESSD WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE RETENTION OF HIS POSITION AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES. EMBOFF NOTED THAT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT ALSO ENJOYED THE SUPPORT OF THE IRANIAN MILITARY LEADERS. AFTER LONG DISSERATION ON THE STATE OF CONFLICT WHICH HAS TRADITIONALLY EXISTED BETWEEN THE MONARCHY AND THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT IN IRAN, NOURI STATED THAT THE FIRST PREFERENCE OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE WOULD BE THAT THE SHAH SHOULD LEAVE AND THAT THE MONARCHY SHOULD BE SUCCEEDED BY AN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC. HOWEVER, IF THE GREAT POWERS AND OTHERS INSIST THAT THE SHAH MUST REMAIN AS A CONSTITUTIONAL FIGURE WHO WOULD RULE BUT NOT REIGN, THE ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP WOULD ACCEPT THIS. THERE MUST BE A RETURN TO THE 1906 CONSTITUTION, RATHER THAN THE PRESENT VERSION, WHICH HAS BEEN CORRUPTED THROUGH AMENDMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY. THIS WOULD PRECLUDE A ROLE FOR THE SHAH AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES AS THIS AMENDMENT WAS ADDED AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAHLAVI CONTROL. MOREOVER, THE PEOPLE WOULD NOT TRUST THE SHAH TO UPHOLD HIS END OF ANY CONSTITUTIONAL PARGAIN BUT EXPECT THAT HE WOULD USE WHATEVER OPPORTUNITIES ARISE TO RE-ESTABLISH HIS DICTORIAL POWERS. THEREFORE, NOURI PROPOSED THAT THE UNITED STATES, AS THE FOREIGN POWER WITH THE GREATEST INFLUENCE OVER THE SHAH,

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ACT AS GUARANTOR OF THE SHAH'S GOOD FAITH IN ANY CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT.

2. PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, THROUGH ELECTION OR REFERENDUM, THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT MUST BE DISSOLVED. NOURI SAID THAT ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP, ACTING TOGETHER, COULD ISSUE A CALL WHICH WOULD BE OBEYED BY THE MAJORITY OF SOLDIERS AND LOWER-RANKING OFFICERS, SO THE U.S. SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE MILITARY TO DICTATE THE SHAPE OF AN IRANIAN SETTLEMENT. FOLLOWING DISSOLUTION OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT MUST BE BROUGHT INTO EXISTENCE IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND ESTABLISH A GENERAL CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE AMONG THE PEOPLE. (SEVERAL TIMES IN THE CONVERSATION NOURI MADE THE POINT THAT, WHILE THE ISLAMIC CLERGY IS IN MANY WAYS THE LEADER OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, THEY ARE ALSO LED BY THE PEOPLE, AND THE CLERGY WOULD QUICKLY BE ABANDONED BY THE PEOPLE IF THEY SHOULD SUDDENLY PROVE TO BE TOO MODERATE OR OTHERWISE OUT OF STEP.) NOURI BELIEVED THE ESSENCE OF ANY TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE A REVOLUTIONARY ISLAMIC COUNCIL OF 100-150 MEN WHO WOULD BE "INTRODUCED" TO THE PEOPLE BY THE ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP. THE COUNCIL WOULD BE MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL FRONT, THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY, THE ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT, AND "OTHER IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF IRANIAN SOCIETY." ITS MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE (MANNER NOT PRESCRIBED) AND WHILE ITS DUTIES WERE SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR, IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT NOURI INTENDS THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD BE PRINCIPAL IRANIAN DECISION-MAKING BODY.

3. NOURI SAID THAT IRANIANS UNDER A CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM WOULD WANT TO RETAIN THEIR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND THE WEST WHILE KEEPING THEIR DISTANCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. HE HOPED THAT SOME MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP COULD BE DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE PRICE OF OIL AND THE PRICE OF ITEMS IMPORTED FROM THE WEST BY IRAN, BUT HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON THIS STATEMENT. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION, NOURI SAID THAT THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY IS NOT CONCERNED BY THE PRESENCE OF SOME LEFTIST ADVISORS AROUND KHOMEINI.

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THEHRAN 12055/1

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O 081633Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2106
BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 TEHRAN 12055

CHRG: STATE 12/8/78
APPRV: DCM: CWNAAS
DRFTD: POL: STESCUDERO:
CLEAR: 1. POL: GMLAMBRAX
OR POL AMB DCM
ECON-2 PM USICA
OR ADMIN SY-2
AFOSI DAO CRU

E.O. 12065:RDS-4 12-8-88 (ESCUDERO, S.T.) OR-P

TAGS: PINR, IR

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH AYATOLLAH NOURI

PERHAPS 97 PERCENT OF ALL IRANIANS ARE MUSLIM AND OF THE FEW WHO CLAIM ALSO TO BE COMMUNISTS, SURELY NO MORE THAN 5 PERCENT, THEIR ALLEIGANCE IS TO A SORT OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM RATHER THAN TO THE PHILOSOPHIC BASIS FOR COMMUNISM. ISLAM RUNS TOO DEEP IN THE IRANIAN PSYCHE TO BE ROOTED OUT IN FAVOR OF COMMUNISM. FEARS THAT THE DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH WOULD LEAD TO A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN IRAN ARE GROUNDLESS AND HAVE BEEN FOSTERED BY THE SHAH'S REGIME IN AN ATTEMPT TO MAXIMIZE WESTERN SUPPORT FOR IMPERIAL SURVIVAL.

4. EMBOFF THEN ASKED, HYPOTEHTICALLY, WHAT ROLE KHOMEINI WOULD PLAY SHOULD AN AGREEMENT BE REACHED ON CHANGES TO THE IRANIAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE WHICH ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE MASS OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE INTERNAL ISLAMIC ESTABLISHMENT? IF MOST OR ALL OTHER IRANIAN POLITICAL ELEMENTS SHOULD AGREE TO AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH INCLUDES A PLACE FOR THE SHAH CONTRARY TO KHOMEINI'S DEMANDS, WOULD THE INTERNAL ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP GO TO KHOMEINI AND TELL HIM THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED, WITH THEIR SUPPORT, REGARDLESS OF HIS POSITION? NOURI, PERHAPS NOT WANTING HIS FOLLOWERS TO UNDERSTAND, REPLIED IN BROKEN ENGLISH, "THAT WOULD BE DANGEROUS AND VERY DIFFICULT. SOMETHING WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE."

5. DEMONSTRATIONS: NOURI TWICE EVADED DIRECT ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS REGARDING WHEN AND WHERE THE ASHURA DEMONSTRATIONS ARE TO TAKE PLACE. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT THE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NATIONAL FRONT AND ALL ARE AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD BE PEACFUL IN NATURE. (COMMENT: THIS ACCORDS WITH INFO EMBOFF HAS RECEIVED FROM BAZAARIS. IT COULD BE NO MORE THAN A SMOXESCREEN FOR COVERT VIOLENCE WHICH COULD BE BLAMED ON THE GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, IF TRUE, A CONSCIOUS POLICY OF NONVIOLENCE DURING ASHURA WOULD APPEAR TO BE A STEP BY THE INTERNAL IRANIAN OPPOSITION AWAY FROM THE EXTREMIST POSITION ESPOUSED BY KHOMEINI. END COMMENT).

6. DURING DISCUSSION OF DEMONSTRATIONS, THE GROUP OF 13 BAZAARIS AND YOUTHS IN ATTENDANCE ON NOURI WAS JOINED BY ANOTHER YOUTH WHO REPORTED A TALE OF VIOLENCE RECENTLY COMMITTED UPON AN IRANIAN WOMAN AND HER CHILDREN BY THE TROOPS. THIS INSPIRED KASHANI, WHO IS SOMETHING OF A FIRE-BRAND ANYWAY (SEE REFTEL A), TO RECOUNT GORY DETAILS OF TWO ALLEGED INCIDENTS IN TEHRAN AND ONE IN THE HERMAN DIS-

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TEHRAN 12055/2

CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 12055/2

TRICT TOWN OF JIROFT IN WHICH SOLDIERS COMMITTED ATROCITIES. EMOTIONS RISING, THE YOUNGER ATTENDANTS REQUESTED THE AYATOLLAH TO ORDER TO OPPOSE THE TROOPS WITH GUNS. NOURI, WHO NEVER RAISED HIS VOICE DURING THE DISCUSSION BUT WHOSE AUTHORITY, AT LEAST OVER THIS SMALL GROUP, REPLIED THAT SUCH A COURSE WOULD SERVE NO PURPOSE. ACCORDING TO NOURI, THERE ARE THREE POSSIBILITIES ON ASHURA: THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE BUT ARE NOT SHOT BY THE SOLDIERS; THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE BUT ARE SHOT; THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE BY STAYING HOME. NOURI CLEARLY PREFERRED THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE. THE SECOND, HE SAID, WOULD BE SUICIDAL AS THE GOVERNMENT FORCES WOULD REPLY TO GUNFIRE WITH TANKS AND OTHER MODERN HEAVY WEAPONS. "WHEN I ORDER YOU TO FIGHT THE GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS, I WANT YOU TO BE AS WELL ARMED AS THEY ARE." HOWEVER, EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE SHIA DEMONSTRATE IN THE STREETS ON ASHURA. IF EVERYONE REMAINED HOME THE WORLD WOULD KNOW THAT THIS WAS DUE TO THE TYRANNY OF THE PRESENT IRANIAN REGIME AND THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A GREATER AND MORE EFFECTIVE DEMONSTRATION THAN ANYTHING WHICH COULD BE STAGED IN THE STREETS. THE EYES OF THE ENTIRE ISLAMIC WORLD ARE ON IRAN AND ON THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE FAITH AND THE MONARCHY. IF WE ARE DEFEATED IN IRAN, IT WILL CONSTITUTE A DEFEAT FOR ALL OF ISLAM AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN MUSLIM NATIONS MIGHT BECOME EMBOLDENED TO ACT AGAINST THE FAITH." (COMMENT: IT IS NOT CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT THE AYATOLLAH WAS INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF THE ASHURA DEMONSTRATIONS. HOWEVER, AT THIS LATE DATE EXHORTATIONS TO HIS PEOPLE TO REMAIN HOME ON DECEMBER 10 WOULD APPEAR TO BE OF LITTLE USE. END COMMENT.)

7. FINALLY, NOURI EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT VIOLENCE ON ASHURA MIGHT ORIGINATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND THAT EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE COULD IMPERIL ANY CHANCES FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE IRANIAN ARMED FORCES AND THE SHAH TO PREVENT FIRING ON THE DEMONSTRATORS. EMBOFF MADE NO COMMENT ON THIS REQUEST.

8. EMBOFF SHOWED NOURI A LETTER, REPUTEDLY FROM AYATOLLAH KHOI IN NAJAF, URGING THE PEOPLE TO BEHAVE WITH MODERATION IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REGIME AND ASKED IF THIS

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O 051633Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2107
BT
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 TEHRAN 12055

CHRG: STATE 12/8/78
APPRV: DCM:OWNAAS
DRETD: POL:STESCUDE
CLEAR: 1.POL:GMLAMBR
OR: POL AMB DA
EGON-2 PM USIC
OR ADMIN SY-2
AFOSI DAO CRU

WOULD AFFECT THE CONDUCT OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS, NOURI CLAIMED THAT THE LETTER IS A REISSUE BY KHOI'S FOLLOWERS OF A TWO-YEAR-OLD ORIGINAL. HE THEN NOTED THAT THE EMPRESS' EARLIER VISIT TO KHOI HAD BEEN ARRANGED BY THE GO IFAG WITHOUT ADVANCE WARNING TO KHOI. THE AYATOLLAH WAS OBLIGED TO RESPOND TO COMPLAINTS FROM IRANIANS THAT HE ROSE FROM HIS SICKBED TO FIND FARAH AT HIS DOOR AND WOULD NOT HAVE AGREED TO SEE HER HAD HE KNOWN IN ADVANCE THAT SHE WAS COMING. (COMMENT: WHILE BEST OF THIS STORY ACCORDS WITH EMBASSY INFO FROM OTHER SOURCES, THIS IS FIRST ASSERTION THAT KHOI LETTER WAS REISSUE BY OTHERS OF OLD ORIGINAL.)

9. HAVING REF B IN MIND, EMBOFF ASKED IF NOURI COULD SUPPLY SOME TRAINING MATERIALS USED AT VARIOUS ISLAMIC THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS IN IRAN. NOURI AGREED TO DO SO IN ORDER TO INCREASE US UNDERSTANDING OF ISLAM. AGED ABOUT FORTY AND SOMEWHAT PLUMP, NOURI IS A PRODUCT OF THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS OF QOM, MASHAD, AND NAJAF. HOWEVER, HE ALSO HOLDS TWO BACHELORS DEGREES AND A DOCTORATE IN ISLAMIC LAW FROM TEHRAN UNIVERSITY. HE NOTED THAT SOME 25 YEARS OF STUDY WERE REQUIRED BEFORE HE WAS RECOGNIZED AS AN AYATOLLAH AND THAT, IN ADDITION TO LEARNING, A REPUTATION FOR GOOD WORKS IS ALSO A PREREQUISITE. IN NOURI'S CASE, HE HAS ENDOWED A HOSPITAL, FIVE CLINICS, AND SEVERAL LESSER RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IN HIS HOME DISTRICT. NOURI IS BY NO MEANS THE STEREOTYPE OF THE OBSCURANTIST MULLAH WHICH EMBOFF HAD RATHER EXPECTED. HE WAS WELL-INFORMED, MODERATE AND CLEARLY IN TUNE WITH OTHER OPPOSITION ELEMENTS. HE WAS IMPRISONED FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY WHICH PROBABLY INCREASED HIS STANDING AMONG THE ISLAMIC HIERARCHY. HE WAS PRINCIPAL AYATOLLAH AT JALER SQUARE DURING BLOODY CLASH ON SEPT 8. REPORTEDLY, HE TRIED TO HAVE CROWD DISPERSE IN FACE OF MILITARY BUT WAS IGNORED. IT IS NOT YET POSSIBLE TO ASSESS HIS IMPORTANCE RELATIVE TO OTHER SECOND-RANK AYATOLLAHS SUCH AS TALAGHANI. HE TRIES TO PROJECT A HUMBLE AIR AND IS NOT ARROGANT IN HIS BEHAVIOR TOWARDS HIS FOLLOWERS. HOWEVER, EMBOFF SUSPECTS THAT MUCH OF HIS HUMILITY IS A SHAM REQUIRED BY HIS POSITION. NOURI IS CLEARLY PROUD OF HIS LEARNING AND THE FACT THAT HE HAS PUBLISHED 17 BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED INTO EUROPEAN AND ORIENTAL LANGUAGES. HE IS KNOWN TO HAVE STRONG ANTI-ISRAELI VIEWS (AS DO HIS COLLEAGUES) AS EVIDENCED BY HIS PAMPHLET ON ISRAELI "CRIMES" IN LEBANON (POUCHED TO INR/OIL/B BECAUSE IT CONTAINS GOOD PHOTO OF NOURI) BUT ONLY REFERENCE TO ISRAEL WHICH AROSE IN CONNECTION WAS HIS REMARK THAT UNREPRESENTATIVE IRANIAN REGIME HAD DECIDED TO INTERVENE IN WAR IN DOFAR AND TO SELL OIL TO ISRAEL WITHOUT CONSULTING PEOPLE.

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10. AT CLOSE OF DISCUSSION, NOURI AGREED TO ASSIST
EMBOFF IN MEETING OTHER AYATOLLAHS. NOURI NOTED THAT HE
WOULD ALSO WANT TO MEET WITH EMBOFF AGAIN, POSSIBLY FOR
SIX OR SEVEN HOURS, ONCE HE HAD HAD TIME TO THINK ABOUT
RESULTS OF THIS DISCUSSION. SULLIVAN
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TEHRAN 12055/3

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ACTION

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 311262/01

P.O. 12085: GDS 12/B/84 (CLEMENT, CARL)

TAGS: PINT, IR

SUBJECT: EGBAL'S GAME PLAN FOR SAVING IRAN

1. CONFIDENTIAL: ENTIRE TEXT--
SUMMARY: EGBAL PLANS TO START POLITICAL NEWSPAPER
IN WHICH, WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE SHAH AND THE GOVERN-
MENT, HE WILL FIRST ATTACK THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REGIME
TO ESTABLISH THE PAPER'S CREDIBILITY, AND THEN SET OUT TO
DESTROY KHOMEINI AS INFLUENTIAL OPPOSITION LEADER. EGBAL
FEELS THAT SHAH CAN PLAY USEFUL ROLE IN BOTH IMMEDIATE
TIME FRAME AND POSSIBLY DURING NEXT YEAR BY EXERCISING
INFLUENCE OVER THE MILITARY, AND AS THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY
FIGURE WHILE OTHER POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE DEVELOPED.
AT THE SAME TIME, EGBAL IS QUITE READY TO DUMP THE SHAH
IF THIS WILL HELP TO SOLVE THE PRESENT CRISIS. HE IS
CONVINCED THAT IF THE MILITARY REMAIN IN POWER FOR 6 MONTHS,
THEY WILL REFUSE TO GIVE UP POWER. EGBAL FEELS THAT IT
IS ESSENTIAL THAT GENERAL DJAM RETURN AT SOME POINT AND
TAKE CHARGE OF THE MILITARY AGAIN. HE SEES PRESENT JUSTI
MINISTER NAJAFI AS EXCELLENT, CLEAN CANDIDATE FOR NEXT
PRIME MINISTER, PROVIDING NAJAFI RESIGNS FROM PRESENT
GOVERNMENT BEFORE HE BECOMES TAINTED.

