(Security Classification)

#### FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH,

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. And the desired and a be set and a

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SUBJECT: "OLITICAL: Ominions of an Isfahani Intellectual

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Over a ported of air months this reporter and other officers of the Communicate have become ac uninted with Dr. Abdorrahming WIFFILTY, a manber of a well-known and affluent lafebent femily. The Consolate fee's that some of 'r. Bormsond's ebservetions have be of value to the Denn-tuent since he represents the thinking of meny westers educated actoms of good facily who expear to be, increasingly restive over present conditions in Iran.

Dr. Rorusant is comparisately 30 years old. He is married and has one child with another on its vey. His wife is a member of the War wiff femily, one of the wealthiost in Infahan. He attended local schools and the University of of the vesithiost in Infahan. He attended local acheels and the University of Tehran where he studied low. After receiving his ficense, he went to Twitterland where he car lied in the University of Geneva, obtaining his "octor-is in Int metions? Tay in 1956. His thesis was entitled "La Liciate Constitutionelle de la Conclusion fes "reites Instituent une Communette Surrenationale". Since his return to Iron he has concerned himself with the running of the extensive family estates in con-eretion with four of his brothers. This reasonability was further increase! with the guiden feeth of his father, Februard "OFF" I'm, last Spring. However, with the return of a fifth brother from the "hite" "tetas where he was studying egriculture, Mr. Porturnd will now be able to leave Infahas for Tahres to close in the law office of (PMT) THATE wier to being recognized as a cuslifind Invyer. Noth he and his wife smeak food French; the latter accommand her husband to Surces and is a pointed, outgring convenion for her husband. They greak no English.

Mr. Dormandia father was considered one of the more progressive landlords in the lafahan area and the coulex of four will area which the faully come has been held us as a solel for other landleris. This resorter has said four trips to the villages which occurs a tract of angestably 6, "I a mare across situated on the new asshalt road leading morth to Cabren. We have been in regret with the organization of the villages on' the attempt which has been made to westformto the conditions of the measures. The latter number to be cleaner and harmier then say that this reporter has seen and the rows of two-room houses, each with its carion and semerate stables for livestock, are bont in good condition by their occurants. The estate bonsts a well-built resume-school erected by the "ormsent fautic, "eter to an lin' by a buge shonet which f ove into - reservoir whence it is divided date four agend worth for distribution to the four willegen which

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#### MEMORATION OF CONVERSATION

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PLACE:

Suren's Restaurant Manual and who will be and out of

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Abdorrahman Borumand
Franklin J. Crasford, Second Secretary of Embassy

Dr. Borumand described his 56 days in the Tehran police jail following his arrest on July 20 as relatively pleasant, saying he had ample time for reading and exercise and was well provided for with food sent from home.

During the time of his incrisonment he had frequent contact with Mehdi Basargan, the leader of the Mational Freedom Movement. Borumand said that the differences between the Mational Front and the Mational Preedom Movement were practically non-existent. Basargan represents a more religious element in the nationalist group than members of the Mational Pront, and is himself personally very religious. Dr. Borumand described adherents of the Mational Preedom Movement as perhaps "none violent" than the noderate leadership of the Mational Front. He intimated that the differences between the two groups were more of emohasis than of anything else.

Before his release from prison Dr. Eurumand was obliged to give a guarantee that he would not leave Tehran without the paraission of the security authorities. His wife and children have now come to Tohran from Isfahan, and he is busy seein to the completion of a house which he is building in Shearan. After that he intends to open a law practice.

Dr. Borumend described the present government of Dr. Amini as illegal and unconstitutional. He said that if he were forced to make a choice, he would be obliged to say that Dr. Amini's Government represents an improvement over the past governments of Sharif-Emmai and Eqbal. Hevertheless, Amini has demonstrated to Borumand's satisfaction that his government is essentially feeble and has obtained no meaningful authority from the Shah. The Shah, he said, still commands the army, the police and the accurity forces, and these represent the real power in the country.

He said that an accommodation between the Amini Government and the National Pront was a present impossibility. This stems from the fact that the Amini Government is essentially the Shah's government and the Shah is not prepared to conside anything to the National Pront. The National Pront, he said, has made efforts over the past few years to reach some sort of an understanding with the Shah but has been completely rebuffed. The Shah's attitude toward the National Pront was reaffirmed at the "historic meeting" on the 2"th of Nordad. Power is blind, Serumand said, as history demonstrates, and there is nothing to suggest that the Shah will change his views and make any concessions.

#### HENGRANDUM OF CONVERSATION

TIME AND PLACE: 5 p.m., September 26, 1961 at Dr. Sanjabi's home.

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Karim Sanjabi, Chairman, Executive Committee, National Front.
Pranklin J. Grawford, Second Secretary of Embassy

Dr. Sanjabi's comments on the political scene in Iran showed him to be renerally discouraged. He characterized Dr. Amini as a man who was good with words but so far had produced little. The economic situation of the country was extremely bad, and, while he did not blame Dr. Amini entirely, Sanjabi said Amini was partially responsible because of the suddenness with which he had imposed restraints on the economy, particularly with regard to credit. Moreover, he described the Amini Government as a mendicant government going all over the world begging for funds. On this score, however, he allowed, with a smile, that it was only a question of degree and not of kind between the Amini Government and its predecessors.

Sanjabi spoke at some length of the government's political failures, particularly its illegal position in deferring elections indefinitely. He said that the Mational Front's great concern at present was to acquire freedom to act and to organize. As it is, the Mational Front is not allowed to operate its club or to publish newspapers or pamphlets. As a matter of fact, he said, mention of the mane "Mational Front" is forbidden in the press, with the exception of occasional mention in the English-language press for the benefit of foreigners. As an example of this, he cited a letter written by students of Tehran University offering to participate voluntarily in the government's anti-illiteracy campaign. He said the letter appeared in Mayham on September 26 without any indication that the letter had been signed by Tehran University students "affiliated with the Mational Front."

Dr. Sanjabi said he hoped and expected that the academic year at Tehran University would be calm so that the students would have an opportunity to pursue their studies and not become the victims of the imposed holidays of last year. He said that he agreed with the government and the security organizations that the University was not a proper arena for political activity. On the other hand, he said, students were entitled to a meeting place at which they could discuss their political ideas. Therefore, he had suggested to the Prime Hinister at a recent meeting, which included members of the National Front and the Chancellor of the University, that the National Front Club be allowed to open. The Prime Minister countered with his own proposal that a Palace of Youth be opened as a gathering place for students. Dr. Sanjabi said he told the Prime Minister that he doubted any government-sponsored Organization like this would amount to anything more than the government-sponsored Melliyun

## MINISTRATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. MINISTRATION AND SETURALIZATION SERVICE REPORT OF INVESTIGATION

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#### CONFIDENTIAL

#### MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

November 16, 1963

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SUBJECT:

Meeting Between Alayar SALEH and All AMINI and Recent Developments in the National Front

PLACES

Mr. Miller's House

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Cyrus QAMI, Secretary

The Industrial Mining and Development Bank

1. On November 14, Cyrus Qani and Feridun MAHDAVY paid a call on Alayar Saleh. Mr. Qani said that Alayar Saleh told them that Ali Amini had called upon him to discuss the current political situation and to sound him (Saleh) out on a possible coalition. Saleh told Qani that Amini and he agreed on all major issues including those of oil and foreign affairs. Saleh said, according to Qani, that the National Front organisation would honor all past foreign commitments, including the oil agreements. Saleh told Amini that he was well aware of the world oil situation and that the National Front would attempt to change the oil agreement only through rational and possible means.

Saleh pointed out to Amini, Qani said, that major elements of the National Front distrusted him for his post actions, but that the National Front would support any genuine national movement, including one led by Ali Amini should he come to power.

2. Qani reported that Saleh had not yet made up his mind as to future National Front tactics nor had he selected a new council of seven or a new executive council. Saleh was still debating whether to establish a completely new executive council composed largely of the more militant younger members of the National Front as had been rumored.

Saleh, according to Qani, was giving serious thought to his successor, being well aware of the need to prepare a new leadership for the National Front to take over in the near future.

Saleh expressed to Qani his anxiety over the University students. Qani said that they had broken away from the leadership of Saleh, stating that

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Developmente in the National Front will be as great a fractor to beingther the Satisfied Francis to pe

eadquarters in ween to ensure Institle and all Moder SAIRH told me at lunch yesterday that, with the exception of a certain amount of joekeving for position among the leadership, there was presently little going on in the Mational Front. Only four seats out of seven on the Executive Committee had been filled, and Alahyar Saleh was presently trying to find suitable people for the other three. He had offered one of the positions to Fereidum MaHDAVI, who had refused it. Although the ostensible reason for Mehdavi's refusal was that he would have been overwhelmed by the conservative leadership, Saleh speculated that the real reason may have been the strong desire of Mahdavi's mother that he become less active in politics. In any case, Alahyar Salah had actually intended to give Mahdavi substantial authority; now, much as he wanted to bring in new blood, there was no one left in the younger generation who he felt merited being named to the Executive Committee. Another leadership problem, according to Saleh, was that Colam Reseds SANSOI had definitely stopped participating actively in National Front affairs. While Sadaqi's opinions did not differ greatly from those of Alahyar Saleh, Sadeqi liked to run things himself and was unwilling to submit to party discipline.

Salsh said that he knew of no contacts between the Mansur government and the Mational Front. He commented that in his opinion a rapprochament was even less likely at present than when the Alam and Amini governments came to power, simply because the present government was more concerned with economic problems then with any liberalisation in the political sphere.

Selsh tended to discount the recent latter of Mosadeq to Iranian students abroad. He said that Hosadeq's letter was indeed highly critical of the present moderate policy of the Front, but that Mosadeq had been critical of the Isadership for years, and the only affect of his statements had been to give the radical elements of the Mational Front something to talk about.

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Allahvar SALEH

National Front Leader | lace |

Allahyar Saleh, a founder of the now-defunct
Iran Party, is a leaser of the opp sition National
Pront (NF). He has become a symbol of Iranian nationalist sentiment, second in popularity only to
the retired nationalist leader and former Prime
Minister, Mohammad Mosadeg. A former ambassador
to the UE and other times a cabinet minister, he
chammads a greater following than any other notive
mationalist figure. During 1963, however, the NF
muffored a series of setbacks. Saleh's response
That to seek for grounds of compresses between the



NF and the Government. This policy drev down upon him a heavy criticism from the more militant elements of the NF, culminating in letters to the NF from its venerated but inactive founder, Mohammad Mosadeq, which supported Salch's critics. In May 1964 Salch resigned as chairman of the NF Executive Committee, a post he had held since September 1962.

Saleh is a mild-mannered, vacillating man and an unimpressive speaker. His popularity is escribed to his uncompremising honesty and dedication to principle, his ready availability to his supporters, and his close association with Mosadeq in the past, rather than political skill. Vehemently anti-Communist, he has resisted all efforts by the Tudeh (Communist) Party to ally with the NF. During the January 1963 referendum, Saleh collaborated with the mullahs in opposition to the Shah's sixpoint reform program, which Saleh believed was misleading and insincere.

Saleh's position in the National Front is semewhat ambiguous. Although he was for many years its most popular leader, he has never controlled it. Originally formed in 1950 under the leadership of Mosaded, the NF today is a loose confederation of nationalist parties held together by the image of Mosadeq and by their common opposition to the Government. Generally anti-Communist and pro-reform, it is basically a middle class movement, led by university graduates who find their opportunities in present-day Iran limited. During the Mosadeq period Saleh was the leader of the strongest party within the NF, and this fact coupled with the admiration which his honesty, unequalled in Iranian politics, inspires, accounts in large part for his present prestige.

Salch's political ideas, which he has evolved over his 39 years of political activity, are simple and moderate. He believes that rapid economic progress is Iran's only defense against a revolution of the educated classes. His opposition to Communism is based on a clear perception of Soviet strategy and tactics. Fearing British economic domination almost as much as Soviet political domination, he finds US support a

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#### SADS.I. Cholam Horein

Supplementing Embassy's CHO of January 17, 1951.

#### Career:

1929: Left for Prance.

1937: Received Doctorate in Literature, University

of Paris.

1946-date: Frofessor of Modern Philosophy and Sociology,

University of Tehran.

December 12, 1951:

Minister of PTT, Mosadeq's Cabinet.

#### Legarke:

The appointment of Dr. Sadeqi to a Cabinet post came as a complete surprise to most commentators, since he has never courted public office and has repeatedly expressed his disinterest in practical politics. Furthernore, as a professor of Philosophy and occiology, it is unlikely that he can offer much to the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs. Aside from his active participation in UNICCO, Dr. Sadeqi has been an inconspicuous figure, unknown outside the University. It is believed that the appointment is probably temporary, designed chiefly to Belp fill the gaps in Dr. Mosadeq's miling Cabinet until the elections are completed. So source was able to offer any information on Dr. Sadeqi's previous relationships with Dr. Mosadeq or other members of the National Front.

See Key Personalities

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EOPAL, Panuchehr (Fasic biographic report of Sept. 15, 1952; supple-

Rumors of the possible fall of the Prize Finister and his cabinet are reported in Tohnan publications every few weeks. However, through luck and ability, Eqhal his weathered all crises so far, and probably will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. He has maintained his position for he near-record time of more than two years principally by avoiding any major crises which would cause the Shah to lose faith in him or force the Shah to get rid of him as a scapencet. The removal of ENTEMAJ was a victory for Eqhal and places in his hands much more direct responsibility for the management of iran's development program, a duty which the Prime Minister welcomes.