2. KHOSRO EGBAL (PROTECT), BROTHER OF FORMER PRIME
MINISTER AND WIOC CHIEF EGBAL, VISITED NEA/IRN ON
DECEMBER 4 AND 6. HE SAID THAT HE INTENDS TO DO WHATEVER
HE CAN TO SAVE THE NATION (BUT MADE NO SUCH STATEMENT
REGARDING THE SHAH). HIS GAME PLAN IS BASED ON STARTING
UP AGAIN A POLITICAL NEWSPAPER WHICH HE USED TO HAVE
DURING EARLY WORLD WAR II DAYS. HE WILL DO SO ONLY WITH
THE AGREEMENT OF THE SHAH AND THE GOVERNMENT, AND CLAIM
TO HAVE ENLISTED IMAM JOME OF TEHRAN AS HIS EMBASSY
TO THE SHAH FOR THIS PURPOSE. FOR THE FIRST FEW WEEKS
HE WOULD PLAN ON ATTACKING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REGIME
IN GENERAL IN A VIGOROUS FASHION, AND THE SHAH AS WELL
MORE GENTLY. ONCE HAVING ESTABLISHED THE CREDIBILITY
OF HIS PAPER, HE WOULD THEN PROCEED TO HIS REAL PLAN

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IS TO TRY TO ELIMINATE KHOMEINI AS AN INFLUENTIAL POSITION LEADER. EGBAL SAID THAT ONCE KHOMEINI'S INFLUENCE WAS REDUCED, THE OTHER MULLAHS COULD BE HANDLED BY PUTTING THEM OFF. HE RECOUNTED HOW HIS BROTHER, WHILE THE MINISTER AND NIOC CHIEF, HAD ALWAYS SPENT SIZEABLE SUMS OF MONEY ON THE MULLAHS. IN EGBAL'S VIEW, STOPPING SUCH PAYMENTS WAS GRAVEST ERROR THAT AMOUZEGAR MADE DURING HIS TIME AS PRIME MINISTER. EGBAL IS CONVINCED THAT ALL OF THIS CAN BE DONE WITHIN THE SPAN OF TWO MONTHS.

AFTER HE HAS MANAGED TO CUT DOWN KHOMEINI, EGBAL WOULD WANT THE RETURN OF RETIRED GENERAL DJAM TO HIS PREVIOUS POSITION AS CHIEF OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER STAFF. HE FEELS THIS IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL BECAUSE, IN HIS VIEW, DJAM IS THE ONLY ONE WHO COMMANDS THE RESPECT OF NOT ONLY THE MILITARY BUT THE SHAH AND CIVILIANS AS WELL. HE WOULD EVEN SEE DJAM IN THE DUAL ROLE NOW PLAYED BY AZHARI. EGBAL SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED TO GENERAL DJAM IN LONDON. DJAM HAD TOLD HIM THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO DO ANYTHING, TO SAVE THE SHAH, BUT WOULD BE AVAILABLE IF THE NATION WANTED HIM. EGBAL'S PREFERENCE, HOWEVER, IS FOR A CIVILIAN AS PRIME MINISTER, AND HIS PRIME CANDIDATE FOR THAT POSITION IS THE PRESENT MINISTER OF JUSTICE NAJAFI. ACCORDINGLY, TO EGBAL, NAJAFI IS CLEAN AND HIGHLY RESPECTED. EGBAL MADE THE POINT THAT IF NAJAFI WERE TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER, HE WOULD HAVE TO RESIGN VERY SOON FROM THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, OPENLY DISAGREEING WITH ITS POLICIES. EGBAL SAID THAT WHEN NAJAFI TOOK ON HIS PRESENT JOB, HE HAD DEMANDED THAT THE POLICE, SAVAK, AND COURT OFFICIALS BE INSTRUCTED BY THE SHAH TO COOPERATE WITH HIM IN THE CORRUPTION INVESTIGATION. THE SHAH HAD AGREED, BUT NOTHING HAPPENED. FOUR DAYS LATER NAJAFI HAD SUBMITTED HIS RESIGNATION, AND HAD ONLY AGREED TO STAY ON AFTER THE CHIEF OF POLICE HAD ACTUALLY COME TO HIM AND TOLD HIM THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY THE SHAH TO COOPERATE. EGBAL GAVE THIS AS ONE OF SEVERAL EXAMPLES OF WHAT HE TERMED AS THE CONTINUING INSINCERITY OF THE SHAH IN CARRYING OUT PROMISES AND POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION. EGBAL SAID THAT IF THE SHAH EVER DID BECOME SINCERE, HE COULD THEN GO ON TELEVISION AND CONVINCING THE PEOPLE OF THIS FACT, BUT THAT THE PEOPLE COULD NOT BE FOOLED.

4. EGBAL FEELS THAT IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE SHAH DO AT LEAST TWO THINGS:

A) ABOLISH SAVAK AS AN ORGANIZATION, SOME OF ITS FUNCTIONS, COULD BE CARRIED OUT BY THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY;

B) ESTABLISH BY HIMSELF, RATHER THAN THROUGH THE THREE-MAN COMMITTEE, THE AMOUNT OF WEALTH THAT ROYAL FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE WRONGFULLY AMASSED, AND CONFISCATE ALL OF THEIR PROPERTY IN IRAN AND TURN IT OVER TO THE PEOPLE. EGBAL ALSO FELT THAT THE SHAH SHOULD DO THE SAME WITH ALL OF HIS PROPERTY IN IRAN.

5. EGBAL HEATEDLY MADE THE POINT THAT IT WAS SILLY TO TALK ABOUT ANY NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THERE REALLY COULD BE NO COALITION UNDER THE PERSIAN WAY OF DOING THINGS. THERE WOULD JUST BE CONTINUOUS INFIGHTING AND BICKERING WITHOUT SOMEONE IN REAL COMMAND AUTHORITY. HE DID NOT FEEL THAT THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION RT
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LEADERS HAD THE CAPACITY TO LEAD THE COUNTRY, AND ADDED THAT IN ANY CASE THEY DID NOT REPRESENT ANY LARGE GROUP OF FOLLOWERS. EGBAL FELT THAT A RELIGIOUS DOMINATED GOVERNMENT HAD NO CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING.

5. EGBAL IS VERY MUCH AFRAID THAT IF MILITARY CONTINUE IN GOVERNMENT FOR 6 MONTHS, THEY WILL NO LONGER BE WILLING TO GIVE UP THIS POWER. HE DOES NOT CONSIDER A MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO BE A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS FACING IRAN.

6. WHILE PLACING MOST OF THE BLAME FOR THE WAY THINGS HAVE TURNED OUT ON ALAM AND FOVEYDA, EGBAL IS READY TO SEE THE SHAH GO IF THAT WILL HELP SOLVE THE PRESENT CRISIS. HE MADE THE POINT SEVERAL TIMES THAT ONE MAN CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO ENDANGER THE FUTURE OF AN ENTIRE NATION. AT THE SAME TIME, IF THIS CAN BE WORKED OUT, EGBAL CAN SEE A USEFUL ROLE FOR THE SHAH FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND POSSIBLY AS LONG AS ONE YEAR. THAT ROLE WILL BE TO MAINTAIN AUTHORITY OVER THE MILITARY AND TO ACT AS THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY FIGURE WHILE NEW POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE CREATED. EGBAL DID NOT SEE ELECTIONS BY THEMSELVES AS PROVIDING ANY LASTING SOLUTION.

7. WHEN HE DID NOT IN SO MANY WORDS ASK FOR U.S. SUPPORT FOR HIS OWN PLAN, IT WAS NEVERTHELESS EVIDENT THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE SUCH SUPPORT. HE WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH AMENI UPON HIS RETURN TO TEHRAN SOMETIME NEXT WEEK. CHRISTOPHER

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 311205

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EO.112065 008 12/10/74 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, PORS, P00V, IR

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION PLANS FOR FUTURE

REF: TEHRAN, 1204

1. WE HAVE SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERSATION REPORTED REFTEL.

-- WILL THE CDHRF REPRESENT OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS IN COALITION DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OR IN CONTACTS WITH THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS? (PAR 3 REFTEL).

-- IF THE SHAH IS TO AGREE TO A REGENCY COUNCIL AND THEN DEPART IRAN IS HE TO BE ALLOWED FIRST TO PICK THE MEMBERS OF THE REGENCY COUNCIL? (PARA 4).

-- IS HE ALSO TO BE ALLOWED TO PICK THE NEW CABINET? (PARA 4).

DOES THE CDHRF EXPECT THE US AND UK AMBASSADORS TO PREPARE THE LISTS OF THE CABINET AND REGENCY COUNCIL TO PRESENT FOR HIS SELECTION? ARE THE AMBASSADORS EXPECTED TO DRAFF UP THE LIST AND URGE THE SHAH TO ACCEPT IT? (PARA 4).

AND IN THE EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT WAS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR NEGOTIATING THE PEACEFUL MARCH OF REGENCY? (REF TELERS TO ALI AMINI; OTHER REPORTS HAVE MENTIONED AMINI AND ZAHEDI HAS TAKEN CREDIT.) CHRISTOPHER

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CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12090

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2137
INFO RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 1789
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4178
RUEHCR/USINT BAGHDAD 8628
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1198
RUQMDR/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN 1900
RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 8629
RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3630
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3857
RUSBLI/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5817
RUQMEH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 8257
RUQMEV/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 4743
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4854
RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 1187
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1295
RUQMHT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 8628
RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 3278
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3487
RUFHRC/AMEMBASSY ROME 1105
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 8783
RUSNAAL/USCINCPAC VAIHINGEN GE
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E.O. 12065: GDS 12-11-84 (SULLIVAN, W.H.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR
SUBJ: 17 POINT OPPOSITION PROGRAM

1. AT END OF THE DAY DECEMBER 10, SEVERAL PRESS SOURCES OBTAINED TEXT OF SEVENTEEN POINT PROGRAM ALLEGEDLY "ENDORSED" BY DEMONSTRATORS DURING SHAHYAD MONUMENT ASSEMBLY. WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO VERIFY FACTS CONCERNING THIS PROGRAM, WHICH WAS APPARENTLY DISTRIBUTED TO PRESS BY ANTI-SHAH GROUPS. THERE ARE SOME REPORTS THAT IT WAS MERELY DISTRIBUTED DECEMBER 10 AND WILL BE "PROCLAIMED" DECEMBER 11.

2. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF PROGRAM AS PROVIDED EMBASSY BY LOCAL PRESS REPRESENTATIVE:

1. KHOMEINI IS THE LEADER
2. OVERTHROW OF REGIME
3. ISLAMIC REPUBLIC
4. DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
5. ELIMINATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT
6. IMPLEMENTATION OF RELIGIOUS DEMANDS
7. WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION
8. FULL WORKERS RIGHTS
9. END MISUSE OF POWER
10. AGRICULTURAL REFORM
11. FULL SUPPORT OF STRIKERS
12. ANTI-POVERTY
13. SHOOTING AT DEMONSTRATORS IS TREASON
14. CLAIMS THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM IS BEHIND THE MOVEMENT ARE UTTER NONSENSE
15. MORE ON ISLAM

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16. RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS
17. STRUGGLE SHALL CONTINUE.

3. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHO DREW UP THIS PROGRAM OR WHO SPONSORED IT AT THE DEMONSTRATION. IT HAS THE BARMARKS OF A KHOMEINI TRACT, BUT IS MORE MODERATE ON SEVERAL POINTS THAN THE USUAL KHOMEINI LINE. IT COULD, THEREFORE, EMANATE FROM THE MORE MODERATE OPPOSITION RIDING ON THE KHOMEINI WAVE. SULLIVAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 313310

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E.O. 12065: GDS (12/12/84 - PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: IR

SUBJECT: REGENCY COUNCIL

COULD YOU PLEASE GIVE US BY OPENING OF BUSINESS WASHINGTON TIME TOMORROW A STATEMENT OF THE BASIS IN IRANIAN LAW FO, THE IDEA OF THE REGENCY COUNCIL. WE SEE NO REFERENCE TO A REGENCY COUNCIL IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1906 OR THE SUPPLEMENTARY LAW OF 1907. PEREAPS WE DO NOT HAVE A VERSION THAT REFLECTS RECENT AMENDMENTS. IN ANY EVENT, COULD YOU TELL US WHAT IRANIAN LAW PRESCRIBES WITH RESPECT TO A REGENT AND A REGENCY COUNCIL. CHRISTOPHER

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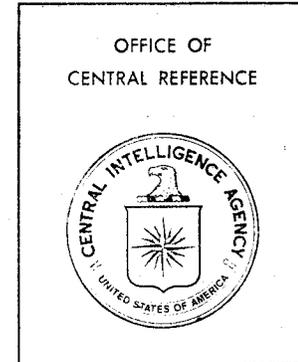
Mohsen PEZESHKPUR
(Phonetic: pezeshkPOOR)

IRAN

Leader, Pan-Iran Party
(since 1948)

Addressed as:
Mr. Pezeshkpur

Mohsen Pezeshkpur helped found the Pan-Iran Party in 1948. In its heyday during the 1960s and early 1970s, it was an ultranationalist, xenophobic, totalitarian organization that reminded many observers of the Nazi Party. Pezeshkpur's group had and probably still has virtually no popular appeal. In 1974, when the government made the Resurgence Party of the People of Iran (RPPI) the only legal party, the Pan-Iran Party was dissolved. Pezeshkpur joined the RPPI, but in 1977 he became a member of the Parliamentary Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and criticized the government. In June 1978, charging that the RPPI was responsible for much of "the chaos in Iranian society," he resigned from the RPPI and announced the revival of the Pan-Iran Party. He has continued to criticize the government on a variety of issues. (C)



For a decade beginning during the prime ministership (1951-53) of Mohammad Mosadeq, Pezeshkpur remained an official leader of the Pan-Iran Party but was largely inactive. Returning to the political scene in 1961, he subsequently became the party's sole leader after Daryush Foruhar left to form his own group, the Nation of Iran Party. The government used the party to attack then Egyptian President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir but otherwise kept it under a tight rein. Thanks to the Shah's consent, Pezeshkpur was permitted to run for parliament in elections held in 1967 and was elected to the Majles (lower house). (C)

Notorious for his chauvinism, Pezeshkpur has long insisted on the "Iranness" of several territories outside the borders of Iran--including the former British protectorate of Bahrain, to

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which Iran had had a historical claim. In 1970, when the Shah agreed with the British decision to allow a plebiscite in Bahrain (it voted for independence), Pezeshkpur submitted a motion in the Majles censuring the government. Angered, the Shah cut off funds and support to the Pan-Iran Party and let it be known that the group's five deputies would not be reelected. The monarch later relented, however, and Pezeshkpur has continued in the legislature. (C)

Pezeshkpur, about 61, holds a licentiate in jurisprudence from Tehran University and has served as a member of the executive board of the bar association. He has written several articles and a book, *What Do We Want?* He speaks English. (U)

13 December 1978

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TEHRAN 12157

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2174
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CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12157

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APPRV: DCM:CNAAAS
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R.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/13/98 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-F
TAGS: IR
SUBJECT: REGENCY COUNCIL

REF: (A) TEHRAN 12048, (B) TEHRAN 11848, (C) STATE 313318.