There are serious doubts that Tobal is ked informed on all the Shah's major decisions, but niven the nature of the present Iranian government, no Tring 'Inister should expect to be told everything. However, in the day-to-day affairs of government, Equal works hard, keeps himself well informed and is doing an acceptable and honest job. He seems to want to be a real Prime Minister, and given the handicaps of the Chah's own power, he has worked honestly in that direction. He however, has no true national following and his power is based only on the goodwill of the Shah.

remunion, Darius (CAS reports that full biographic information on this

Forumar is the young and intellectual leader of the Pan-Iran Party. He, like ATAI and MADAI, is not actively back by MOSADEQ, although Mosadeq is said to respect his ability. Actually, though, his ties are much closer to Alayar SALEH, and Forumar calls himself a follower of Saleh.

Forumar was originally interested in the idea of Fan-Iran (the reclaiming of Iran's "lost" territories), but his ideology today centers on a neutralist freedom from all the great powers. He is strongly anti-communist.

Tabriz's report of lent. 27, 1956. farious despatches and cards)

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### SECRE

### Memorandum HOFORH/INTERNAL

TO : Chief, Political Section

DATE: 21 October 1965

P-300/65

FROM : CAS W

SUBJECT: Sentence of Darius Foruhar

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

On or about 16 October 1965 Dariush Foruhar, leader of the Mellat-e Iran (Iran Nation) Party, was sentenced to three years imprisonment by the presiding judge of ordinary Military Court No. 2. Foruhar was arrested thirteen months ago.

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Sahran Hamagi tried by another sout

IRAN Daryush FORUHAR

Leader of Nation of Iran Party

Daryush Foruhar is one of the National Front's younger, more radical figures who in recent years have increasingly criticized the front's more moderate leadership for its alleged over-cautious attitude. He is a militant nationalist in the Nazi mold and noted for his virulent anti-Communism. Although he originally called for Iran's return to its ancient geographical and political greatness, he has more recently emphasized neutrality and freedom from foreign influence. While not an intellectual, Foruhar is a devoted advocate of his cause and a talented organizer and propagan-



[PRE-1966]

dist. His Nation of Iran Party is the National Front's most militant, wellorganized component. It is under close surveillance by the government, and Foruhar, who has spent a large part of his career in jail, is currently serving a three-year term for anti-government activities.

Pro-West, Foruhar, nevertheless, wants Iran to follow an independent policy in the manner of India. He considers CEMTO useless, and is critical of military alliances, which he believes tend to shore up corrupt and unpopular governments more than they deter Communism. He admires the US, but criticizes its support of Britain and the current Iranian regime. Although he does not advocate revolution for Iran, which he says would benefit only "alien and imperialistic" elements, he doubts that the present Shah would accept a limited constitutional role.

Foruhar favors bi-lateral agreements with the US, particularly those involving economic aid. He would also accept aid from the USSR provided no strings were attached (a remote possibility in his opinion). An advocate of planned development, he would accept limited technical assistance and encourage the construction of steel mills. He is pessimistic concerning land reform, and proposes the nationalization of agricultural land and the formation of farming cooperatives. He would like to revise the oil agreements, but through negotiation rather than nationalization. Foruhar would also reorganize the army and recognize Communist China.

Born in 1928, Foruhar received his early education in Isfahan and Tehran. He graduated from the Tehran University Law Faculty in 1951. He was a founding member of the Pan-Iran Party, a right-wing nationalist group formed in 1946. In 1952 the party split three ways over the issue of support for the monarchy. Foruhar and his followers broke away and formed the Nation of Iran Party, which affiliated with then Premier Mohamad Mosadeq's National Front (NF). (The parent organization, led by Mohsen Fezeshkpur, went into a period of eclipse, and for several years Foruhar's group was referred to as the Pan-Iran Party. With the recent recrudescence of the old Pan-Iran Party, which

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#### CONFICENTIAL

#### MEMORANDUM OF GONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Fereigen TAGIZADEH, Medical Doctor, (Member of Nation of

Iran Party)

Larry W. Semakis - Second Secretary of Embassy

TIME & PLACE: Hay 9, 1968, Residence of Hedayatolla MATIN-DAPTARI

SUBJECT: P.M. Hoveyda's Meeting with Mation of Iran Party Leader, Foruhar

CLISTRIBUTION: POL/SF, POL/RF, CERON, CHU, MIO (2), OR 1-4 . 11 . 11. 14.

Taquadeh said that three months ago, Prime Minister Hoveyda summoned Dariush Foruhar (leader of the Nation of Iran Party) to his office for a talk. According to Taquadeh, Hoveyda offered Foruhar (a Imager by profession) a job as Legal Advisor in any Ministry if Foruhar would renounce his opposition to the government. Hoveyda reportedly praised Foruhar for his leadership abilities and stressed the fatility of continued political opposition to the Shah's government. Foruhar declined the offer categorically.

Tequadeh said that Fornhar's Nation of Iran Party has a small but dedicated following. Because of the tight political controls now obtaining, he and his fellow party men are passively waiting for the right time to re-emerge as a political force. The Party stands for constitutional government in Iran and an end to the complete authority exercised by the Shah. The Party would nationalise all important economic endeavors in the country and would exact more money for Iran from the Cil Consortium. In foreign affairs the Party would seek a rapprochement with the "progressive" Arab states, and would launch a "truly independent national foreign policy." Taquadeh claims that rural discontent in the aftermath of land reform is growing and that this discontent is directed at the Shah's government. He claimed that the government has not not the needs of the peasants previously furnished by the landlords, and that this failure has become a major source of discontent. He also feels that the Shah's government will be unable to meet the rising expectations of other elements in the population—particularly the demands of a growing middle class. Taquadeh predicts political instability in Iran's future.

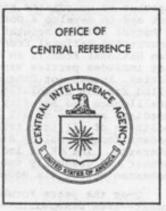
#### BIOGRAPHIC NOTE:

Fureidum Taqisadeh is the mephew of Seyed Hasam Taqisadeh, (an octoberarian referred to by Iramians as the "Father of the Iramian Constitution" because of his activity in the 1905 Constitutional Revolution). Fureidum is a sadical doctor in his late 20°s. Several years ago he was arrested because of his political activities at Tehram University and drafted into the Iram where he was assigned mental tasks. He now is working at Pahlavi Hospital but hopes to go to the U.S. to study further in medicine. He claims to have acceptances

Daryush FORUHAR (Phonetic: forooHAR) IRAN

Leader, National Front (since August 1978)

Long active in the opposition movement, Daryush Foruhar has spent 15 of the last 20 years in prison; most recently, he was jailed from 11 November to 6 December 1978. He is the former leader of the now defunct Nation of Iran Party, one of the groups that made up the old



National Front (NF) during the 1950s and 1960s. Foruhar has a law degree, but rather than practice his profession, he has used his education and propaganda talents to expose what he considers to be illegal government actions. An able political organizer, he could claim considerable credit for making the Nation of Iran Party the most militant and best organized of the parties in the NF during the late 1960s. is an activist, who has urged street action to demonstrate popular dissatisfaction with the government. His popular appeal, particularly among university students, during the 1960s was recognized by both the government and his colleagues in the opposition movement. Firmly committed to reform and the restoration of "constitutional rule," he has refused all blandishments from the government to induce him to renounce his stands. (C)

Foruhar has been active in the opposition's current campaign to discredit the government on the basis of its human rights record. He was one of the three signers of a letter published in the French newspaper Le Monde in June 1977 that condemned the Shah's rule and called for the strict application of constitutional principles. In November 1977 he organized the Union of National Front Forces, which advocated the restoration of "constitutional rule" and of personal freedoms and the nationalization of industry. During 1978 he and several other opposition leaders have worked

(cont.)

#### LETTE OFFICIAL USE

#### MEGDINATION OF CONVERSATION

FARTICIPANTS: Dr. Personn Libert, Chief, Conomics Department, Industrial and Sming Development Bank of Iran (MCSI)

Theodore L. liot Jr., First Secretary of Jehasay

: December 9, 195

· Current Iranian Political and Security Stustion SUBJECT.

#### Background t

'r. Shdavi has just been appointed Chief of the Conskies Constitute of the LIDI. He has previously worked in that department and in the investment Department of the Bark. He is a number of the Matienal Council of the Cational Front and, as much, was in jail for the first seven contin of 1963. He is about 30 years old, received nost of his training in occoronics in Carman (chi Hamburg), France and England (Lendon School of Secretaries for six months) and spenies good Durlink and excellent Gormon. He has not visited the United States. The purpose of the reporting officer's call was to establish contact with Dr. . aldavi in his naw Job.

#### ul stance of Conversation:

'absavi finds the Itemian seeme dominated by the Likel's reform program which he admits has stolen the Dational Pront's tounder. But he questions the annexity of the hall as a reference on a number of counts. In the first place, he is not present to believe that a can "who epitomized the forces of reaction" for seven years has maddenly become a liberal. Greaver, if the hah believes in reform, why is he using the mane old quard like lansur, letel and charif-mand to carry it out?

shinvi believes the Sheh was notivated in lemmehing his "raform" program primarily by foreign political considerations. This is to say that the Shah was concerned that his image abroad was beginning to remamble Trujillo's and Dies's. We was concerned at the reaction especially of the incoming "emmedy Administration to this image. He therefore not about changing the image. It follows, says mablevi, that if the has fools there is less pressure from the United States for reform in Iran, the hah will be less reform-minued. Inhibavi believe that the than probably thinks that there will now be a pariod of less pressure because the Johnson Administration will be concerned for the next few months primarily with domestic U.S. ostters. The that will therefore nove very closely on such things at the second stage of land distribution. Should the pressure from the United States be turned on a min, the Shall will turn on his " hite "avolution" a min, possibiling he can always do with much fenfare including our ting you is to to will may wore blooking his reforms and calling "reformers" (Armaniant') ted into office.

"Decontrollad following December 9, 1975" PERSONAL PROPERTY AT THE

The Ambassador

#### CONFIDENTIAL

#### MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

DATE: September 21, 1965

SUBJECT: Political and Economic Situation in Iran

PIACE:

Caspian Hotel Restaurant

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Fereydun MAHDAVI, Industrial and Mining Development Bank; National Front Leader

Theodore L. Eliot Jr., First Secretary of Embassy

#### 1. Political Situation

Dr. Mahdavi was more pessimistic about the political situation than I have observed him in the past, in the sense that he feels that the situation of the opposition to the regime is bleaker than it has ever been. The security forces are in control and have let it be known that the slightest sign of opposition will be crushed. The Shah has let it be known that any opposition to the government is opposition to him personally and will not be tolerated. As a result nobody in the opposition dares raise his voice; even AMINI and his group are quiet.

The Mational Front has, Dr. Mahdavi observed, been put out of commission by the recent arrests of many of its secondary leaders and of Khalil MAIEKI. He believes the arrests resulted from SAVAK's desire to thwart recent attempts to reorganize and reconstitute the Mational Front. The recent London Economist article on the opposition precipitated the arrests. MATIN-DAFTARY was singled out because of his contact with MCSADEQ. Dr. Mahdavi does not think that the arrests were connected with General NASSIRI's effort to consolidate his control of SAVAK.

The outlook for the opposition is bleak for the foreseeable future, Mahdavi believes, because the two main props of the regime, the financial situation and the army appear to be solid props. He no longer thinks (hopes) that an economic orisis will soon precipitate a political crisis. He has a vague notion that if the Shah moves too close to the Soviets, some military leaders may become disenchanted with him, but he is not very hopeful that that would happen.

GROUP 3 Downgraded at 12-year intervals, not automatically declassified.

CONFIDENTIAL

# AFME awards Iranian Congress Fellowship

American Friends of the Middle East (AFME) today announced award of the Congressional Fellowship to Mr. Hedayatollah Matin-Daftari. Mr. Matin-Daftari, Director of the Office of Information and Press Relations of the Ministry of Justice, will leave Iran next month for Washington, D.C. where he will spend nine mouths working as an assistant to one or several of the members of the United States Congress and Senate. He is the first Iranian to be so ironored by this grant which is worth \$ 56000.

The American Friends of the Middle East, which is sponsoring this fellowship, is a private, non-profit American organization dedicated to improving understanding between the people of America and the countries of the Middle East.

American Friends of the Middle East in Tehran operates a Student Counselling and Orientation program to assist students going to America; another program called the Individual Resources Development Program to assist these students to obtain employment and re-adjust when they return to Iran; and John Bruner Memorial Periodical Library of technical and scientific lit-erature to help Irahian graduates of American Universities keep abreast of the latest developments in the field in which they studied while in the United States, AFME also sponsors People-to-People programs, of which this award is a typical one.



MR. MATIN-DAFTARI

The purpose of the Congressional Fellowship which Mr. Matin-Daftari has received, is to enable outstanding young men to gain experience in democratic government by working with a Senator or Representative throughout one complete session of Congress. In past years, persons from Malaya, Formosa, and Japan, as well as selected Americans, have been chosen to participate in this program.

Matin-Daftari son of Senator Dr. Ahmad Matin-Daftari. Prime Minister. He was educated at Firoog Bahram Secondary School in Iran and Ellesmere College and Cambridge University in England. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics and Law from Cambridge in 1956. Since his return to Iran, he has worked in the Ministry of Education and as a faculty assistant at the University of Tehran. He assumed his present position of Director of Information and Public Relations at the Ministry Justice in 1953. Mr. Matin-Daftari also serves as Secretary to the Se-ciety for the Protection of Prisoners and their families, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Iranian Association for the United Nations.