1. REFS A AND B GIVE OPPOSITION VIEW OF REGENCY COUNCIL PROPOSAL IN CONTEXT. THIS IS BASED ON ARTICLE 38 OF SUPPLEMENTARY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, AS AMENDED SEPT 9, 1967, QUOTED IN ITS ENTIRETY BELOW: QUOTE

IN THE EVENT OF THE TRANSFER OF THE THRONE, THE CROWN PRINCE SHALL PERSONALLY PERFORM THE FUNCTIONS OF MONARCH WHEN HE HAS REACHED TWENTY YEARS OF AGE (TO BE CALCULATED ON THE BASIS OF THE SOLAR YEAR). IF HE HAS NOT REACHED THAT AGE, THE SHAHBANU, MOTHER OF THE CROWN PRINCE, SHALL ASSUME THE REGENCY, UNLESS ANOTHER PERSON SHALL HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED BY THE MONARCH FOR THAT OFFICE. THE REGENT SHALL FORM A COUNCIL COMPOSED OF THE PRIME MINISTER, THE HEADS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT AND FOUR OTHER SAGACIOUS, REPUTABLE PERSONALITIES OF THE COUNTRY TO BE SELECTED BY THE REGENT, AND (THE REGENT) SHALL, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION, ASSUME THE DUTIES OF MONARCH IN CONSULTATION WITH THE COUNCIL UNTIL (SUCH TIME AS) THE CROWN PRINCE REACHES THE AGE OF 20. IN THE EVENT OF THE DEMISE OR RESIGNATION OF THE REGENT, THE COUNCIL SHALL TEMPORARILY CARRY OUT THE DUTIES OF THE REGENCY UNTIL ANOTHER REGENT--NOT A MEMBER OF THE QAJAR FAMILY--IS APPOINTED BY THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. REMARRIAGE BY THE SHAHBANU REGENT SHALL CONSTITUTE RESIGNATION (FROM REGENCY). UNQUOTE

2. REGENCY COUNCIL, AS SEEN IN LAW, IS BASICALLY TO ADVISE REGENT. NATIONAL FRONT VIEW IS THAT SHAH WOULD APPOINT REGENCY COUNCIL, THEN DESIGNATE IT, NOT SHAHANOU, TO PERFORM REGENT'S DUTIES, THEN RESIGN AND TRANSFER HIS POWERS TO COUNCIL. BASIS FOR THIS IS PROVISION IN NEXT-TO-LAST SENTENCE FOR COUNCIL TO ACT AS REGENT AFTER DEMISE OR RESIGNATION OF REGENT. ACCORDING TO DR. NINATCHI, NEW REGENT WOULD NOT BE DESIGNATED UNTIL NEW, FREELY-ELECTED PARLIAMENT HAD CONSIDERED STATUS OF MONARCHY, THEN LEAVING REGENCY COUNCIL IN POSITION OF EXECUTING MONARCHIAL POWERS UNTIL GENERAL NATIONAL ELECTIONS TOOK PLACE. WHILE THIS WAS NOT EXACTLY THE INTENTION SCENARIO WAS PROJECTED TO WORK WHEN AMENDED, SULLIVAN

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2350
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEHRAN 12500

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINR, IR
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH QASHQAI LEADER

1. EMBOFF MET DEC 17 WITH MALIK MANSOUR KHAN QASHQAI, BROTHER OF QASHQAI IL-KHAN NASSER KHAN. THE MEETING WAS NOT PRECISELY ACCIDENTAL BUT BECAUSE OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE QASHQAI BROTHERS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN OTHER CHANNELS, EMBOFF MADE NO ATTEMPT TO STEER CONVERSATION IN POLITICAL DIRECTION. HOWEVER, MALIK MANSOUR KHAN, AFTER LENGTHY AND NOT WHOLLY UNBIASED TREATISE ON HISTORY OF QASHQAIS AS WARRIOR NATION, DESCRIBED HIS FAMILY AS SUPPORTIVE OF THE SHAH DESPITE WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO THEM. "I AM NOT AN ORDINARY MAN. I AM A GREAT KHAN, YET I LIVE IN A RENTED ROOM, CANNOT RETURN TO QASHQAI LANDS, AND MY LANDS FROM ISFAHAN TO THE PERSIAN GULF WERE TAKEN FROM ME BY THIS SO-CALLED PARLIAMENT." HE WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF FORMER SAVAK CHIEF NASSIRI, WITH WHOM HE HAD A PERSONAL RUN-IN, AND OF THE LATE COURT MINISTER ASSADOLLAH ALAM, WHO MALIK MANSOUR KHAN FEELS BETRAYED HIS CLASS AND THE MEMORY OF HIS FATHER THE REVERED AMIR SHOKAT-OL-MOLK.

2. MALIK MANSOUR KHAN BELIEVES THAT HIS BROTHER NASSER KHAN, WHO HAS JUST RETURNED TO U.S. FOLLOWING TREATMENT FOR EYE PROBLEM IN MUNICH, MAY SOON RETURN TO IRAN. NASSER KHAN HAS INSTRUCTED HIS FAMILY TO PREPARE LODGINGS FOR HIM WITHIN NEXT TWO WEEKS.

3. COMMENT: MALIK MANSOUR KHAN'S BITTERNESS WAS PLAIN, AS WAS HIS DESIRE TO REGAIN WHAT HE FEELS IS HIS BIRTH-RIGHT. IF HIS BROTHERS FEEL THE SAME WAY, AND IF THE SHAH IS WILLING TO FORGIVE THEIR SUPPORT FOR MOSSADEGH, A DEAL WOULD PROBABLY BE STRUCK ASSURING THE SHAH THE SUPPORT OF THE QASHQAI CHIEFLY FAMILY, FOR WHATEVER THAT SUPPORT WOULD BE WORTH. SULLIVAN

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

TEHRAN 12500

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 12500

EXDIS

P.O. 12065: REG-4 12-19-78 (STAMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
CLASS: PINE, PINR, IR
SUBJECT: BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARD REGENCY COUNCIL

REF: A) TEHRAN 12062, B) TEHRAN 10100

1. BRITISH HEAD OF CHANCERY DAVID MIERS TOLD EMBOFF STAMPEL THAT BRITISH HAS RECENTLY BRASH OUT MINATCHI PROPOSAL FOR REGENCY COUNCIL. IN RESPONSE TO MINATCHI PLIA TO BRING THIS TO SHAH, BOTH BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND MIERS HAD TOLD MINATCHI THAT BRITISH WOULD RESERVE ANY COMMENT FOR SHAH AND ONLY IF ASKED BY HIM. MIERS STRESSED TO US THAT BRITISH HAVE MADE NO COMMITMENT TO RAISE MATTER FAVORABLY AND ARE NOT DISPOSED TO SUPPORT REGENCY COUNCIL IDEA NOW, NOR TO INTERVENE IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN ANY WAY.

2. MIERS WENT ON TO SAY MINATCHI HAD SHAPED THE TRUTH IN DESCRIBING AMERICAN POSITION TO BRITISH ALLEGING THAT EMBOFF HAD SAID PROPOSITION OF REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD BE RECOMMENDED FAVORABLY TO AMBASSADOR. EMBOFF ASSURED MIERS THAT U.S. WAS NOT FAVORABLY DISPOSED FOR REGENCY COUNCIL AND HAD GIVEN NO SUCH INDICATION TO MINATCHI.

3. MIERS STATED BELIEF THAT MINATCHI IS TRYING TO SELL TO AMIRAL A REGENCY COUNCIL CONCEPT WHICH MOST CLOSELY FITS THE AYATOLLAH'S VIEWS AND IN TURN IS TRYING TO SELL THE SHAH A SIMILAR, BUT NOT IDENTICAL, FORMULATION I.E. VACATION WITH REGENCY COUNCIL AS INTERIM BODY. MINATCHI HAS HAD NO SUCCESS TO DATE IN EITHER DIRECTION. MINATCHI'S "EXTENSIONS" OR "REINTERPRETATIONS" OF U.S. AND BRITISH REPORTS ARE, IN MIERS' OPINION, SIMPLY BOLD PERSIAN LAWYER'S EFFORTS TO BRING SOMETHING OFF. MIERS DID NOT SEEM TOO CONCERNED BY THIS, AND SAID HE WOULD BE TO KEEP LISTENING TO MINATCHI BECAUSE AT SOME FUTURE POINT HE MIGHT BE USEFUL.

4. EMBOFF HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED TO MINATCHI U.S. EMBASSY'S "DISAPPOINTMENT" AT WAY BOTH U.S. AND BRITISH POSITIONS WERE MISINTERPRETED TO OTHER PARTY. ONE FEELING IS THAT IF MINATCHI IS EVENTUALLY TO BE HELD, IT WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY BETTER IF HE KEPT HIS TONGUE TIED TO A TIGHTER STRING.

5. SUGGEST DEPT REQUEST BATTLE TO BATTLE SULLIVAN
BT

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EXDIS

CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 12188

00503Z DEC 78
EMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC 2188

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12188

NO. 12065: GDS 12/13/78 (ESCUDERC, S.T.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, IR
SUBJ: PROPOSAL FOR RETURN OF NASSER KHAN QASHGAI

APPRV: DGM:GWNAA
PREP'D: POL:SHSCUBER
CLEAR: POL:OBBA
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCA
ECON PM OR
ICA SHIHAI
RY/10

1. EMBOFF MET DEC 23 WITH HUSHANG SHAHBAZI, RELATIVE OF QASHGAI CHIEFLY FAMILY, TO HEAR HIS COURSE ON ADVANTAGE TO SHAH OF RETURN TO IRAN OF QASHGAI IL-KHAN, NASSER KHAN QASHGAI. SHAHBAZI READILY ADMITTED THAT NATURE OF TRIBE HAS CHANGED AS IT BECAME MORE SELENTARIZED. HOWEVER, HE MAINTAINED THAT NASSER KHAN RETAINS EXTRAORDINARY INFLUENCE AMONG HIS PEOPLE AND AMONG RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN PROVINCE OF PARS. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO SHAHBAZI, QASHGAI OCCUPIES TRADITIONAL PLACE OF IMPORTANCE AND INFLUENCE AMONG IRAN'S "THOUSAND FAMILIES" AND HIS RETURN COULD HELP TO HOLSTER THEIR SUPPORT FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM. NASSER KHAN WAS PARTICULARLY CLOSE TO GEN ZAHEDI AND ALLEGEDLY HAD A HAND, ALONG WITH ZAHEDI, IN THE DEATH OF MOSSADEGH'S CHIEF OF POLICE, GEN AFSHAR -TUS.

2. SHAHBAZI DESCRIBED NASSER KHAN AS AN INTELLIGENT AND CLEVER MAN, BUT ONE WITH WEAKNESSES, INCLUDING A LOVE OF MONEY AND A DESIRE TO RETURN TO A POSITION OF HONOR RESPECT AND POWER APPROXIMATING THAT WHICH HE ENJOYED IN THE TRIBAL LANDS PRIOR TO HIS EXILE. NASSER KHAN ORIGINALLY FAVORED THE NATIONAL FRONT BECAUSE, IN THE SHAH'S, THE SHAH POSED THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE ENJOYMENT BY TRIBAL CHIEFS AND LARGE LANDOWNERS OF THEIR TRADITIONAL PREROGATIVES. AT PRESENT, SHAHBAZI BELIEVES, NASSER KHAN WOULD PERCHIVE RETENTION OF THE SHAH AS CONSISTENT WITH A TRADITIONAL VIEW OF IRANIAN AUTHORITY STRUCTURE AND THEREFORE A DESIRABLE OBJECTIVE. AS AN OLD NATIONAL FRONTER, HE WOULD PRESUMABLY BE WELCOMED BY PRESENT FRONT LEADERS, PARTICULARLY AS HE WOULD HAVE NO AMBITION FOR POLITICAL OFFICE.

3. SHOULD NASSER KHAN RETURN, SHAHBAZI BELIEVES IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF HE COULD BE ARRESTED FOR A FEW DAYS TO INCREASE HIS CREDIBILITY. ONCE FREE, NASSER KHAN WOULD BE UNABLE TO OPPOSE KHOMEINI DIRECTLY, NOR WOULD SUCH A CONFRONTATION BE DESIRABLE AS IT WOULD FORCE AT LEAST SOME OF THE OPPOSITION BACK INTO A MORE EXTREMIST POSITION IN DEFENSE OF KHOMEINI. RATHER, NASSER KHAN'S CONTRIBUTION WITHIN THE COUNCILS OF THE OPPOSITION WOULD BE TO ARGUE IN FAVOR OF THE NECESSITY TO RETAIN THE SHAH. IN PARS, AND PARTICULARLY IN CITIES SUCH AS SHIRAZ AND JAHROM, NASSER KHAN'S INFLUENCE COULD HELP MAINTAIN ORDER, ESPECIALLY AS THE BOYER-AHMADI AND THE RAMSHER CONFEDERATION WOULD BE LIKELY TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE QASHGAI.

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TEHRAN 12188

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4. REMAINING THAT HE HAD NOT YET APPROACHED NASSER KHAN OF HIS FAMILY ON THIS SUBJECT, SHAHBAZI ASKED IF EMBOFF WOULD BE INTERESTED IN MEETING NASSER KHAN'S BROTHERS FOR FURTHER TALKS. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT HE IS IN NO POSITION TO ASSESS EITHER IMPACT OF NASSER KHAN'S RETURN NOR GOI WILLINGNESS TO HAVE HIM BACK IN IRAN. HOWEVER, AS GOI HAD EXILED HIM IN THE FIRST PLACE, ANY DISCUSSIONS OR AGREEMENTS REGARDING HIS RETURN OUGHT PROPERLY TO FOCUS ON GOI. U.S. WOULD, IN ANY CASE, TAKE NO STEPS INCONSISTENT WITH ITS SUPPORT OF THE SHAH AND EMBOFF THEREFORE DOUBTED THAT SUGGESTED CONVERSATION WITH NASSER KHAN'S BROTHERS WOULD TAKE PLACE UNLESS PROPOSAL WAS OF INTEREST TO GOI.

5. COMMENT: WAS SHAH, OVER THE YEARS, HAS CONSCIOUSLY REDUCED THE POWER OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF IRANIAN SOCIETY WITH NO CONCOMITANT GAIN AMONG OTHER SOCIAL SEGMENTS, HE PRESENTLY FINDS HIMSELF RELYING ALMOST ENTIRELY ON THE MILITARY FOR HIS INTERNAL SUPPORT. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS APPEARANCE OF POWERFUL TRADITIONALLY-BASED SUPPORTERS MIGHT PROVE ATTRACTIVE. HOWEVER, GOI WOULD HAVE TO WEIGH CAREFULLY POTENTIAL GAINS OF NASSER KHAN'S PRESENCE AGAINST POSSIBLE IMPACT OF HIS RETURN ON STILL FRAGILE DOMINANCE OF MODERATE OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP WHICH APPEARS TO BE MOVING CLOSE TO DISCUSSIONS WITH SEAM ON COALITION/TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. IT HAS BEEN FASHIONABLE, DURING PAST DECADE, TO DOWNPLAY INFLUENCE OF TRIBAL CHIEFS AND OTHER TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ELEMENTS IN IRAN. WITHOUT COMMENTING ON DEGREE OF INFLUENCE RETAINED BY QASHGAI IL-KHANID FAMILY, WE NOTE THAT RESURGENCE OF ISLAMIC INFLUENCE SUGGESTS THIS WAS TOO FACILE AN APPROACH. SULLIVAN

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TEHRAN 12188

81

Qashgai, Nasser Khan

CLASS: STATE 12/26/79
APPROV: DOMIC/MARS
DREFD: POL/LAMBRAKIS
CIVAR: NONE
LISTR: 002 LAMB/DCM

STADIS

EXDIS

EMASSY TEHRAN
URGENT IMMEDIATE 2419

TEHRAN 12295 I A L TEHRAN 12595

T.O. 122954 RDS-4 (12/26/88 (LAMBRAKIS, GEORGE B.) OR-F
CLASS: FINS, FINT, IR
SUBJECT: PROPOSED AMERICAN PRO-SHAH GROUP

GEORGE NATHANSON, AN AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN WHO IS WELL KNOWN IN IRAN, CAME TO THE EMBASSY DECEMBER 13 AND DECEMBER 21 TO DISCUSS THOUGHTS HE IS HAVING ABOUT A GROUP TO SUPPORT THE SHAH. HE IS KNOWN TO THE POLICE SECTION AS A BIG OPERATOR WHO HAS BEEN WELL CONNECTED WITH THE GOVT HERE, AND FREELY REFERS TO HIS ASSETS AND EMPRESS FARAH. HE SAW EMBOFF PERETT FIRST TIME AND POL COUNSELOR LAMBRAKIS WITH PERETT SECOND TIME. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ANOUSHIRAVAN MELICH, A MEMBER OF THE PROMINENT BATMANGELICH WHO SAYS HE ATTENDED SAIS OF JOHN HOPKINS ABOUT 10 YEARS AGO.

NATHANSON TALKS IN BROAD ENTREPRENEURIAL TERMS OF CARRYING A CRASH PROGRAM BOTH FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC GOOD WORKS ON THE SHAH'S BEHALF, TO REFUSE TO LET BOTH MEN TALK IN CONSPIRATORIAL TERMS, BUT STEER THEM TO POLITICAL ACTION IN DISCUSSING WHAT THEY HAVE IN MIND. THEY SAY THEY WANT TO RAISE MONEY FROM PRIVATE SOURCES IN THE U.S. AND ELSEWHERE TO LAUNCH HIGHLY VISIBLE SOCIAL WELFARE PROJECTS IN SOUTH TEHRAN AND ELSEWHERE AND PUBLICIZE THEM.

NATHANSON MAKES THE POINT THAT HE IS NOT SEEKING US GOVT SUPPORT, BUT KEEPS GETTING BACK IN TOUCH WITH PERETT (HE HAS JUST ASKED FOR AN APPOINTMENT TO MEET PERETT AND PERETT WILL SEE HIM). POL COUNSELOR LAMBRAKIS ON DEC 21 TO STATE AND REITERATE SEVERAL TIMES THAT WHATEVER NATHANSON'S GROUP DOES, IT WILL BE CONSIDERED OR REPRESENTED AS IN ANY WAY IN CONNECTION WITH THE SHAH. POL COUNSELOR LAMBRAKIS ADVISED NATHANSON TO CLEAR ALL THEIR PLANS VERY CAREFULLY WITH SOMEONE WHO TRULY REPRESENTS THE SHAH SINCE THE SHAH'S BUSINESS IS IN WHICH PRIVATE AMERICANS ARE INVOLVED. ANYTHING THAT RUNS CONTRARY TO THE SHAH'S INTERESTS IS NOTED THAT AMERICANS HAVE BEEN ADVISED TO VISIT TO THE SHAH ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE HIS BUSINESS. NATHANSON AGREED ON DECEMBER 21 BUT THANKLY HE THINKS REITERATION IS NOT NECESSARY. NATHANSON IS PLANNING A TRIP TO THE U.S. IN JANUARY 1989. HE IS CURRENTLY AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN WASHINGTON. NATHANSON ASKED IF ANYONE IN THE U.S. WOULD BE INTERESTED IN SEEING HIM IN

THAT DIRECTION.)