Mr. Matin-Daftari married to the former Miss Mariam Vaseh-Noori. She is planning to accompany him to the United States along with their small son. Together they will be received upon arrival in the United States by Harold Minor, former United States Ambassador in Lebanon and now President of American Friends of the Middle East in Washington, D.C. At this ceremony Mr. Matin-Daftari will meet the Congressman with whom he will be working.

#### FIELD INFORMATION REPORT

EVALUATION OF SOURCE. A: Completely reliable. B. Usually reliable. C: Fairly reliable. D. Not usually reliable. E: Not reliable. (Applied to sources). F. Reliability cannot be judged. (Applied to unitested or insufficiently cannot be judged.)

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

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Heda stollah Matin-Paftari

REPORT NO.

NIT-6006

DATE OF REPORT 8 October 1962

NO. OF PAGES 1

REFERENCES (

DATE OF

INFO. 1 October 1962

PLACE & DATE ACQ.

Iran, Tehran (1 October 1962)

SOURCE EVALUATIONS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE. NOTE FOREGOING EXPLANATION.

SOURCE: A well-educated Iranian (C) who is a National Front committee member.

Apprecial of Content: 2.

Hodayatoliah Matin-Defteri, the member of the National Front publications committee who was recently arrested then released, is one of the
members of the National Front sub-committee responsible for writing
the articles which appear in the National Front Hewa. As a member of
this committee, he has comperated to a great extent with Mohammad Ali
Keehavara-Sadr, the propaganda committee chairman, in giving the
National Front newspaper its anti-American slant. In fact, MatinDeftari has frequently beasted at propaganda committee meetings that
he has been able to put "the cap over the eyes" of the stupid, gullible
Americans. Matin-Deftari claims to have close friendships with members of the American Embessy Political Section. As an example of his
attitude, Matin-Deftari at a recent propaganda committee meeting told
how he propagandizes the Americans, making them think he is their friend
and giving them nationalist secrets, while all the while they are
courting him, he is actually the one writing the anti-American propagands.

<u>Pield Comment</u>: Several reports have been received which clearly indicate that Matin-Daftari is the man who writes much of the anti-/merican propaganda which appears in the <u>Mational Pront News</u>. Matin-Daftari, the grandson of Mohammad Mossadeq and the son of Senator Ahmad Matin-Daftari, a former Prime Minister, spent one year in the United States on a grant as a Congressional fellow.

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#### CONFIDENTIAL

#### MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Participants: Hedayatollah MATIN-DAFTARI, Lawyer and National Front Member

Archie M. Bolster, Second Secretary

Place: Caspien Hotel for Lunch

Date: October 14, 1964

#### Allahyar Saleh

Matin-Daftari is obviously totally opposed to Saleh's leadership. Just as obviously he is loyal to his grandfather, Mossadeq, and the influence Mossadeq exerts on the National Front. He said that Saleh's greatest error was in urging the Front to become a political party and attempting to forge a unified political ideology from divergent political expressions of the member groups. Matin-Daftari insisted that Saleh has already lost whatever right to leadership he once had, and that after great forebearance Mossadeq finally stepped in and gave orders that Saleh's leadership should no longer be recognized. When asked who leads the National Front today, he replied "Mossadeq." When asked who, then, could be said to be the organizational leader on a day-to-day operational basis, he replied "the leaders of the groups which make up the National Front." Matin-Daftari went on to add that Saleh is not the leader of the Iran Party as he once was, and thus should not even be included in this collective leadership group.

#### National Front Goals

Matin-Daftari viewed the goal of the National Front as the achievement of liberty for all Iranian citizens. As a corollary he added the goal of a return to constitutional government. He emphatically stated that the Front does not want to gain office, but only to influence the existing government or a successor government to allow more freedom and to honor the constitution. He expressed the organizational theory of the Front as that of a grouping of autonomous political organizations possessing heterogeneous political philosophies but cooperating in order to work toward the Front's common goals. When asked what programs the Front desired to put forth as its proposals for the future of Iran, Matin-Daftari answered that the Front could not afford to bicker over the details of programs because of its wide spectrum of political philosophy and thus must avoid formulating specific political platforms and concentrate on the need for freedom and constitutional government.

#### Groups Within The National Front

Matin-Dartari pictured the Freedom Movement of Iran as a militantly Moslem group which has a substantial following because of its religious

Down raded at 4 year intervals.
Declassified after 12 years.

CONFIDENTIAL

Form FS 405 (revised) NOV., 1951

> DEPARTMENT OF STATE Foreign Service of the United States of America

OGRAPHIC DATA FORM

CLASSIFIC ION

CONFIDENTIAL

POST Tehran

July 3, 1968

REPORTING OFFICER

Larry W. Semakis

INSTRUCTIONS

For full instructions on submission of biographic data and use of this form see 4 FSM 500. COPIES TO

NAME

Hedayatollah MATIN-BAFTARI

NATIONALITY Iranian

PRESENT POSITION

Lawyer

DATA AND REMARKS

#### Birth

Hedayatollah Matin-Daftari, who was born in 1888 is the son of Senator Ahmed Matin-Daftari (international lawyer and former Prime Minister) and the grandson of former Prime Minister Dr. Mohamed Mosadeq.

#### Education

After schooling in Tehran he went to the U.K. where he studied at Cambridge University and in 1956 received a B.A. degree in Economics and Law.

#### Career

Upon his return to Iran he was employed by the Ministry of Education and joined the faculty of Tahran University. In 1958 he became Director of Information and Public Relations at the Ministry of Justice. In 1960 the American Friends of the Middle East gave him a Congressional Fellowship which provided for a nine month stay in Washington, D.C. working on Capitol Hill where he was able to observe the activities of Congress. On his return be became a practicing lawyer specializing in nationality cases.

Matin-Daftari was close to his grandfather and has long been associated with the National Front movement in Iran. In 1962 he served as a member of the National Front publications committee. During the years before Mosadeq's death in 1967 he served as a channel of contact between the villagsexiled former Prime Minister and National Front members. He is in close touch with those who are National Front minded, particularly among university students and other young elements. Matin-Daftari is well acquainted with the US and admires its principles; but, like many American-connected Iranians, he often feels constrained to adopt a critical attitude when in the presence of other Iranians.

#### Comment

Matin-Daftari is about 5'6" tall, wears glasses, has dark brown heir and a moustache. He smokes cigarettes, drinks moderately and is an avid-reader. On February 11, 1959 he was morried to the former Mariam Veseh-Nuri (an attractive and lively conversationalist schooled in the U.K. who shares her husband's political views), and they have two children.

Submit to Department in Triplicate

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Continue Data and Remarks on Plain Sheets

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AMENBASSY TERRAN 529 October 18, 1951
Air Pouch

### The Iranian Workers' Party

Recently the Embassy's Labor Attache, Mr. C. C. Finch, discussed the Iranian Workers' Party and problems related to it with Mr. Mozefar Baghai, the founder of the Party. Mr. Pinch had met with him twice in July in Abadan. The discussions at that time were particularly related to the oil crisis. The latest conversation, because of its interest, is summarised in this despatch. Dr. Issa Sepahbodi, a close colleague of Dr. Baghai in the work of the Iranian Workers' Party, participated in this meeting. He impressed Wr. Finch as being at least the equal of Dr. Baghai in his intimate knowledge of the past history, present operations, and anticipated future of the Party.