4. NATHANSON TALKS FREELY ABOUT WIFE BUSINESS INTERESTS (PERHAPS EXAGGERATING THEM). HE DROPS NAMES OF AMERICAN AMERICANS AND OTHERS, MANY OF THEM WITH SOME KIND OF INTER-CONNECTION WITH THE SHAH'S BACKGROUND. AMONG THOSE AMERICANS AND OTHERS MENTIONED ARE GREGORY LIMA, BRUCE SCOTT, BILL KROGER, EDWARD, IRANIAN SAIR DONATSHARI AND THE LOCAL BRITISH OFFICER CALLED JAMES UNDERWOOD. THERE ARE ALSO OTHER C-OTHER NAMES, MAINLY MILITARY MEN, FROM HIS OWN EXPERIENCE.

5. COMPARING NATHANSON TO US LIKE SOMETHING OF AN AMATEUR EFFORT TO REPEAT ASPECTS OF 1952. WHILE THE SHAH UNDOUBTEDLY COULD USE FRIENDLY HELP AND ASSISTANCE, THE GROUP NATHANSON'S GROUP IS THE ONE BEST QUALIFIED TO DO IT. WE ARE SCEPTICAL HE CAN ORGANIZE VERY MUCH, BUT IF HE DOES, HIS EFFORTS WOULD APPEAR TO WARRANT SOME CAREFUL MONITORING BY THE EMBASSY. OTHER AGENCIES HERE HAVE NO INTEREST IN HIM. THEREFORE, IF BATMANGELICH FEELS IN TOUCH WITH HIM, SUGGEST PERETT ASSIST IN CHANNELLING HIS EFFORTS TO AREAS WHICH WILL MINIMIZE POSSIBLE DANGER TO U.S. IMAGE AT THIS STAGE IN THE GAME IN IRAN. SULLIVAN

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#2585

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0 27014Z DEC 78
 AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
 URGENT WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2459
 C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 TEHRAN 12652

LIMDIS

CHRG: STATE 12-27-78
 APPRV: DCM:CNNAAS
 REF: POL:JDSSTEMPEL:IA
 CLEAR: POL:GBLAMBRAKIS
 DISTR: POL:AMB DCM
 EC2 PM OR
 CHRON/10

LIMDIS

R.O. 12065: RDS-4 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
 CLASS: PINS, PORS, PGOV, IR
 SUBJECT: MINATCHI ON SADIQI'S ATTEMPTS TO FORM GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY: MINATCHI CONFIRMED THAT ENG MEHDI BAZARGAN AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT (LMI) ARE DISCREETLY SUPPORTING SADIQI EFFORT TO FORM GOVERNMENT. COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) IS ALSO BACKING SADIQI EFFORT. MINATCHI THOUGHT SADIQI WAS ABOUT READY TO FORM CABINET, BUT WANTED TO FOLLOW MOSSADEQ PRECEDENT AND GET MAJLES APPROVAL FOR GOVERNMENT BEFORE TAKING MAN- UVER FROM SHAH. MINATCHI WAFFLED ON QUESTION WHETHER NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO END STRIKES NOW PARALYSING COUNTRY, BUT THOUGH THERE WOULD BE AT LEAST "SOME AMELIORA- TION" OF SITUATION. HE DOES NOT SEE SADIQI GOVERNMENT AS A SOLUTION TO IRAN'S PROBLEMS. HE CONFIRMED THAT AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI HAD URGED THE RELIGIOUS FAITHFUL TO KILL STRIKING CLUBS AND DEMONSTRATING AGAINST THEM. END

1. MR. MAJLES MINATCHI MET WITH EMBOFF STEMPEL AT HOSSEIN- SHAD OFFICE DEC 27 FOR REVIEW OF PRESENT SITUATION. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S QUESTION, MINATCHI SAID BOTH LMI AND CDHRF WERE FACILITATING SADIQI EFFORTS TO FORM GOVERNMENT. ENG BAZARGAN HAD MET WITH SADIQI DEC 23 TO TELL HIM HE WOULD NOT RPT NOT SERVE IN NEW GOVERNMENT, BUT ENCOURAGED HIM TO CONTINUE WITH PROCESS. MINATCHI SAID BAZARGAN GROUP BELIEVES IT HAS KHOMEINI'S AGREEMENT NOT TO APPEAR IF SADIQI IS SUCCESSFUL. MINATCHI THOUGHT SADIQI WOULD BE ABLE TO FORM GOVERNMENT AND HAD ALREADY ASKED MOST, IF NOT ALL, OF HIS CABINET. MINATCHI SAID HE HAD ONLY TWO SELECTIONS: MOHSEN PEZESHKPOOR, PAN- THELON OPPOSITION LEADER IN MAJLES, FOR JUSTICE MINISTER; AND HAMID MOULAVI, PROMINENT ACADEMIC, FOR COMMERCE

2. ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, SADIQI WANTS TO FOLLOW MOSSADEQ PRECEDENT AND GET PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL OF HIS CABINET BEFORE GETTING IMPERIAL FARMAN FROM SHAH. MINATCHI THOUGHT IT WAS POSSIBLE MATTER WAS BEING DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT IN TODAY'S PRIVATE SESSION. OTHER SOURCES ARE LESS CERTAIN THAT CABINET- MEMBERS WOULD GET TOGETHER AND BELIEVE SADIQI HAS ASKED MAJLES TO GET CABINET TOGETHER. PARLIAMENTARY SESSION'S SESSION WAS JUST GENERAL DISCUSSION OF SITUATION, AND SECOND PRIVATE SESSION WILL BE HELD TOMORROW.

3. MINATCHI SAID SADIQI EFFORT WENT AS FAR AS FORMING CABINET AND HAD SAID OF STRIKES NOW PARALYSING COUNTRY. HE SAID THAT STRIKES ON THEM FOR THREE DAY-

ING THAT STRIKES WOULD CONTINUE, BECAUSE "PEOPLE FEARED SHAH TO GO; NOT EVEN KHOMEINI WOULD GET POPULAR SUPPORT AS PM IF SHAH REMAINED." (COMMENT: MINATCHI IN GENERAL WAS HARDER ON "SHAH MUST GO" THEME THIS TIME THAN PREVIOUSLY.) HOWEVER, MINATCHI ALSO SAID THAT IF NEW GOVERNMENT GOT OFF TO GOOD START AND GOT TROOPS OFF THE STREETS, THINGS WOULD BE BETTER AND THERE WOULD BE FEWER RIOTS. HOWEVER, MINATCHI SAID, SADIQI GOVERNMENT WAS NOT THE FINAL SOLUTION TO IRAN'S PROBLEMS; SHAH WOULD STILL HAVE TO GO. EMBOFF AND MINATCHI AGREED SADIQI EFFORT WOULD BE BETTER THAN VIOLENCE, AND IN RESPONSE TO DIRECT QUESTION FROM MINATCHI, EMBOFF SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WAS NO BETTER CHANCE THAT EITHER ALTERNATIVE WHICH INCLUDED RESIGNATION OF COUNCIL AND SHAH'S LEAVING COUNTRY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE EVEN IF KHOMEINI AGREED TO THEM. MINATCHI SAID HE THOUGHT HARD-LINE MILITARY SOLUTION WOULD THEN BE USEFUL AND CAUSE LOTS OF BLOODSHED. EMBOFF SAID U.S. DID NOT WANT TO SEE THIS HAPPEN; THAT IS WHY WE FAVORED COALITION GOVERNMENT AND COMPROMISE. MINATCHI NOTED THAT SADIQI EFFORT WAS JUST SUCH AN IDEA AND AGREED WITH EMBOFF THAT IF IT WORKED, IT MIGHT MOVE SITUATION AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION AND TO POLITICS. MINATCHI THEN PAUSED AND ADDED THAT SADIQI COULD HELP SITUATION A BIT BUT WOULD NOT BE A LONG-TERM ANSWER. ONE POINT OF SADIQI'S PROGRAM, HOWEVER, WOULD BE EARLY ELECTIONS--DISCUSSION OF PARLIAMENT WITHIN TWO MONTHS AND ELECTIONS "FAIRLY QUICKLY" THEREAFTER. IF MAJLES COULD THEN DEAL WITH QUESTION OF MONARCHY.

4. WHEN EMBOFF PROBDED MINATCHI ABOUT CURRENT STATE OF DEMONSTRATIONS, MINATCHI SAID HAPPILY THAT THESE WERE ALL RELIGIOUS GROUPS. EMBOFF THEN QUERIED WHY U.S. EMBASSY HAD BEEN SINGLED OUT DEC 24 FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION? STARTLED, MINATCHI AT FIRST ASKED IF WE WERE CERTAIN THESE WERE NOT SAVAK AGENTS AND WHEN TOLD THAT WOULDNT WASH, ADMITTED THAT "NOT ALL" RELIGIOUS GROUPS WERE REALLY UNDER FIRM CONTROL. HE FLATLY DENIED THAT RELIGIOUS GROUPS HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH RECENT ASSASSINATIONS IN AHVAZ AND SAID THESE HAD TROUBLED CDHRF. EMBOFF ASKED

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

O 271414Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2480
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 TEHRAN 12652

LIMDIS

THAT THEY TROUBLED US, TOO. (COMMENT: MINATCHI IS USUALLY NOT VERY WELL INFORMED ON OPERATIONAL MATTERS, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE IS EVEN MORE NERVOUS NOW THAN PREVIOUSLY ABOUT PROSPECTS OF VIOLENT ACTS BEYOND CONTROL OF THE MOVEMENT.)

5. MINATCHI SAID KHOMEINI HAD INDEED ISSUED EDICT CALLING FOR THE FAITHFUL TO KILL ANYONE WHO ATTACKED RELIGIOUS DEMONSTRATORS WITH CLUBS OR WEAPONS (A CLEAR REFERENCE TO RECENT PRO-SHAH DEMONSTRATORS). THIS HAD THE FORCE OF LAW, COMING FROM ONE WITH KHOMEINI'S RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY. EMBOFF COMMENTED THAT THIS SEEMED AN EXTREME REACTION IN VIEW OF POTENTIAL PROBLEMS IT COULD CAUSE. MINATCHI ADMITTED THIS, BUT SAID THIS SITUATION WAS WHAT MADE PRESENT CONDITIONS IN IRAN SO EXPLOSIVE--KHOMEINI HAD BOTH RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL POWER TO WIELD AGAINST SHAH. IN 1953 SHAH HAD SUPPORT OF RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT. CONDITIONS NOW WERE DIFFERENT.

6. CONVERSATION ENDED WITH MUTUAL EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE THAT VIOLENCE WOULD NOT DOMINATE POLITICS. SULLIVAN
BT
#2652

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

86

TEHRAN 12652

O 281257Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2489

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 TEHRAN 12702

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/28/88 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: MEETINGS WITH OPPOSITIONIST DERAKHSHESH

CHRG: STATE 12/28/78
APPRV: DCM:CNNAAS
DEFTD: POL:SELAMERAKI
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL: AME DCM
EC2 FM ICA OR
ADM SY DAO ISF
AFOSI SHIR TAR
CHRON/18

1. AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED BY POL COUNSELOR MET WITH HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION MOHAMAD DERAKHSHESH IN HOME OF AN EMBASSY NATIONAL EMPLOYEE DEC 27. DERAKHSHESH WAS ACCOMPANIED BY TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS POLITICAL GROUP, WHICH HAS SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL EXISTENCE WITH TEACHERS UNION: DR. DAVOUD RASSAI, A LAWYER WHO IS RETIRED TEACHER, AND DR. SADEH RAEBISZADEH, DIRECTOR OF TEHRAN'S LARGEST HIGH SCHOOL (WHO REMAINED MOSTLY SILENT). MEETING, WHICH CAME AT DERAKHSHESH'S REQUEST, WAS FOR PURPOSE OF LAYING OUT TO AMBASSADOR GROUP'S IDEAS. (THEY HAD ALREADY BEEN LAID OUT TO POL COUNSELOR IN PREVIOUS MEETING WITH DERAKHSHESH AND RASSAI A WEEK AGO.)

2. GROUP IS ADAMANT THAT SITUATION HAS EVOLVED TO THE POINT WHERE SHAH MUST LEAVE COUNTRY. EVEN IF KHOMEINI DECIDED SHAH COULD STAY, THE PEOPLE TODAY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS. IN ANY CASE, DERAKHSHESH'S GROUP DOES NOT TRUST SHAH'S PROMISES, WHICH HE HAS BROKEN ON MANY OCCASIONS IN THE PAST.

3. IF SHAH LEAVES, THIS IN ITSELF WILL REDUCE SUPPORT FOR KHOMEINI BY 50 PERCENT. THUS KHOMEINI WILL BE TOO WEAK TO ESTABLISH ISLAMIC REPUBLIC AND MODERATES SUCH AS DERAKHSHESH WILL HAVE CHANCE TO FORM GOVT WHICH WILL BE DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-COMMUNIST, PRO-WESTERN AND ANTI-CLERICAL.

4. SCENARIO THEY VISUALIZE IS SHAH TURNING OVER HIS POWERS TO A REGENCY COUNCIL. THEY ARE NOT TOO FUSSY ABOUT MEMBERSHIP OF COUNCIL AND HAVE NO OBJECTION TO NAMES SUCH AS ENTEZAM, SOFURI, SALEH, ETC. THOUGH THEY OBJECT TO ALI AMINI. THEY THINK COUNCIL SHOULD BE COMPOSED OF 9 TO 11 PEOPLE, 4 TO 5 OF THEM MILITARY. THE MILITARY SHOULD BE RETIRED GENERALS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN CORRUPTED, NOTABLY GENERAL JAM. THIS COUNCIL WOULD APPOINT NEW GOVT, WHETHER IT BE LED BY DERAKHSHESH OR SOME OTHER OPPOSITION FIGURE. A NEW GOVT WOULD APPEAL TO PEOPLE FOR TWO OR THREE MONTHS TO CARRY OUT A SPECIFIC, CLEARLY ENUNCIATED PROGRAM THAT THE PEOPLE WOULD LIKE. FREE ELECTIONS COULD FOLLOW, LEADING TO A PARLIAMENT WHICH WOULD THEN FORM NEW GOVT.

5. THE PROBLEM OF A POSSIBLE MILITARY REACTION TO THIS SCENARIO, THE GROUP HOPED, WOULD BE MET BY SHAH HIMSELF, WHO WOULD RESPONSIBLY INSTRUCT MEMBERS OF REGENCY COUNCIL AND TOP ARMY COMMANDERS TO COOPERATE, RETIRING OR TAKING WITH HIM THOSE TOP COMMANDERS WHO ARE CORRUPT. SHAH'S INCENTIVE WOULD BE HIS HOPE TO PRESERVE HIS DYNASTY IN THE FORM OF HIS SON RETURNING IN A FEW YEARS TO REPLACE REGENCY COUNCIL.

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

TEHRAN 12702/1

6. GROUP DWELT AT LENGTH ON ITS FEAR OF RELIGIOUS RULE BY KHOMEINI AND THE MULLAHS AND PROBABILITY MANY WOULD FLEE THE COUNTRY IF THAT BECAME A REALITY. GROUP ALSO STRESSED ITS OWN LONG HISTORY OF FIGHTING THE COMMUNISTS, STARTING WITH ITS RESISTANCE TO TUDEH PARTY 30 YEARS AGO (WITH NEWS-PAPER "MEHREGAN"). PRESENT POLITICAL GROUP REFORMED ITSELF ABOUT 3 OR 4 YEARS AGO, AT THAT TIME COUNTING SOME 80 MEMBERS. SANJABI, WITH ABOUT A DOZEN OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT, HAD ASKED TO JOIN THE GROUP SHORTLY BEFORE IT WAS DISBANDED BY SHAH. SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP SUCH AS NAJAFI AND PAYDAR HAVE RECENTLY BECOME MINISTERS IN SHARIF-EMAMI AND AZHARI GOVTS AND ARE NO LONGER DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE GROUP THOUGH ON GOOD TERMS WITH IT. A COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO GROUP TRIED TO REVIVE NEWSPAPER BY PRINTING FIRST ISSUE OF "AZARDEGAN" BUT DERAKHSHESH WAS ARRESTED AND FURTHER ISSUES WERE NOT PERMITTED. THUS GOVT HAS PREVENTED GROUP'S ENLARGING ITS FOLLOWING WITH WHAT THEY CONSIDER A MODERATE PROGRAM.