During the course of this interview, Dr. Baghai discussed with Mr. Finch his reasons for going to Abadan last summer, the political aims of his party, its membership and the methods by which it is financed. Dr. Baghai also descrited the source and numerical strength of his support and commented in detail on specific leaders of the noncommunist Iranian trade unions. ... anti-til gom) bind angro

Dr. Baghai stated that he has now estarlished branches of his party in Ahwas, Que, Karaj, Tehran, Shushtar, Disful and Ram Hormos. He proposes to establish branches at Isfahan, Zanjan, and Saveh. , of resilio on sec . (ABIG) (carl

Dr. Baghai rather defensively introduced the subject of his visit to Abadan which he alleredly made in order to establish a branch of the Workers' Party in that city. As the Department knows, he failed in that effort and was in fact said to have had his car stoned in a visit he made to the Fields Area. He now states that his visit to Abadan was not to establish a branch of the Party, but was purely a private visit and that he went with no special encouragement or instructions from the Prime Minister, contrary to the rumors current at the time of his arrival in Abadan. He stated that he hoped to establish a branch of his party in Abadan in the future, but has no present plans concerning it.



## THE FOREIGN SERVICE . OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

#### MEMORANDUM

Decio

TO 1 Mr. nay

Mr. Roy M. Melbourne Mr. John H. Stutesman

FROM : C. C. Finch

SUBJECT: C. C. Finch conversation with Dr. Sepahbodi

Monday, December 10, I had a conversation with Dr. Sepahbodi. He is an officer of the Iranian Workers Party and is a close friend of Dr. Bagai. Both Sepahbodi and Pagai have been members of the faculty of the University of Tehran for some years. They have a close personal relationship. I believe that it can be a safe assumption, therefore, that Sepahbodi speaks with some authority about the Iranian Workers Party.

Dr. Sepahbodi opened our conversation by stating that the Iranian Workers Party is supporting four candidates, under its own negis. They are Mr. Yasseri (Ahwaz constituency); Pr. Gousheguir (Pistfol); Pr. Bagai (Tehran) and Pr. Sepahbodi (Tehran).

Pr. Sepahbodi emphasized repeatedly the fact that the National Front was not itself a political party but, rather, represented the "broad interests of all classes of people". In an apparent effort to give the National Front certain practical political support Sepahbodi and Bagai have been instrumental in calling together a special committee, with between 10 and 12 members to "advise" Dr. Mosadeq and to give him support. The four principal groups represented on the committee are, in the order given by Sepahbodi, (1) the followers of Kashani, (2) the Iranian Workers Party, (3) the Iran Party, and (4) the corporations of the bazaar.

Among those attending the meetings are Messrs. Hassibi, Alayar Saleh, Nariman, Moshar, Makki, and Kashani. The group has no regular officers, no parliamentary procedure and no fixed time or place to meet. Dr. Mosades does not attend meetings of the group because, according to Sepahbodi, he is the head of government and cannot become involved in politics. Then Yullah Mashani attends meetings he is always, by acclamation, made chairman of that particular session because of "his great eminence in the affairs of Iran".

Later in the conversation—Sepahbodi obliquely again referred to the committee indicating the further sim of the committee was to establish a "close group of intellectuals interested in social and administrative reform".

I also discussed with Sepahbodi the part played by the Iranian Workers Party in the demonstration and riot of December 6. He stated

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SECRET

## Memorandum nof orn/internal use only

TO : Chief, Political Section

DATE: 3 November 1964

P-534/64

FROM : CAS

SUBJECT: Plans of Dr. Baqai to Issue Pamphlet Attacking

the Status of Forces Agreement

The following is for your information and whatever use you wish to make of it within the security limitations designated. Any reporting by you of this information must cite the control NOFORN but need not cite CAS as the source. The source is an Iranian official (B) with good contacts in the security services; from Baqai.

- 1. Dr. Mozafar Baqai said on 2 November 1964 that Ayatollah Khomeini had made a public speech in Qom on 26 October in which he attacked the Status of Forces Agreement and the 200 million dollar Arms Purchase Agreement recently passed by the Majlis.
- 2. Baqai stated that he himself was in the process of drafting a pamphlet to be signed with his name in which he would attack the government for sponsoring and passing the Status of Forces Agreement with the United States. Baqai further stated that the line he would take vis-a-vis the Americans would be that the Americans were unwisely allowing this law to hurt their image and their reputation in Iran. Baqai also stated that he was prepared to face arrest in putting out this pamphlet, but felt it was necessary for him to take some initiative in this matter in view of the fact that he expected that others opposed to the Agreement would also attack it.
- 3. Baqai expressed the opinion that the Shah must have tacitly approved attacks against the Agreement made in the Majlis during the recent debate, for it was inconceivable to him that spokesmen against the Bill would have dared to do so without the Shah's prior consent.







Mozafar BAQAI-KERMANI

IRAN

President, Toilers Party and Guardians of Freedom

Mozafar Baqai-Kermani has been a chronic oppositionist since 1949. He is a devoted nationalist, with overtones of socialism, wholeheartedly opposed to Communism, strongly anti-British but not unfriendly to the US. Within this framework, however, his politics tend to shift freely, depending on the conditions of the moment. A former supporter of ex-Premier Mohamad Mosadeq, Baqai was at one time the second most popular man in Iran. Since then his political fortunes have waned considerably. At the present time, he prob-

ably has little following beyond his two political organizations, the Toilers Party and the Guardians of Freedom--both of which are primarily personality cults without a significant popular base.

Baqai's activities are closely circumscribed by the government, and he is opposed by both the Tudeh (Communist) Party and Mosadeq's National Front. His strength lies in his nuisance value, and is derived largely from his skill as a demagogue. In his ambition for the Premiership he would probably sacrifice a few scruples to attain it. However, he has made so many political enemies during his long career that his chances are small. One source has asserted that the Shah is willing to allow Baqai a limited amount of freedom of action as a check on the government.

Baqai was born in Kerman in 1908. His father, Shahab Kermani, was a famous patriot and Constitutionalist. Mozafar received his early education in Iran, and earned a PhD in philosophy and pedagogy from the Sorbonne in 1935. Returning to Iran, he joined the faculty of Tehran University, where he has lectured on ethics off and on ever since. In 1939-41 he completed his military service as a reserve officer. Baqai reportedly joined the Tudeh Party in 1942, but left it soon after. In 1947 he was elected to the Majlis as deputy from Kerman. He first came into prominence in 1949, when his attacks on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) and the army won him popular acclaim. In November 1949 he was arrested for publishing sharp criticisms of the army in his newspaper, Shahed. A court martial sentenced him to a year in prison, but he was acquitted by a civil court.