7. DERAKHSHESH POINTED OUT THIS WAS SEVENTH TIME HE HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND SPENT TIME IN JAIL. A FORMER MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN THE EARLY 1960S DERAKHSHESH TOLD US HE HAS BUILT A RECORD OF STRENGTH AND INCORRUPTABILITY. HE REFUSED PARTICIPATION IN LATER, TAINTED GOVTS. HE HAS MAINTAINED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTRY'S SOME 400,000 TEACHERS THROUGH SOME 17 OR 18 YEARS OF POLITICAL INACTIVITY. AS FORMER MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION, HE MAINTAINS CONTACTS WITH THE PROVINCES AND HAS MANY MEETINGS IN HIS HOME, MOST OF THEM CONNECTED WITH HIS POLITICAL GROUP RATHER THAN THE TEACHERS UNION. HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT AMONG CALLERS AT HIS HOME ARE NATIONAL FRONT LEADERS SUCH AS SANJABI AND BAZARGAN AS WELL AS KHOMEINI SUPPORTERS SUCH AS BEHESHTI AND A DR. BAHOUAR.

8. THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION GROUP STRESSED URGENCY THAT SOMETHING BE DONE AS A FEW MORE WEEKS MIGHT BE TOO LATE

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

88

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

TEHRAN 12702/2

O 261257Z DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2490
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 TEHRAN 12702

FOR THE COUNTRY. LARGE NUMBERS OF STUDENTS HAVE RETURNED FROM EUROPE AND AMERICA OVER PAST WEEK AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE EFFECTIVE AND MORE VIOLENT STREET TACTICS BEING SEEN IN TEHRAN LAST FEW DAYS. THEY HAVE LEARNED THEIR LESSONS ABROAD AND ARE UNDOUBTEDLY BEING COORDINATED BY COMMUNIST PARTY. TUDEH SUPPORTERS ARE NOT NUMEROUS BUT VERY WELL ORGANIZED AND TRAINED TO SELL THEIR POLITICAL POSITION AMONG OPPOSITION GROUPS. THIS GIVES THEM A POWER OUT OF PROPORTION TO THEIR REAL NUMBERS.

9. AMBASSADOR LIMITED HIMSELF TO HEARING THEM OUT, ASKING SOME CLARIFYING QUESTIONS, AND SETTING FORTH U.S. POSITION IN FAVOR OF IRANIAN INDEPENDENCE, A DEMOCRATIC GOVT, AND MODERATE MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT PROBLEM, IF SUCH A SOLUTION CAN STILL BE OBTAINED. SULLIVAN

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#2702

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

TEHRAN 12702/1

89

CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

011542 DEC 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2486
INFO RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 4125
RUMFPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 3549
BT

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12601

LIMDIS

R.O. 12665: RDS-4 12/28/84 (STYMPER, JOHN D.) OR-P
TAGS:
SUBJECT: WHETHER OR WITHER SADIQI?

REF: (A) TEHRAN 12648, (B) TEHRAN 12652 (NOTAL),

SUMMARY: CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY EXISTS AS TO WHERE SADIQI STANDS IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO FORM GOVERNMENT. THERE IS STRONG EVIDENCE HE HAS HAD LITTLE LUCK IN GETTING CABINET TOGETHER, BUT STORIES PERSIST, ESPECIALLY IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES, THAT HE MAY BE CLOSE TO TAKING THE REINS. SOME OF HIS REPUTED CABINET CHOICES HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY THAT THEY WOULD NOT SERVE. EVEN IF SADIQI COULD FORM GOVT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE IS SERIOUS DOUBT IN MANY QUARTERS IT WOULD BE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH MUCH. IN WAKE OF GENERAL BREAKDOWN OF PUBLIC ORDER IN TEHRAN AND GROWING PRESENT AND PROJECTED SHORTAGES OF KEY ITEMS SUCH AS HEATING OIL AND GAS, IT APPEARS TO EMBASSY THAT TIME FOR POLITICS IS VERY SHORT.
END SUMMARY

1. PARA SEVEN REF A SUGGESTS POLITICAL INITIATIVES ARE AT DEAD CENTER FOR MOMENT. PUBLICLY, GHOLAM HOSSAIN SADIQI IS STILL SUPPOSED TO BE ATTEMPTING TO FORM A CABINET TO TAKE OVER FROM GEN. AZHARI'S GOVT. AS A RESULT, AZHARI GOVT IS INCREASINGLY SEEN HERE, EVEN BY ITS OWN MEMBERS, AS A LAME DUCK ADMINISTRATION. ITS MINISTERS ARE LOATH TO TAKE INDEPENDENT DECISIONS EVEN ON SIMPLE MATTERS. PRIVATELY, EMBASSY HAS HEARD WIDELY VARYING STORIES, ALL FROM GOOD SOURCES, ABOUT SADIQI PROGRESS. MOST OPTIMISTIC SAY HE HAS CABINET NEARLY FORMED (REF B) AND WILL BE READY TO MOVE WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS. THIS COINCIDES WITH RUMORS GOING AROUND DEC 27 AND 28 THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW GOVT WILL COME DEC 29-31. EQUALLY GOOD SOURCES, HOWEVER, SAY SADIQI HAS HAD MINIMAL LUCK ENLISTING QUALIFIED PEOPLE (I.E., THOSE NOT "TAINTED" BY PARTICIPATION IN PAST 15 YEARS' GOVERNMENTS) AND HAS BEEN ABLE TO LINE UP ONLY FOUR TO RIGHT INDIVIDUALS.

2. A COUPLE OF HIS REPORTED CABINET CHOICES HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED EITHER PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY THAT THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN COALITION GOVT. MORDEKHA FEREHPOUR TOLD CLOSED SESSION OF PARLIAMENT DEC 27 THAT YOUNG, UNTAINTED RADICAL GOVERNMENT IS NEEDED. IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE CONVERSATION INSTIGATED BY US HE CONFIRMED THAT HE WAS READY TO OFFER HIMSELF AS PRIME MINISTERIAL CANDIDATE, THUS SUGGESTING HE WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN BEING SADIQI'S MINISTER OF JUSTICE, AS HAS BEEN TOUTED. MENDI

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TEHRAN 12601

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CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

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TEHRAN, WHO HAD BEEN ON AT LEAST TWO "LINES" OF THOSE BOUGHT BY SADIQI, TOLD FRIENDS PRIVATELY HE WAS NOT INTERESTED IN ANY POST NOW. FACT THAT RUMORS REGARDING THOSE WILLING TO SERVE ARE SO FEW AND FAR BETWEEN ALSO LEANS CREDENCE TO BELIEF SADIQI IS FACING SERIOUS STRUGGLE, PARTICULARLY SINCE NATIONAL FRONT (NF) LEADER SANJABI HAS PUBLICLY SAID INF NOT INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE OF WASTELAND WHICH IS HALLMARK OF POLITICAL SCENE IS GENERAL BELIEF THAT EVEN IF SADIQI FORMS A GOVT, IT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DO MUCH IN ABRSENCE OF SIGNIFICANT ORGANIZED OPPOSITION PARTICIPATION. HAZARGAN'S LITERATION MOVEMENT (LMI), WHICH IS MAINTAINING BENIGN NEUTRALITY, IS UNWILLING TO SUPPLY EVEN SECOND-LEVEL PERSONNEL FOR SADIQI GOVT. GROWING PUBLIC DISORDERS IN TEHRAN AND VIRTUAL ECONOMIC COLLAPSE OF COUNTRY OVER PAST TWO DAYS, PLUS LOOMING DISAPPEARANCE OF VITAL PETROLEUM PRODUCTS OVER NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS SUGGEST THAT VERY LITTLE TIME, IF ANY, REMAINS TO INDULGE IN LUXURY OF CABINET BUILDING. EVEN IF SADIQI WERE TO TAKE OVER TOMORROW, IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT STRIKES WOULD CRASH INSTANTLY (OR EVEN AT ALL). THIS WOULD LEAVE NEW GOVT WITH SAME UNDESIRABLE OPTIONS FACING PRESENT GOVT -- HARD-LINE MILITARY CRACKDOWN, OR SILENTLY STEALING AWAY.

4. UNFORTUNATELY FOR THOSE WHO ADVOCATE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO IRAN'S PROBLEMS, WE ARE NOT CONVINCED TOP POLITICAL FIGURES SHARE SENSE OF URGENCY EMBASSY FEELS SITUATION DEMANDS. WE HAVE HEARD STORIES THAT SADIQI IS RELUCTANT TO TAKE OVER NOW, PREFERING THAT MATTER BECOME WORSE SO THAT HIS GOVT WILL HAVE A BETTER CHANCE TO SURVIVE. PERSONS WHO HAS HAD EVEN MODDING ACQUAINTANCEHIP WITH TEHRAN STREETS OR ECONOMIC SITUATION OVER PAST FEW DAYS UNDERSTANDS THAT THE FUTURE IS NOW. BREAKDOWN OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FABRIC WILL BE NEARLY COMPLETE WHEN REFINED PETROLEUM PRODUCTS ARE GONE. SULLIVAN

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TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
 ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
 RUEBRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 4170
 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 0913
 RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 0578
 RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 4059
 RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 8157
 RUTACL/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 4091
 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 5548
 RUEBKR/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6894
 RUFHOLD/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4318
 RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 RUQMPL/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9391
 RUEHQQA/ CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII IMMEDIATE 2156
 RUFHFT/AMCONSUL FRANKFURT IMMEDIATE 8802
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S E C R E T STATE 327062

STUTTGART FOR ELG

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/29/84 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO. 58, 12/29/78

1. TEHRAN WAS QUIETER THIS MORNING THAN IT HAD BEEN FOR SEVERAL DAYS. THE FOCUS TODAY WAS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE WITH THE EMBASSY HEARING FROM A FORMER GOI MINISTER THAT THE AZHARI GOVERNMENT "DEFINITELY WOULD RESIGN DECEMBER 30." ADDITIONALLY, DR. SHAH-POUR BAKHTIAR, NATIONAL FRONT LEADER WITH SOMEWHAT DUBIOUS CREDENTIALS, TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT THE SHAH HAD GIVEN HIM A MANDATE DECEMBER 28 TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT. HE WISHED TO SEE AN EMBASSY OFFICER DECEMBER 30, AND HOPED FOR U.S. SUPPORT. FURTHER, AN AMERICAN PRESS SOURCE REPORTS GREAT ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF ZAHEDI. ALL OF THE INTERLOCUTORS SEEM CERTAIN THE SADIQI EFFORT HAS FAILED.

2. MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS AGREE THAT THE SHAH STILL RETAINS AT LEAST THE POWER TO EFFECT AN ORDERLY TRANSITION TO A REGENCY COUNCIL WHICH THEY DEMAND. UNDER THIS CONCEPT, A REGENCY COUNCIL WOULD EXERCISE THE SHAH'S

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EXECUTIVE POWERS AFTER HE HAS LEFT THE COUNTRY. IT WOULD APPOINT A PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET. THESE OPPOSITIONISTS FEAR THE CHAOTIC SITUATION THAT COULD RESULT FROM AN UNPLANNED DEPARTURE OF THE SHAH.

3. THE FRENCH DOMESTIC NEWS SERVICE REPORTS IN PARIS THAT KHOMEINI HAS BEEN GRANTED PERMISSION TO STAY IN FRANCE WHEN HIS CURRENT VISITOR'S PERMIT EXPIRES NEXT WEEK. THE FRENCH EMBASSY WASHINGTON TELLS US THAT NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE BUT A POSITIVE RESPONSE IS ANTICIPATED. IT IS ALSO REPORTED THAT KHOMEINI HAS CALLED FOR A DAY OF NATIONAL MOURNING IN IRAN TOMORROW, THE END OF MOHARRAM.

4. CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION WAS SCHEDULED TO BE 319,000 BARRELS, APPARENTLY ABOUT THE SAME AS YESTERDAY. ALL PRODUCTION WILL BE DELIVERED TO THE ABADAN REFINERY. ANOTHER PRODUCTION UNIT WILL BE SHUT DOWN DECEMBER 30 CAUSING A FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL PRODUCTION DROP. THE IMPACT IS COMPOUNDED SINCE THE UNIT PROVIDES NATURAL GAS TO ABADAN, WHOSE REFINERY RELIES HEAVILY ON THE GAS FOR FUEL. THE AVAILABILITY OF GASOLINE IN TEHRAN HAS WORSENEDED.

5. THE OPPOSITION HAS STATED THAT THE OIL WORKERS HAVE OFFERED TO RETURN TO WORK IF: THE GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES THAT ALL PRODUCTION IS USED INTERNALLY, AND PARTICULARLY THAT NONE OF IT IS EXPORTED TO ISRAEL. THE WORKERS WOULD MONITOR DISTRIBUTION.

6. OUR CONSUL IN TABRIZ WAS TOLD BY THE MANAGER THAT HE EXPECTS STRIKERS TO SHUT THE LOCAL REFINERY TOMORROW. STOCKS OF KEROSENE FOR HEATING ARE ENOUGH FOR A WEEK; OTHER PRODUCTS ARE IN SLIGHTLY BETTER SUPPLY. THE OPINION IS UNANIMOUS AMONG ALL THE CONSUL'S CONTACTS THAT THE SHAH MUST GO.

7. THERE WAS ANOTHER PEACEFUL MARCH OF SEVERAL THOUSAND PERSONS IN ISFAHAN. THE MOB WAS IN A HOLIDAY MOOD AND THE SECURITY FORCES KEPT THEIR DISTANCE.

8. GRUMMAN HAS DECIDED IN SHIRAZ TO REDUCE ITS STAFF TO AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM AND MOVE REMAINING PERSONNEL ON TO THE AIR BASE. THIS IS EXPECTED TO AFFECT THE F-14 PROGRAM.

9. THE IRAN-AMERICAN SOCIETY IN AHWAZ WAS BROKEN INTO DECEMBER 29 LATE IN THE AFTERNOON BY A CROWD OF ABOUT 700 PEOPLE AND SUFFERED CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE. NEWSOM

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TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

RUESRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 4191

RUEHAC/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 0961

RUOMEM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 0610

RUEHCA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 4076

RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 8204

RUTAGL/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 4127

RUEHDE/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 5574

RUFHET/AMCONSUL FRANKFURT IMMEDIATE 8821

RUSBCE/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6910

RUFHOD/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4323

RUQMPU/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9401

RUHQHQA/ CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII IMMEDIATE 2175

RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

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SECRET STATE 328067

STUTTGART FOR ELG

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/30/78 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: IRAN SITREP NO. 59, 12/30/78

1. SEVERAL THOUSAND DEMONSTRATORS TODAY SURROUNDED THE AMERICAN CONSULATE COMPOUND IN TABRIZ, BUT ONLY SOME OF THEM ACTUALLY ENTERED THE COMPOUND AFTER SMASHING THE FRONT GATES. THESE DEMONSTRATORS SET SOME SMALL FIRES, BUT CAUSED LITTLE DAMAGE. THEY WERE REPELLED BY THE IRANIAN SECURITY FORCE STATIONED AT THE CONSULATE WHO USED TEAR GAS AND FIRING OVER THE HEADS OF DEMONSTRATORS TO STOP THEM. REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVED QUICKLY AND THE CROWD WAS DISPERSED. THERE WERE NO INJURIES TO ANYONE AND THE CONSUL AND HIS IRANIAN STAFF ARE SAFE AND WELL. THE TURKISH CONSULATE WAS ALSO ATTACKED.

2. THE SITUATION IN TEHRAN CONTINUED "NORMAL," WITH SCATTERED DEMONSTRATIONS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH TEHRAN, CAR BURNINGS, BONFIRES FUELED BY GARBAGE AND AUTO TIRES, AND DEMONSTRATORS PLACING ANTI-SHAH LEAFLETS ON CAR WINDSHIELDS. IRANIAN ARMY FORCES GUARDING THE

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EMBASSY HAVE BEEN REINFORCED IN RESPONSE TO RUMORS ABOUT IMPENDING ATTACKS ON THE EMBASSY AND PERIODICALLY FIRE AIRBURSTS TO DISCOURAGE GROUPS OF DEMONSTRATING YOUTHS. AS A RESULT OF GASOLINE SHORTAGE, AS WELL AS THE KHOMEINI-ORDERED "DAY OF MOURNING" (IN MEMORY OF QOM RIOTS NEARLY A YEAR AGO THAT STARTED THE UNREST), TRAFFIC IN TEHRAN WAS LIGHT. THERE WERE LONG LINES OUTSIDE FILLING STATIONS AND KEROSENE MERCHANTS. AS A CONSERVATION MEASURE IRANIAN RADIO AND TV BROADCASTING HAS BEEN REDUCED. RADIO IRAN BROADCASTS HAVE ALSO BEGUN TO PREPARE THE PEOPLE FOR AN EXPECTED SHORTAGE OF BREAD AS A RESULT OF FUEL SHORTAGE-RELATED DIFFICULTIES IN FLOUR MILLS, BAKERIES AND THE TRANSPORTATION SECTOR.