Baqai had joined Mosadeq's National Front while in the Majlis, and in May 1951 he founded the Toilers Party to serve as the right wing's answer to the growing popularity of the Tudeh Party. Baqai described the Toilers Party as "socialist in attitude so far as socialist policy is consistent with the policies of the government." By this

131 S-E-C-R-E-T NO FOREIGN DISSEM GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

file bio

## Memorandum

#### CONFIDENTIAL

: POL - Mr. MINO

DATE: March 19, 1975

HRU : POL - Mr. Bolster

UBJECT: Background Data: Mosafar Baqa'i

In view of his recent open letter to the Shah criticizing the establishment of the Iran Resurgence Party as both illegal and unwise, I thought you might find a little background data on Mosafar Baqa'i to be of use.

A congenital oppositionist, Baqa'i has been active in Iranian politics since the mid-1940s. He has espoused various leftist viewpoints but always with a sizeable dose of personal opportunism. He was briefly a member of the Tudeh Party, later joined the National Front and after his 1951 founding of the Toilers Party he became the second most important man in the National Front. He broke with Mossadegh in 1952 and lost considerable support for his Party in the process. Later he first supported, and then opposed, General Zahedi and has generally been in opposition to every prime minister since. As a result of his constant opposition he has few friends among the establishment but many powerful enemies. These have imprisoned or exiled him a number of times but he has always rebounded in one way or another. He has been accused, for example, of complicity in the assassination of General Razmara, the murder of Mossadegh's Chief of Police General Afshartus and a variety of lesser crimes but has usually been acquitted on appeal. As the Shah's power grew. Baga'i's prominence decreased and he pretty much faded from sight with the rise of the Iran Novin Party.

Despite a long and tempestuous career he has had little influence on government policy except as a leader of the movement to nullify the rigged 1960 general elections. His position has been consistently nationalist, very anti-British and, perhaps beginning with the 1964 Status of Forces Agreement, rather anti-American as well. Though ambitious and opportunistic, he is regarded as honest where money is concerned, lives very simply in south Tehran and is respected by some for this.

He has used the open letter tactic at least twice in the past. Once in 1949 to criticize controls instituted by then Chief of Staff General Razmara, and again in 1953 when



CONFIDENTIAL

#### CONFIDENTIAL NO FOREIGN DISSEM

Chief Pelitical Section

CAS

24 October 1963 P-4/63

CARRY BOYES NIGHTS SHEET

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#### Freedom Movement of Iran Trials

REFERENCES: NIT 6260. 3 August 1963 NIT-6282, 22 August 1963 NIT-6295, 9 September 1963

The following is for your information and whatever use you wish to make of it within the security limitations designated. Any reporting by you of this information need not cite CAS the source.

of bold delige a character

- 1. The government will attempt to sentence the Freedom lovement of Iran (FMI) defendants in the trial from ten to fifteen years in jail. This is said to be at the Shah's wish. (This is from an Iranian intelligence officer (C) with access to reports concerning internal security matters. We consider the information to be reliable. Date of information is 22 October 1963.)
- 2. The FMI in Tehran would like to stage demonstrations against the trials of the PMI leaders but they are uncertain whether it would be wise to demonstrate since such action might result in the defendants' receiving a stiffer sentence. Thus, the FPI, in coordination with the Mational Front students abroad, will demonstrate against the trials abroad in order to bring world attention to bear on the trial. (This is from augually reliable source, from a central council member of the FMI. Date of information is 23 October 1963.)
  - 3. a. The FHI is concerned that the National Front in Iran has washed its hands of the FMI trials. The FMI leaders on trial have asked those on the outside whether they should put up a stiff defense or not. The FMI on the outside is undecided what it should do.
  - b. Jafar Sharif-Smami has asked the Shah to pardon Hehdi Basargan. Sharif-Emami asked this as head of the Engineers Association, of which Bazargan is also a leading member. The Shah told Sharif-kmami that the case against Bazargan was rather grave. Sharif-Emami said, "But your Majesty's compassion is greater." The Shah said he was very busy with foreign visitors at the time but that he would look into the matter. The Shah sent word to Basargan in prison that he must come and see the Shah and beg the Shah's pardon. Basargan refused, since this

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#### MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Mohammad Tavakoli, Liberation Movement of Iran (LMI)

John D. Stempel, Political Officer, American

Embassy, Tehran

DATE & PLACE: August 21, 1978 - North-side restaurant

SUBJECT : Iranian Political Situation

DISTRIBUTION: AMB, DCM, OR, POL, NEA/IRN

Tavakoli contacted me August 20 after a month's lapse since our last conversation. He met with me alone without the other LMI officials who had met with us previously. The purpose of the meeting from his point of view was to present LMI versions of various events of the past month.

The following major points emerged from the meeting: A) LMI has an entirely different perception of reality than most other opposition groups and certainly a totally different perspective than government. This difference is so marked at the present time as to make dialogue between the GOI and the LMI extremely difficult if not impossible. B) Tavakoli said that the nationalist movement in Iran lacks a popular base. The choice is between Islam and communism for the movement must have an ideology. C) The GOI has been consistently provocative with respect to police and military forces around the mosques. "The people" will undoubtedly continue to demonstrate and there may be additional violence. The LMI is predicting that there will be martial law in Tehran by August 23 or 24. (Comment: This seems unlikely).

Recent Events: Tavakoli described the aborted political meeting (reported in Tehran 7022). He indicated that a member of Iranian Committee for Human Rights and Freedom, Eng. Hashem Sabaghian who had arranged for the use of the property where the meeting was held, was picked up by SAVAK on July 22 and remains in the Komite prison in Iran. His family has visited him once and he is in good health. The International League for Human Rights has cabled the Prime Minister in protest of this arrest and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights has protested police action in breaking up the meeting.

Tavakoli jumped on the Shah's August 17 press conference statement that liberty was costing so much as evidence that the Shah will not keep even a minimum promise about democratization. He reviewed recent disturbances in Isfahan and

## TELECGIA

11812

COLLECT

E.O. 11652: TAGS:

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

SECRET/STADIS/LIMDIS

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET TEHRAN 11812 SUBJECT: STADIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

LIMDIS ACTION:

FROM

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 12-3-98 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P

TAGS: PINS, PORS, IR

SUBJECT: KHOMEINI CONTACT

REF: STATE 303337

POL-5 AMB DCM ECON2 MEXER OR CRU

SHIR TABR ISFA

1. MOHAMMAD TAVASSOLI OF REFTEL IS INDIVIDUAL KNOWN TO US AS MOHAMMAD TAVAKOLI WITH WHOM POLOFF STEMPEL HAS BEEN IN CONTACT REGULARLY SINCE MAY 1978. HE IS NOT RPT NOT A "KI'OMEINI MAN" EXCEPT IN LIMITED SENSE. HE IS A SECOND-ECHELON LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI) LEADER BEHIND MORE PROMINENT FIGURES SUCH AS BAZARGAN AND SAHABI WITH WHOM WE HAVE ALSO HAD CONTACTS. LMI IS, OF COURSE, MOST PRO-KHOMEINI GROUP IN OPPOSITIONIST GALAXY.