3. ACCORDING TO REPORTS FROM OUR CONSUL IN SHIRAZ, NUMEROUS DEMONSTRATIONS ACCOMPANIED BY FIRING BY THE SECURITY FORCES TOOK PLACE IN SHIRAZ -- BUT THIS IS BY NOW BECOMING THE NORM IN MAJOR IRANIAN CITIES.

4. SHAHPUR BAKHTIAR CONFIRMED TO AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT THE SHAH HAS ASKED HIM TO FORM A CABINET AND NOTED THAT HE EXPECTS TO BE SWORN IN BY JANUARY 3 OR 4. BAKHTIAR CLAIMS THAT HE WILL BE PERMITTED TO NAME ALL HIS MINISTERS, THAT FREE PRESS AND SPEECH WILL BE REINSTATED IMMEDIATELY UPON HIS ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE, THAT MARTIAL LAW WILL BE PHASED OUT GRADUALLY, AND THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS APPOINTMENT WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT FROM THE SHAH EMPHASIZING IMPERIAL ACCEPTANCE OF A CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION WHEREBY HE WOULD REIGN BUT NOT RULE. ACCORDING TO BAKHTIAR, AT SOME POINT AFTER THE NEW GOVERNMENT TAKES OVER, THE SHAH WILL TAKE AN EXTENDED VACATION. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT BAKHTIAR ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION. HE CLAIMS TO HAVE WORKED OUT THE SUPPORT OF AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI, THE LEADING RELIGIOUS FIGURE IN IRAN. HE WILL SEEK SUPPORT FROM MEHDI BAZARGAN, LEADER OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN. THE NATIONAL FRONT HAS ANNOUNCED ITS OPPOSITION TO BAKHTIAR'S EFFORTS TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. THE BAZAARIS ARE DIVIDED ABOUT BAKHTIAR, WHICH IS SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGING. FEAR OF A HARSH MILITARY GOVERNMENT LED BY HARD-LINE OFFICERS MAY RESULT IN SUPPORT FOR BAKHTIAR AS THE BEST OF A SERIES OF BAD ALTERNATIVES.

5. IRANIAN OIL PRODUCTION TODAY WAS ONLY 231,000 BARRELS, ALL OF WHICH WAS DELIVERED TO THE ABADAN REFINERY. OSCO EMPLOYEES IN AHAWAZ HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO FURTHER THREATS AND, AS A RESULT OF THIS THE SECURITY SITUATION AND THE INABILITY TO WORK OWING TO STRIKES, OSCO DEPENDENTS AND SOME EMPLOYEES, AS WELL AS THOSE OF MOST OIL SERVICE COM-

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PANIES, HAVE STARTED LEAVING IRAN TODAY ON A SERIES OF CHARTER FLIGHTS, PRIMARILY TO ATHENS. MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION GROUPS ARE IN TOUCH WITH STRIKERS, REPORTEDLY TO WORK OUT THE RETURN TO WORK OF A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF PERSONNEL TO PERMIT PRODUCTION FOR DOMESTIC NEEDS ONLY.

NIOC CHAIRMAN ENTEZAM HAS AGREED TO DEMANDS THAT NO CRUDE OIL WILL BE EXPORTED. HE HAS APPARENTLY ALSO AGREED TO WITHDRAW THE MILITARY FROM OSCO OFFICES AND OIL FIELD FACILITIES. THE GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT A COMPROMISE CAN BE WORKED OUT WITH THE STRIKERS. VANCE
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S E C R E T

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TEHRAN 12794

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TO: SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2567
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CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 12794

CHRG: STATE 12/31/78
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ECOM 2 PM OR
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LIMDIS

E.O. 12958: RDS-4 12/31/98 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, PINR, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: MINATCHI VIEWS ON BAKHTIAR EFFORT TO FORM GOVT

SUMMARY: MINATCHI BELIEVES BAKHTIAR WILL SUCCEED IN FORMING GOVT BECAUSE MODERATE RELIGIOUS LEADERS WILL NOT OPPOSE HIM AND SOME WILL WORK TO HELP. SANJABI OUTBURST AGAINST BAKHTIAR SEEN AS UNFORTUNATE, BUT IRRELEVANT. BAZARGAN WILL NOT OPPOSE BAKHTIAR, BUT WILL PROBABLY REFRAIN FROM FINAL COMMITMENT UNTIL HE RETURNS FROM SOUTH, WHERE HIS INITIATIVE TO END OIL STRIKE IS PROGRESSING WELL. AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI CONSIDERING PUBLIC CALL OPPOSING VIOLENCE AGAINST FOREIGNERS. SHAHAB FERDOUZ EXPECTED TO BE BAKHTIAR'S JUSTICE MINISTER. END SUMMARY

1. EMBOFF STempel REVIEWED PRESENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WITH DR. MINATCHI AT HIS HOSSEINIYEH ERSHAD (RELIGIOUS SCHOOL) OFFICE AFTERNOON DEC 31. MINATCHI THOUGHT BAKHTIAR WOULD SURELY SUCCEED IN FORMING NEW GOVT, SINCE MODERATE CLERGY FAVORED HIS EFFORTS ENOUGH TO REFRAIN FROM OPPOSING HIM. DR. KARIM SANJABI'S BLAST AT BAKHTIAR EVENING DEC 30 WAS UNFORTUNATE, BUT WOULD NOT MATTER IN FACE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS' TACIT SUPPORT FOR BAKHTIAR.

2. ENGINEER MEHDI BAZARGAN, LIBERATION MOVEMENT (LMI) LEADER WILL ALSO ACQUIESCE IN BAKHTIAR TO EXTENT OF NOT OPPOSING HIM, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, BUT WILL PROBABLY NOT MAKE HIS FINAL POSITION KNOWN UNTIL HE RETURNS FROM ABWAZ IN TWO OR THREE DAYS. MINATCHI SAID BAZARGAN HAD RECEIVED LETTERS FROM BOTH KHOMEINI AND SHARIAT-MADARI NAMING HIM PERSONALLY TO HEAD MISSION TO OIL FIELDS. OTHER MEMBERS OF FIVE-MAN COMMITTEE ARE AYATOLLAH HASHEMI RAFSANJANI, ENG. KATIRAKE (PHONETIC), ENG. HASBI, AND ENG. SABAQIAN. SIGNIFICANCE OF BAZARGAN BEING NAMED PERSONALLY IS THAT THIS GIVES HIM ECCLESIASTICAL NOD WHEN HE WANTS TO FORM GOVT -- PRESUMABLY, SAID MINATCHI, THE ONE WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY SUCCEED BAKHTIAR AFTER NEXT SPRING'S ELECTIONS. MINATCHI ADDED THAT ARDESHIR ZAHEDI HAD REPORTEDLY OFFERED TO SELL A BAZARGAN-LED CABINET TO THE SHAH, BUT THIS WOULD PRESUMABLY OCCUR ONLY IF BAKHTIAR'S INITIATIVE DID NOT WORK OUT AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS DID NOT QUITE TRUST ZAHEDI.

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3. MINATCHI SAID COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) WOULD BE MEETING AT 4 P.M. DEC 31 AND WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY PUT WEIGHT OF ITS VARIOUS GROUPS BEHIND BAKHTIAR INITIATIVE. MINATCHI WOULD CALL SHARIAT-MADARI WHEN RESULTS OF THIS MEETING ARE KNOWN, AND VISIT HIM IN QOM ON JAN 3 FOR FINAL CEMENTING OF MODERATE SUPPORT OF BAKHTIAR CABINET. IN RESPONSE TO EMOFF'S

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QUESTION WHETHER CONDITIONS IN STREETS WOULD ALLOW THAT MUCH DELAY. MINATCHI SAID CONDITIONS WERE MUCH BETTER DEC 31 SINCE IT BECAME KNOWN THAT SHAH WAS READY TO LEAVE (COMMENT: IF SO, IMPROVEMENT WAS VERY MARGINAL). IN ANY EVENT, SHARIAT-MADARI WAS CONTEMPLATING ISSUANCE OF AN ELAMIEH (ANNOUNCEMENT) CALLING ON THE RELIGIOUS FAITHFUL NOT TO ATTACK FOREIGN BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND PRAISING STEPS TAKEN TOWARDS A POLITICAL SOLUTION WHICH WOULD AVOID BLOODSHED. IN REPLY TO QUESTION, EMOFF AGREED THIS WOULD BE A VERY USEFUL WAY TO PERHAPS DEFUSE SOME OF THE ANTI-FOREIGN FEELING WHICH HAD BEEN GROWING IN RECENT DAYS.

4. COMMENT: THOUGH GENERALLY AN OPTIMIST, MINATCHI WAS ABLE TO TICK OFF SEVERAL SOLID REASONS FOR HIS BELIEF BAKHTIAR WOULD SUCCEED, AND HIS OWN ATTITUDE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE VERY MUCH WANTED BAKHTIAR TO FORM GOVT AND THAT MANY OTHER MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS WERE WILLING TO GRACEFULLY ACQUIESCE IN BAKHTIAR EFFORT FOR SAKE OF COUNTRY. IF SHARIAT-MADARI AND BAZARGAN POSITIONS COME CLOSE TO WHAT MINATCHI SAYS THEY ARE, THIS WOULD IMPROVE BAKHTIAR'S CHANCES. MINATCHI SAID HE HOPES TO LEARN OF CABINET NAMES LATER, BUT KNEW THAT JUSTICE MINISTER-DESIGNATE IS SHAHAB FERDOUZ, FORMER JUDGE AND A LEADING PROGRESSIVE LAWYER. SULLIVAN
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TEHRAN 12794

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EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/31/78 (PRECED, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. WE NOTE PARS NEWS AGENCY AND SHAPOUR BAKHTIAR HAVE STATED THAT THE SHAH PLANS TO TAKE A TEMPORARY LEAVE OF ABSENCE FROM THE COUNTRY AT AN UNSPECIFIED TIME IN THE FUTURE. THIS REPORT HAS ALSO BEEN DENIED IN PRESS STORIES BY SOURCES AT MINISTRY OF COURT AND BY AMBASSADOR ZAHEDI. DO YOU HAVE AUTHENTICATIVE INFORMATION?

2. IF IT IS TRUE THAT SHAH WOULD LEAVE THE COUNTRY SO AS TO FACILITATE BAKHTIAR'S JOB OF ESTABLISHING A NEW GOVERNMENT, WE WONDER WHY THE SHAH DID NOT AGREE TO THE SAME CONDITION WITH SADIQI, APPARENTLY A STRONGER CANDIDATE FOR THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP THAN BAKHTIAR. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMMENTS. NEWSOM

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NO. 12065: RCDS 12-31-88 (ESCUDEHO)
PAGE 1 PINE, IR

SUBJECT: COMMENTS OF JAMSHID HORMOZ, FORMER PRESIDENT
IRANIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION IN AUSTRIA

1. JAMSHID HORMOZ IS AUSTRIAN-EDUCATED ARCHITECT WHO IS PRESIDENT OF ANTI-SHAH IRANIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION DURING HIS STUDENT DAYS IN VIENNA. HE WAS IDENTIFIED AS HORMOZ WHILE ATTENDING A MEETING OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN EAST GERMANY AND WAS ARRESTED UPON HIS RETURN TO IRAN IN 1971 ALTHOUGH HORMOZ CLAIMS HIS MEMBERSHIP IN THE FEDERATION WAS NOT AT THAT TIME. ACCORDING TO HORMOZ HE WAS INTERROGATED, TORTURED (INCLUDING BEING THROWN DOWN A STAIRCASE, WHICH LATER REQUIRED AN OPERATION FOR A RUPTURED DISC) AND KEPT IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR 14 MONTHS WITHOUT EVER BEING FORMALLY CHARGED. AFTER 18 MONTHS IN PRISON HE WAS BROUGHT TO TRIAL, WITH 22 MINUTES' NOTICE AND NO PRIOR PREPARATION, FOUND GUILTY AND SENTENCED TO 19 MONTHS IMPRISONMENT, WHICH INCLUDED THE 18 MONTHS HE HAD ALREADY SERVED. DURING DECEMBER 71 LUNCH AT HOME OF DR. HORMOZ MIHABADI, HORMOZ MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS TO EMBOFF:

2. CLAIMING THAT HIS VIEWS ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF A MAJORITY OF IRANIAN STUDENTS AND THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY, HORMOZ STATED THAT THE IDEAL OUTCOME OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL STRIFE WOULD BE NOT ONLY THE ABDICATION OF THE SHAH BUT THE FORMATION OF A PEOPLE'S COURT TO TRY HIM FOR HIS CRIMES. THE COURT SHOULD BE HELD IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH IRANIAN LAW AND SHOULD PERMIT THE SHAH THE BEST LEGAL COUNSEL IN IRAN OR FROM ANY OTHER COUNTRY WHICH WOULD BE WILLING TO DEFEND HIM. HORMOZ WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE RESULT OF ANY FAIR LEGAL PROCESS AGAINST THE SHAH WOULD BE TO "SMILE THAT SUCES TO THE WALL" (LITERAL TRANSLATION WHICH CONVEYS THE FEELING ACCURATELY). HOWEVER, HORMOZ FEELS THAT THE ESSENTIAL OUTCOME OF THE POLITICAL STRIFE IN IRAN AND THE FORM OF ANY FUTURE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY VOTE OF THE PEOPLE. HIS ONLY CONDITION WOULD BE THAT ANY IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD PERMIT THE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL VIEWS.

3. ALTHOUGH HE CLAIMS NOT TO BE ANTI-AMERICAN AND INSISTS THAT THE IRANIAN PEOPLE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE U.S. PEOPLE, HORMOZ IS adamantly OPPOSED TO U.S. POLICY IN IRAN. THE U.S., HE SAYS, HAS LEARNED NO LESSONS FROM ITS SUPPORT OF DICTATORS IN SOUTH AMERICA, CHINA AND VIETNAM AND HAS REPEATED THE SAME MISTAKES IN IRAN. U.S. POLICYMAKERS HAVE RESTRICTED THEIR CIRCLE OF CONTACTS TO THOSE CLOSE TO THE SHAH AND CONSEQUENTLY THEY VIEWED IRAN THROUGH AN IMPERIAL PRISM. MOREOVER, THE USG HAS FOUND THE SHAH ALWAYS WILLING TO GIVE WHAT IT WANTED AND CON-

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SPONSORING THE U.S. OVERLOOKED THE MANY CRIMES AND VIOLATIONS OF THE SHAH AND HIS FAMILY. THE IRANIAN PEOPLE ARE NOT YET COMPLETELY SPOOKED BY THE U.S. BUT CONTINUED U.S. PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE SHAH'S POLICYMAKERS THE PEOPLE WILL MAKE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR ANY FUTURE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT TO COOPERATE WITH THE U.S.

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TEHRAN

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

TEHRAN 0206

C 021405Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2613
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 02063

URGENT: STATE 1-2-79
APPROV: COM:GWAAS
DRETD: POL:STESCU
CLEAR: POL:3BLAMB
ISTR: POL-3 AME I
EOGN-2 PM I
OR SHIP TAL
CHRON/14

N.O. 12065: RGDS 1-1-84 (ESCUDERO, S.T.) OR-P
TAGS: PINR, IR
SUBJECT: MOHAMMAD HOSSAIN KHAN QASHQAI COMMENTS ON
BAKHTIAR CANDIDACY AND GENERAL FEREDUN JAM

1. DURING JAN 1 DISCUSSION WITH MOHAMMAD HOSSAIN KHAN (MHK) QASHQAI IN LATTER'S APARTMENT, QASHQAI IL-KHAN COMMENTED TO EMBOFF THAT QASHQAI FAMILY WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT SHAHPOUR BAKHTIAR AS PRIME MINISTER UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS. FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO GOES BACK TO TIME OF REZA SHAH, AND THE BAKHTIAR AND QASHQAI FAMILIES HAVE FREQUENTLY INTERMARRIED FOR THE PAST 150 YEARS. HOWEVER, MHK EMPHASIZED THAT QASHQAI SUPPORT FOR BAKHTIAR'S GOVERNMENT, SHOULD ONE BE FORMED, WOULD BE MUCH GREATER "IF SHAHPOUR DOES NOT COME WITH EMPTY HANDS." MHK BELIEVES THAT, SHOULD BAKHTIAR ASSUME THE PRIME MINISTRY JAN 3 WITHOUT ANNOUNCING THE SHAH'S IMMINENT DEPARTURE, FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT OR WHATEVER, THE PEOPLE WILL BE DEMONSTRATING IN THE STREETS AGAINST BAKHTIAR BY JAN 6. DURING CONVERSATION MHK RECEIVED PHONE CALL FROM GATCHSARAN DESCRIBING DEMONSTRATION THERE BY 3000 BAKHTIARIS AND QASHQAIS AND NOTING THAT SHOULD BAKHTIAR ACCEPT THE PRIME MINISTRY WITHOUT WRINGING CONCESSIONS FROM THE SHAH, THIS WOULD BRING SHAME TO THE BAKHTIARIS AND HIS SUPPORT AMONG THE TRIBE WOULD WANE.

2. ACCORDING TO MHK, THE PEOPLE WILL BE LESS CONCERNED ABOUT THE KEROSENE AND GASOLINE SHORTAGES AND MORE INTERESTED IN BAKHTIAR'S ACTIONS REGARDING SAVAK AND THE ARMY. THE SECURITY ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE DISBANDED AND, IF SOME SIMILAR ORGANIZATION MUST EXIST, ITS NAME MUST BE CHANGED. MARTIAL LAW MUST SOON BE ENDED AND MANY OF THE TOP GENERALS RELIEVED OF THEIR POSITIONS. MHK, WHO IS NOT FOND OF IRAN'S MILITARY LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY GEN. OVEISSI, CAUTIONED EMBOFF NOT TO THINK OF IRANIAN GENERALS IN SAME TERMS AS ALLIED WWII COMMANDERS BUT RATHER AS SYCOPHANTS IN UNIFORM WHO OBTAINED THEIR POSITIONS THROUGH LOYALTY RATHER THAN MILITARY ABILITY. EXCEPTION IS GEN. FEREDUN JAM, WHO MHK EXPECTS TO SEE JAN 2, WHOSE FALL FROM GRACE RESULTED FROM THREE FACTORS:

--JAM'S DESCRIPTION OF ORDER TO FIRE ON 1971 DEMONSTRATORS MARCHING TO TEHRAN FROM KARAJ AS "STUPID". JAM HAD NOT REALIZED THAT THEN SAVAK CHIEF NASSIRI HAD CONSULTED SHAH, WHO WAS THEN IN PAKISTAN, AND OBTAINED IMPERIAL PERMISSION TO FIRE;

--JAM'S OPPOSITION TO PURCHASE OF NEW MILITARY SYSTEMS BEFORE IRANIAN PERSONNEL FULLY TRAINED TO CARE AND MAINTAIN SYSTEMS ALREADY IN HAND. HIS OPPOSITION WAS REPORTED TO SHAH BY GEN. TOUFANIAN AND DR. AYADI;

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TEHRAN 0206

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

TEHRAN 02063/1

--JAM'S REMARK, IN PAKISTAN, THAT HE LOVED SHAH LIKE A BROTHER, WHICH THE SHAH FOUND PRESUMPTUOUS.

3. MHK, WHO MET WITH BAKHTIAR THIS MORNING AND EXPECTS TO SEE HIM AGAIN JAN 2, DESCRIBED HIM AS SOMEWHAT TOO PLAIN-SPEAKING FOR A SUCCESSFUL POLITICIAN. ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF RELIGION, WHERE BAKHTIAR MAKES CLEAR HIS DISTASTE FOR KHOMEINI, MHK FEELS BAKHTIAR WOULD DO BETTER TO REMAIN SILENT.

4. IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR TO MHK IF BAKHTIAR WILL SUCCEED IN FORMING A CABINET. SANJABI'S DECISION TO READ HIM OUT OF THE NATIONAL FRONT AND FEELINGS AMONG MEMBERS OF BAKHTIAR'S IRAN PARTY THAT HE HAS TOO GREAT A TENDENCY TOWARD UNILATERAL, UNCOORDINATED ACTION WILL EAT INTO HIS SUPPORT.

5. HOMAN KHAN QASHQAI, MHK'S SON, WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT, EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BAKHTIAR'S PROGRAM AND THE ONE WHICH SANJABI PUT FORWARD. THEREFORE, WHY SHOULD THE SHAH NOT CHOOSE SANJABI, WHO ENJOYS WIDER SUPPORT, AS PRIME MINISTER? HIS FATHER REPLIED THAT, FIRST OF ALL, BAKHTIAR IS NOT A KHOMEINI MAN. SECONDLY, BAKHTIAR APPROACHED THE QUESTION OF THE SHAH'S DEPARTURE DELICATELY WHEREAS SANJABI RAISED IT IMMEDIATELY AND FORCEFULLY IN HIS TALK WITH THE MONARCH. THE MOMENT HE DID SO THE SHAH ENDED THEIR CONVERSATION SAYING THAT THERE WAS NOTHING FURTHER TO DISCUSS.

6. HOMAN ALSO NOTED THE INCREASING REPETITION AMONG TEHRAN'S GOSSIP MILL OF THE VIEW THAT FOREIGNERS SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO LEAVE IRAN AS THEY WILL BE NEEDED TO HELP RUN THE COUNTRY'S ESSENTIAL UTILITIES AND INDUSTRIES AFTER THE SHAH LEAVES. AT THE SAME TIME HOMAN FULLY EXPECTS THAT, SHOULD THE SHAH REMAIN, LATER RETURN, OR SHOULD A CIVILIAN GOVT NOT WORK OUT, FOREIGNERS AND ESPECIALLY AMERICANS WILL BECOME THE TARGETS OF VIOLENT PHYSICAL ATTACK BY GUERILLA GROUPS. BOTH HOMAN AND HIS FATHER BELIEVE THAT THE SHAH IS CLEVER ENOUGH TO ENGINEER

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

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

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CONFIDENTIAL 4 JAN 79

O 021405Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2614
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 TEHRAN 00063

MEMO
TO THE DIRECTOR
DATE 01/03/79 021405Z
ZNY 000000
P 021405Z JAN 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY 0134
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 000933

INFO
AMB
DCM
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OR
ADM
ICA
CINCPAC
S/PMH

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/3/85 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: KHOSROW GHASHGHAI

HIS RETURN TO IRAN ON THE HEELS OF A MILITARY COUP ONCE
A CIVILIAN GOVT HAS BEEN IN OFFICE LONG ENOUGH TO SHOW
ITSELF INEPT. MHE DESCRIBED THE SHAH AS THE MOST INTELLI-
GENT RULER IRAN HAS HAD FOR TWO CENTURIES BUT UNDONE BY
TWO FLAWS: HIS INABILITY TO KEEP HIS WORD AND HIS GREED
FOR MONEY AND POWER. SULLIVAN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN

104

1. KHOSROW GHASHGHAI CALLED ON NEA/IRN JANUARY 2 TO OFFER
HIS VIEWS OF IRANIAN CRISIS. GHASHGHAI STATED FLATLY THAT
NO SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE WHILE THE SHAH REMAINED IN IRAN.
HE URGED THE U.S. TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH KHOMEINI'S
FORCES WHICH HE REGARDED AS THE MOST POTENT IN THE COUNTRY.
HE INDICATED THERE WAS SOME DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN
HIMSELF AND OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY AND THAT HIS FATHER
WAS RETURNING TO IRAN IN THE HOPE THAT HE WOULD BE ARRESTED
AND BECOME A SYMBOL OF GHASHGHAI OPPOSITION TO THE SHAH.
HE INDICATED ABSOLUTELY NO CONFIDENCE THAT BASTIAR WOULD
BE ABLE TO FORM A VIABLE GOVERNMENT AND NO SYMPATHY FOR THE
PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE'S EFFORTS.

2. GHASHGHAI LEFT WASHINGTON HEADED FOR MUNICH WHERE HE
RESIDES.

3. WE REPORT THIS FOR THE RECORD, HAVING NO UNDERSTANDING
OF ITS IMPORTANCE FOR IRANIAN OR TRIPAL POLITICS. WANCE
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GHASHGHAI, KHOSROW

2

S E C R E T

TEHRAN 0094

0 032923Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACD IMMEDIATE 2235
BT
S E C R E T TEHRAN 00094

CERGR: STATE 1-3-
APPRV: POL:GWNAA5
INFTD: POL:STESSOU
CLEAR: POL:GELAME
DISTR: POL-3 AMB
EGCA-2 PM
CR SHIR TA
ISF CHRON

E.O.12065: R0DS 1-2-85 (ESCUDERO, S.T.) CR-P
TAGS: PINR, IR
SUBJECT: BAZAARI VIEWS ON BAKHTIAR CANDIDACY AND ON
CONTINUING CONFRONTATION

SUMMARY: PROMINENT BAZAARI REFLECTS EXTREMELY EMOTIONAL
HATRED OF REGIME AND ITS (BELIEVED) CRUELTY. ADVICE TO
AMERICANS IS THAT WE SHALL SUFFER FOR OUR SUPPORT OF THE
SHAH. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF MET JAN 2 WITH INFLUENTIAL BAZAARI MERCHANT HAJI
ALI ASGHAR KASHANI, WHO STATED THAT, AFTER SOME DISCUSSION,
BAZAARIS HAVE DECIDED NOT RPT NOT TO SUPPORT SHAHPOUR
BAKHTIAR AS PRIME MINISTER. THEY REGARD HIM AS TOO CLOSE
TO THE SHAH AND TOO MUCH AN OPPORTUNIST TO SUPPORT HIM
EVEN IF BAKHTIAR PROVES ABLE TO ENGINEER THE SHAH'S
DEPARTURE. SHOULD BAKHTIAR BECOME PRIME MINISTER THE
BAZAAR WOULD CONTINUE TO BE CLOSED IN HOPES OF BRINGING
HIM DOWN AND REPLACING HIM WITH THE ONE MAN WHO, KASHANI
FEELS, IS TRULY THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE - KARIM SANJABI.

2. WHEN EMBOFF OPINED THAT CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO A
CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH IS TRYING TO SATISFY THE DEMANDS
OF THE PEOPLE COULD LEAD TO THE COMMISSION IN TEHRAN OF
ATROCITIES SUCH AS THOSE RECENTLY PERPETRATED IN MASHAD,
KASHANI REPLIED HEATEDLY THAT SUCH THINGS ARE ALREADY
TAKING PLACE IN THE CAPITAL. ON DEC 31 A MOB ATTACKED
THE HOME OF A SAVAK COLONEL WHO LIVED ON BAKAR STREET.
COLONEL WAS TAKEN ALIVE AND DISMEMBERED BY THE CROWD WHILE
HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN WERE BURNED IN THE FIRE WHICH LVELED
THEIR THREE-STORY HOUSE. KASHANI CLAIMS TO HAVE SEEN THE
WRECK OF THE HOUSE AND THE PORTIONS OF THE DEAD MAN'S
BODY WHICH WERE DISPLAYED OUTSIDE IT ON JAN 1. IN THE
ASHES IN THE BASEMENT, KASHANI SAID INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE
WERE DISCOVERED. WHEN EMBOFF DEPLORED SAVAGERY OF THIS
SORT BY EITHER SIDE, KASHANI BECAME EVEN MORE ANGRY. HE
RELATED AN INCIDENT IN CAZVIN IN WHICH A CHILD WAS CRUSHED
UNDER THE TREADS OF A TANK AND ITS MOTHER SPCT WHEN SHE
RUSHED TO ATTEMPT A RESCUE. ALSO HE DESCRIBED THE JAN 2
FUNERAL, WHICH HE ATTENDED, IN BEHEST-E-ZAHRA OF THREE
YOUNG IRANIANS WHO ALLEGEDLY DIED DEC 30 UNDER TORTURE IN
EVIN PRISON. THE BODIES WERE CARRIED UNWRAPPED ON BIRS
AROUND THE CEMETARY SO THAT THE CROWDS THERE COULD SEE
THE EXTENSIVE BURNS AND HANDS WITHOUT FINGERNAILS. IT IS
PERFECTLY REASONABLE, KASHANI SHOUTED, FOR THE PEOPLE TO
ATTACK THE SERVANTS OF A REGIME WHICH IS CAPABLE OF SUCH
THINGS. (COMMENT: BY THIS POINT KASHANI WAS VERY ANGRY
INDEED. ONE OF THESE DAYS EMBOFF EXPECTS TO SEE HIM FOAM
AT THE MOUTH. END COMMENT.)

3. WHEN UNDER CONTROL AGAIN, KASHANI LAUNCHED A LONG
PERORATION ON HOW THE BAZAARIS LAY ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY

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S E C R E T

S E C R E T

TEHRAN 0094

FOR ALL THESE CRIMES AT FEET OF U.S. FOR OUR LONG-TERM
SUPPORT OF OUR PUPPET SHAH (SIC). KASHANI THEN REMARKED
THAT GROWING ANGER OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST U.S. COULD LEAD
TO ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS IN TEHRAN. IN THIS
REGARD, HE CAUTIONED EMBOFF TO BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL AND TO
SCALE DOWN HIS ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE OF EMBASSY COMPOUND.

4. EMBASSY COMMENT: UNFORTUNATELY THE VOICE OF THIS
BAZAARI ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE FEELINGS OF EVER LARGER
SECTIONS OF IRAN'S POPULATION. EMBASSY IS INUNDATED DAILY
BY REQUESTS/ADVICE THAT WE DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE SHAH WHO
IS DRAGGING AMERICANS DOWN LIKE AN ANCHOR. SULLIVAN
BT
#0094

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S E C R E T

TEHRAN 0094

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CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 00237

0 200657 JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2717
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00237

R.O. 12065: GDS 1/5/85 (ESCUDERO, STANLEY T.) OR-P
TAGS: PINE, IR
SUBJECT: VIEWS OF MASHAD UNIVERSITY CHANCELLOR PARVIZ
AMOUEZGAR ON BAKHTIAR PRIME MINISTRY AND IRAN'S FUTURE

CHRGF: STATE 1/5/79
APPRV: MIN:GWNAAS
DRFTD: POL:STESCUDERO
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM
ECON 2 PM ICA
JR ADM SY DAO
AFOSI CHRON

1. ACCORDING TO PARVIZ AMOUEZGAR, CHANCELLOR OF MASHAD UNIVERSITY, THE IRANIAN UNIVERSITY/INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY, PERHAPS EXCLUDING MANY STUDENTS, IS WILLING TO GIVE A BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT A FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE ITSELF. HOWEVER, UNIVERSITY/INTELLECTUAL OPPOSITION WILL PRESENT ITSELF ALMOST IMMEDIATELY IF BAKHTIAR'S INAUGURATION IS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT BY THE SHAH REGARDING HIS IMMINENT TRAVEL ABROAD FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT AND FOLLOWED VERY SHORTLY BY THE SHAH'S DEPARTURE. IT IS CLEAR THAT SOME ELEMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION HAVE ALREADY CONDEMNED BAKHTIAR, DESPITE HIS MUCH-WELCOMED STATEMENT CONCERNING THE 28TH MORDAD RETURN OF THE SHAH AS A COUP AGAINST A NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT, AS A COLLABORATOR WITH THE PALLAVI REGIME. ANTI-BAKHTIAR SLOGANS AND BANNERS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SEEN IN MASHAD AND EMROFF HAS OBSERVED ANTI-BAKHTIAR SLOGANS WRITTEN ON TEHRAN WALLS.

2. AMOUEZGAR, HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW ALI ZIAI, AND HIS SISTER MOHADDAREH ZIAI ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE PREVALENT IRANIAN SENTIMENT LAYING MUCH OF THE BLAME FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAN AT THE FEET OF THE UNITED STATES. WHILE ADMITTING THAT THE U.S. HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO DEAL WITH THE SHAH IN THE PAST, THEY CATALOGUED A SERIES OF U.S. POLICY ERRORS GOING BACK TO THE DAYS OF POINT FOUR PROGRAM AND INCLUDING POOR TARGETING OF CULTURAL PROGRAMS AND EXCHANGES, LIMITATION OF EMBASSY FACTS TO PRO-SHAH IRANIANS, ASSIGNMENT OF FORMER CIA DIRECTOR HELMS AS AMBASSADOR, CHANGE OF USIA TO ICA (MUCH LIKE CIA), LACK OF CONTINUITY AMONG AMERICAN OFFICIALS, AND PRESENT CONTINUING SUPPORT OF USG FOR THE SHAH. WHEN IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT VAST MAJORITY OF IRANIANS DO NOT WANT HIM.

3. ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ALL AGREED THAT SHAH SHOULD GO SOON, AMOUEZGAR ET AL. INSIST THAT IRAN NEEDS THE RETURN OF THE SHAH AND FEEL THAT PRESENT SHAH IS ABLE TO RETURN TO IRAN IN A STRICTLY CONSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY IF HE IS WILLING TO DO SO. ONCE A GOVERNMENT HAS MANAGED TO GET MATTERS IN HAND, THE SHAH HAS, THROUGHOUT PRESENT CRISIS, GIVEN TOO LITTLE TOO LATE AND HE RISKS WHATEVER OPPORTUNITY HE MAY HAVE TO RETURN, HIS PLACE IN HISTORY AND THE FUTURE OF THE PALLAVI DYNASTY IF HE REFUSES TO LEAVE WITH DIGNITY. THE SHAH WANTS TO BE THROWN OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

0 2611337 JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2735
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00268

R.O. 12065: RDS 1/6/84 (LAMBRAYIS, GEORGE B.) CR-P
TAGS: PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: NEW CABINET PRESENTED

208 CHRGF: STATE 1/6/79
APPRV: MIN:GWNAAS
DRFTD: POL:GBLAMBRAYIS
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM
ECON-2 PM ICA
CR ADM SY IAC
AFOSI CHRON/15

1. CABINET ESSENTIALLY AS REPORTED BY WIRE SERVICES WAS PRESENTED THIS MORNING BY PM-DESIGNATE BAKHTIAR TO THE SHAH. APPOINTMENTS ARE:

-- INTERIOR - BAKHTIAR HIMSELF, INCLUDING CONTROL OVER POLICE, GENDARMINE, AND PRESUMABLY SAVAK

-- WAR - GEN. FEREDUN JAM (WHO IS ON WAY BACK FROM LONDON)

-- FOREIGN AFFAIRS - AHMAD MIR-FENDERESKI, WHO WAS FIRED BY SHAH AS DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER IN 1973 REPORTEDLY FOR EXCEEDING SHAH'S LIMITS ON SOVIET OVERFLIGHTS PERMITTED DURING 1973 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR.

-- JUSTICE - YAHYA SAFEQ-VAZIRI, A LAWYER AND CAREER JUDGE WHO IS KURDISH

-- INFORMATION AND TOURISM - CYRUS AMOUEZGAR, FORMERLY SOMETHING OF A LEFTIST, WRITER AND JOURNALIST, NOT CONNECTED WITH FORMER PM AMOUEZGAR'S FAMILY

-- ECONOMICS AND FINANCE - RUSTAM PIRASTEH, INTERNATIONAL BANKER, FORMER CHASE MANHATTEN REP HERE

-- MOHAMMAD MOSHIRI-YEZDI, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS, HIGH CIVIL SERVANT IN MINISTRY OF LABOR (INCLUDING PERMANENT DEPUTY) WHO SOUNDS LIKE AN OLD FRIEND OF BAKHTIAR'S

-- AGRICULTURE -- MANUCHEHR KAZEMI, EXPERIENCED IN PRO. BANK MELLI, GRADUATE OF HARVARD IN 1920S, FRIENDLY TO AMERICANS BUT CRITICAL OF THE REGIME.

-- INDUSTRY AND MINES -- ABBAS QOLI BAKHTIAR, A COUSIN OF FM'S WHO IS HIGH CIVIL SERVANT WITH NIOC BACKGROUND, HAVING SERVED IN FAIRLY RECENT POST AS UNDERSECRETARY OF THIS MINISTRY, PERHAPS SENSITIVE ABOUT AMERICANS

-- EDUCATION - DR. MOHAMMAD AMIN RIAHI, PROMINENT EDUCATIONALIST AND JOURNALIST

-- LABOR AND SOCIAL WELFARE -- MANUCHEHR ARIANA, CAREER CIVIL SERVANT IN LABOR DEPT WHO IS REPORTEDLY COUSIN OF RETIRED GENERAL ARIANA (ONE OF THOSE GENERALS MENTIONED AS ACCEPTABLE BY SOME OPPOSITIONISTS)

-- PPT LUTF-ALI SAMIMI, CAREER OFFICIAL

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

TEHRAN 00268

-- HEALTH - MANUCHEHR RAZMARA, U.S. EDUCATED PHYSICIAN

-- HOUSING - JAVAD KHADEM, VERY ACTIVE CONTRACTOR. CONSTRUCTION BUSINESS, REPORTEDLY EMOTIONAL AND PERHAPS ANTI-AMERICAN.

2. NONE OF APPOINTEES HAS SERVED AS MINISTER BEFORE. JAM AND MIR-FENDERFSKI HAVE BOTH BEEN AMBASSATORS. APART FROM OVERTONES OF SOME ANTI-REGIME POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN ONE OR TWO CASES (AMUZEGAR, KAZEMI) CABINET IS COMPOSED OF TECHNOCRATS WITH LONG EXPERIENCE IN AREAS OF EXPERTISE AND (WE GATHER) CLEAN RECORDS ON CORRUPTION ISSUE.

3. CABINET CONTAINS NONE OF THE MORE POLITICAL OPPOSITIONISTS WHO WERE AT ONE POINT REMOVED TO BE JOINING. THESE INCLUDED PEOPLE SUCH AS HEAD OF TEACHER'S UNION MOHAMMAD DERAKHSHESH (FOR ARTS AND CULTURE), ENG. AHMAD MOSSADEGH, MOSSADEGH'S SON (FOR ROADS), AND EVEN PROMINENT CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS SPOKESMAN NASSER MINATCHI, ACCORDING TO RECENT RUMORS.

4. NUMBER OF MINISTERS REMAIN VACANT: COMMERCE, CULTURE, PLAN AND BUDGET (IF NOT ABOLISHED), ROADS, ENERGY, SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION, AS WELL AS TRADITIONAL MINISTERS OF STATE FOR THINGS SUCH AS PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND EXECUTIVE AFFAIRS. THERE IS ALSO NO MINISTER OF ENDOWMENT AFFAIRS, AN AREA THAT MIGHT BE TURNED OVER TO THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS WE HAVE HAD.

5. MORE SPECIFIC BIO DATA AS WE DEVELOP IT. SULLIVAN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

TEHRAN

110

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O 071100Z JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 2754
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00295

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/7/85 (LAMBRAKIS, GEORGE B.) OR-7
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: ANOTHER MODERATE OPPOSITIONIST OPPOSES BAKHTIAR

REF: 78 TEHRAN 12702

1. HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION AND MODERATE OPPOSITION POLITICIAN MOHAMMAD DERAKHSHESH EXPRESSED TOTAL OPPOSITION TO BAKHTIAR GOVT IN BRIEF PHONE CONVERSATION WITH POL COUNSELOR TODAY, JAN 7. HE DENIED HE HAD EVER BEEN CANDIDATE FOR A POSITION (CONTRARY TO REPORTS EMBASSY HAD RECEIVED FROM OTHER SOURCES LAST WEEK) AND DENIGRATED QUALITY OF MINISTERS. SEVERAL OF HIS GROUP HAD TURNED DOWN OFFERS FROM BAKHTIAR.

2. IF ANY (SUCH AS SAMIMI) ARE MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION PARTIES, DERAKHSHESH SAID, THEY WERE FORTH RANK UNKNOWN. HE KNEW FOR A FACT THAT NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION (RIANI) WAS AN ACTIVE SAVAK AGENT; DERAKHSHESH HAD GOTTEN HIM A JOB YEARS AGO WHEN HE WAS AN UNEMPLOYED TEACHER. OTHERS IN THIS SUPPOSEDLY NEW GOVT WERE WORKING OFFICIALS UP TO RECENTLY AND MEMBERS OF RASTAKHIZ PARTY. THEIR APPOINTMENTS ARE A JOKE.

3. WHEN POL COUNSELOR ASKED WHAT DERAKHSHESH THOUGHT OF SHAH'S PLANS TO TAKE A VACATION, DERAKHSHESH SAID HE WAS NOT IMPRESSED. SHAH HAS TAKEN VACATIONS BEFORE, AND COME BACK. THAT IS NOT THE PERMANET DEPARTURE THAT IS NECESSARY.

4. DERAKHSHESH SAID SHAH IS ALWAYS LATE WITH HIS DECISIONS. BAKHTIAR GOVT WOULD HAVE BEEN ANSWER A YEAR AGO, BUT TOO LATE NOW. COUNTRY'S SICKNESS REQUIRES REAL MEDICINE, NOT ROUND WHITE PILLS. HE AGAIN PUSHED HIS GROUP'S POSITION: SHAH MUST LEAVE SO THAT KHOMEINI LOSES MUCH OF HIS POWER, ALLOWING MODERATES OF THE CENTER TO COME INTO THEIR OWN.

5. DERAKHSHESH'S WEEKLY (ON ITS THIRD ISSUE) ATTACKED BAKHTIAR YESTERDAY. SULLIVAN

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E.O. 12065: RDS 1-7-99 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: POLITICAL BROKER IS DISCOURAGED; YET ANOTHER
MODERATE POLITICAL GROUP FORMED.

SUMMARY: LONG-TIME POLITICAL BROKER IS DISCOURAGED BY
GOI'S CONTINUED INEPTITUDE. HE SEES TUDEH (COMMUNIST)
PARTY BECOMING VERY ACTIVE. HIS CURRENT EFFORTS ARE
DIRECTED TO MOLDING A MODERATE GROUP BEHIND ALI AMINI WHICH
WILL BE VEHICLE FOR SUPPORT OF BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT UNTIL
ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. EMOFF MET JAN 4 WITH HEDAYAT ESLAMINIA, POLITICAL
BROKER OF SOME YEARS' STANDING WITH WHOM EMBASSY HAS BEEN
COMMUNICATING REGULARLY FOR BETTER PART OF A YEAR. HE WAS
FRANKLY DISCOURAGED AT TURN OF EVENTS; GOI HAD REMAINED
SURPRISINGLY INEPT AT HANDLING CRISIS AND AS A RESULT,
TUDEH PARTY ACTIVITY WAS BECOMING MORE WIDESPREAD. HE
SAID SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS FROM THE SOUTH HAD NOTED OLD-
LINE TUDEH ORGANIZERS INVOLVED IN RECENT LABOR DISTURBANCES
(COMMENT: THIS SQUARES WITH WHAT WE'VE HEARD FROM OTHER
SOURCES, AS WELL).

2. ESLAMINIA THEN SAID HE HAD GATHERED A NUMBER OF FRIENDS
IN VARIOUS POSITIONS TOGETHER TO FORM A GROUP BEHIND
ALI AMINI. THIS GROUP WOULD SUPPORT THE BAKHTIAR GOVERN-
MENT, BUT PREPARE ITSELF FOR ELECTIONS. HE LISTED THE
FOLLOWING AS INITIAL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP: MR. (FNU)
FAZAEI, EX-MARDOM PARTY LEADER; ABDUL HOSSEIN TABATABAI,
FORMER SHIRAZ MAJLES DEPUTY; NASSER ZEHTABFARD, DIRECTOR
OF ASNAF (PRICE MONITORING GROUP); MANUCHEHR SAED-VAZIRI,
FORMER MAJLES DEPUTY PRESENTLY A NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST;
MR. HEKMAT YAZDI, A BUSINESSMAN; MR. TEYMOUR AND
MR. REZAN, FROM ASNAF; HAJ KARIM HOSSEINI, A BAZAARI WHO
SUPPORTS AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI; AND HASSAN KHAN BAYAT, HEAD
OF THE FARMER'S GUILD. GROUP WAS MERELY WAITING GO AHEAD
SIGNAL FROM ALI AMINI TO FORMALLY ORGANIZE.

3. COMMENT: GROUP IS SIMILAR TO MANY NOW FORMING, AND IF
IT TRULY GETS ORGANIZED, EMBASSY WILL REPORT FURTHER.
MOST SUCH MODERATE GROUPS, AS OF JAN 7, ARE GIVING SUPPORT
TO BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT. SULLIVAN
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E.O. 12065: RDS-4 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PINR, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: CLERGY ORGANIZING TO HELP STABILIZE PUBLIC ORDER

SUMMARY: DR. NASSER MINATCHI TOLD EMOFF MORNING JAN 8
THAT NUMBER OF HIS SOURCES INDICATE SHAH'S DEPARTURE IS
IMMINENT. IN VIEW OF THIS, TEHRAN CLERGY HAVE FORMED
ORGANIZATION TO HELP MAINTAIN ORDER THROUGH TRANSITION
PERIOD TO NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS. STATEMENT HAS BEEN
ISSUED CALLING FOR CALM. CONCERN REMAINS OVER MILITARY
BEHAVIOR. END SUMMARY.

1. DR. NASSER MINATCHI INFORMED POLOFF STEMPEL MORNING
JAN 8 THAT CLERICAL LEADERS IN TEHRAN HAVE FORMED A NEW
GROUP WHICH TRANSLATES AS "CLERGY LEADERS ORGANIZATION
(CLO)". PURPOSE OF GROUP WAS TO HELP MAINTAIN SOCIAL
ORDER OVER NEXT FEW WEEKS. MINATCHI SAID HIS PARLIAMEN-
TARY SOURCES SAID NEW GOI WOULD BE PRESENTED TO MAJLES
AND CONFIRMED JAN 9, THEN TO SENATE AND CONFIRMED JAN 10.
IT WAS STRONGLY RUMORED THAT THE SHAH WOULD LEAVE THE
COUNTRY AT SOME POINT FOLLOWING FINAL CONFIRMATION. CLERGY
WERE TO MEET AFTERNOON JAN 8 TO WORK OUT PLANS TO CONTROL
EMOTIONAL OUTPOURING WHICH WOULD FOLLOW AND CHANNEL IT CON-
STRUCTIVELY IF POSSIBLE.

2. EMOFF STRONGLY SUPPORTED IDEA, AND NOTED THAT IN EVENT
OF SHAH'S DEPARTURE, MILITARY WILL BE VERY EDGY AND BE-
HAVIOR IN FIRST HOURS AND DAYS WILL BE CRITICAL. MINATCHI
SAID HE COULDN'T AGREE MORE, AND COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) WOULD ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE
ALL ITS FOLLOWERS FOR THIS PURPOSE. EMOFF STRESSED
AVOIDANCE OF PROVOCATION WHICH WOULD TRIGGER MILITARY
BACKLASH SUCH AS OCCURRED IN QAZVIN AND MASHAD. MINATCHI
SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PROBLEM VERY WELL.

3. CLERGY WAS ESPECIALLY KEY GROUP, AND CLO WOULD BE MAIN
VEHICLE, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI. LEADER WAS HOJATOLLAH
SEYED MOHAMMAD BEHESHTI (KNOWN TO EMBASSY AS KEY KHOMEINI
LEADER), WITH FOLLOWING OTHER CLERICS AS SENIOR FIGURES:
HOJATOLLAHS RAFSANJANI, ABDOLKARIM MOUSSAVI ARDEBILI, AND
MOHAMMAD MOFATEH. THEY WERE HOPING TO WORK OUT PLANS
JAN 8, THEN BE READY TO MEET WITH AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI,
WHO WAS EXPECTED IN TEHRAN EVENING JAN 9 OR JAN 10 WITH
LATEST SUBTLETIES OF KHOMEINI POSITION.

4. STATEMENT ISSUED IN TEHRAN BY AYATOLLAH TALEQANI
JAN 8 WAS ALSO SIGNED BY CLO LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS "COM
TRIANGLE" OF SENIOR AYATOLLAHS. IT CALLED ON PEOPLE TO
REMAIN CALM, AVOID INTERFERING WITH SECURITY FORCES,
AND CEASE THREATS AND ATTACKS ON FOREIGNERS. NOTICE

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WAS PUBLISHED EXTENSIVELY IN PERSIAN PRESS JAN 8, AND WILL APPEAR IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS JAN 9. MINATCHI SAID BASIC CLO AND CDHF LINE IS THAT WHEN SHAH DEPARTS, PEOPLE MUST PROVE THEY ARE DISCIPLINED AND PEACEFUL. MINATCHI HIMSELF IS NOT VERY CONCERNED ABOUT DISORDERLY MOBS, BUT CONCEDES THERE MAY BE PEOPLE ON THE STREETS STIRRING UP TROUBLE. IF SO, RELIGIOUS LEADERS HOPE TO BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THEM NON-VIOLENTLY AS WAS DONE DURING TESUA AND ASHURA MARCHES DEC 10-11. (COMMENT: EMBASSY IS NOT RPT NOT AS OPTIMISTIC THAT MOBS CAN BE SO EASILY CONTROLLED. HOWEVER, EMBOFF WISHED HIM MUCH LUCK IN EFFORT.)

5. MINATCHI EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IF SECURITY SITUATION DETERIORATED, BUT SAID EFFORTS OF MODERATE OPPOSITION ARE BEING AIMED AT SEEING THIS DOES NOT OCCUR. WHEN EMBOFF ALLUDED TO STORY THAT GEN. JAM HAD RESIGNED HIS POST AS MINISTER OF WAR, MINATCHI SEEMED TROUBLED FOR A MOMENT (HE HAD NO INFORMATION ON MATTER), BUT SAID THERE WERE SEVERAL OTHER GENERALS WHO COULD FILL THE BILL, AND THE PRIME MINISTER KNOWS THEM ALL. HE SPECIFICALLY CITED GENERALS NASS-, ROLAH, BATMANGELIDJ, REZVANI, AND AGHAVI. MINATCHI PERSONALLY THOUGHT NASSROLAHI WOULD BE BEST CHOICE TO REPLACE JAM, BUT ANY OF ABOVE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

6. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR AND ENCOURAGING THAT MINATCHI AND MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS ARE GIVING CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT TO POSSIBLE TRANSITION PROBLEMS. WHILE MINATCHI SAYS SHAH MUST EVENTUALLY GO FOR GOOD, MODERATE RELIGIOUS LEADERS ARE NOT DISPOSED TO PUSH THE ISSUE NOW. SHAH'S DEPARTURE ON VACATION OR FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. HE THOUGHT BAZARGAN GROUP (LIBERATION MOVEMENT) WOULD EVENTUALLY SEE IT THAT WAY AS REALITY OF SITUATION EVOLVED. EVEN EXCLUDING BAZARGAN FOR MOMENT (HE IS STILL IN SHIRAZ, BUT RETURNING TO TEHRAN EVENING JAN 8), SIZABLE SEGMENT OF OPPOSITION APPEARS COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL TRANSITION IF SHAH DEPARTS. MINATCHI HAD NO RPT NO CLUES AS TO WHO MIGHT BE NAMED TO REGENCY

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7. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED NEXT MAJLES SESSION POSTPONED TO JANUARY 11, AND SENATE SESSION TO JANUARY 13. HOW THIS DELAY WILL AFFECT OPPOSITION CALCULATIONS, AND ACTIVITY, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. SULLIVAN

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