 TAVASSOLI WAS SOMEWHAT DISCONCERTED TO HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO HIM THAT EMBASSY KNEW WHO HE REALLY WAS. THIS CONTACT IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE FOR SEVERAL REASONS. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER SOURCE GAVE US THIS NAME ON HIS

POL: JDStempel: lab EARANCES

12-3-78

Dier War - Tablest

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPRICACED HE DCM CWNaas

POL: GBLambrakis

SECRET 37

CLASSIFICATION

1152 101

0 141416Z DEC 78 FM AMEMBASSY TRERAN TO SECSTATE WASHDO IMMEDIATE 2213 BT CONFIDENTIAL TERRAN 12249

CHRGE: STATE 12-14-78 APPRI: DCM: CWNAAS CRFTD: POL: JDSTEMPEL: LAP CLEAR: 1. POL:GBLAMBRAKI: 2.SRF(DRAFT)

DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM ECON-2 PM OR

(13)

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12-14-98 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P TAGS: PINS, ,INT, IR SUBJECT: LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI) VIEWS OF RECENT EVENTS

SUMMARY: LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI) SOURCE OFFERED LMI VIRY OF TASSUA/ASHURA DEMONSTRATIONS AND CALLED FORCE-FULLY ON U.S. TO DUMP SHAH. EMBOFF RESTATED SUPPORT FOR COALITION GOVERNMENT UNDER SHAH. END SUMMARY.

- 1. LMI SOURCE TELEPHONED EMBOFF STEMPEL AT HOME EVENING DEC 13. PREPARED TO DISGORGE FULL LMI LINE ON RECENT NON-VIOLENT TEHRAN DEMONSTRATIONS DEC 12-11 (TASSUA AND ASHURA). SOURCE SAID LMI CROWD COUNT WAS BETWEEN 1 AND 1.5 MILLION DEC 10 AND 1.7-2.0 MILLION DEC 11. EMBOFF SUGGESTED THESE WERE HIGHER THAN ESTIMATES BY PRESSMEN AND OTHERS WHO ATTENDED RALLIES. BUT SOURCE STUCK TO HIS FIGURES.
- LMI BELIEVED DEMONSTRATIONS WERE A "WALKING REFEREN-DUM" AGAINST SHAH. SPIRIT OF PROPLE WAS TREMENDOUS AND UPLIFTING. FACT THAT PARADE WENT OFF PEACEPULLY SHOWED WHAT COULD HAPPEN IF SHAH "GAVE UP POWER" OVER PART OF TERRAN AND KEPT BIS TROOPS AND SECURITY PROPLE OUT OF THE PARADE ALSO SHOWED NATIONAL FRONT COULD ORGANIZE GOVERNMENT. SOURCE DESCRIBED THOSE WHO MARCHED AS "TIP OF ICEBERG" AND SAID EVENT SHOWED OVERWHELMING SENTIMENT FOR GETTING RID OF SHAH. EMBOFF ASKED ABOUT PRO-SHAH EFFORTS OF PAST TWO DAYS. SOURCE REPLIED THESE WERE GOVERNMENT PROVOCATIONS-IN ISFAHAN GOI TROOPS HAD TURNED VIOLENT AND WERE "MASSACRING" PEOPLE. WEENEVER GOI GOT INVOLVED, THERE SEEMED TO BE TROUBLE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, SOURCE SAID LMI COULD NOT REALLY GIVE ACCURATE FIGURES ON CASUALTIES, SINCE SOLDIERS "WERE HUNTING DOWN PROPER IN THEIR HOME, EVEN BY EELICOPTER II NECESSARY." HE THOUGHT < ILLED NUMBERED BETWEEN 50 AND 2000, HOWEVER. (NOTE; THIS SUBSTANTIALLY FECEEDS FIGURES REPORTED BY U.S. CONSUL ISFAHAN AND APPEARS TO REPRESENT LMI/NATIONAL FRONT (INF) PROPAGANDA "PITCE.")
- 3. SOURCE THEN STATED EVENTS OF PAST FEW DAYS SHOWED U.S. SHOULD FORCE SHAH TO LEAVE. EMBOFF GAVE STANDARD DISCLAIMER THAT U.S. HAS THAT POWER OR WANTS TO INTERVENE IN IRAN. SOURCE REPLIED U.S. IS ALWAYS AGAINST PROPIE. EMBOFF THEN UNLOADED SOMEWHAT FROM VIETNAM TO IRAN. SHARPLY ON SOURCE, CHALLENGING HIS PROPAGANDISTIC VIEW OF EVENTS. EMBOFF THEN REITERATED U.S. POSITION THAT COALI-TION GOVERNMENT REPRESENTED BETTER WAY TO ACHIEVE LMI/INF GOALS THAN CONTINUED CONFRONTATION. WHY DIDN'T INF USE

CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

DRAFTER: GBLamb

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ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 471

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 3/20/1989 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P

AMB TAGS: PINS, IR

SUBJECT: Mujahiddin Structure and Allegiances

ces

RF

C - entire text.

2. During conversation March 19, Ambassador asked Prime Minister Bazargan for his assessment of Mujahiddin structure and loyalties. Bazargan launched into a complicated explanation in French, which was difficult for Ambassador and Pol Counselor to follow, but appeared to say that there had been a split in the Mujahiddin movement three or four years ago, with some of them following strict Marxist line.

- 3. There was a further split of the main Islamic party later on, which can best be described as hardliners and softliners. These people are distinct from the Fedayeen but generally represent extremist views and have not always sypported Bazargan movement. At the moment, both the Mujahiddin and the Fedayeen say they are supporting the movement but Bazargan indicated he did not put much faith in that.
- 4. Bazargan noted in passing that the original Fedayeen, who had been involved in the Siakhalh uprising, were practically wiped out. Others took up their name and tradition later just as the Mujahiddin picked up

## CONFIDENTIAL ENCLOSURE

THE TANKS

## Office of the Political Counselor

Date Feb 25

Counselor for Consular Affairs

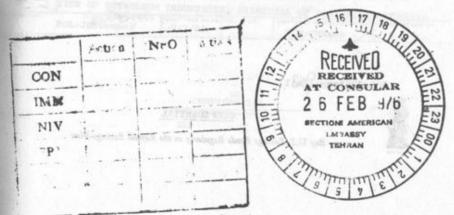
Chris,

As you requested, here are some suggestions from POL.

CONFIDENTIAL ENCLOSURE

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## TELEGRAM

1978 NOV 30 PN 1355

CHANGE TO

E.O. 11652; TAGS: SUBJECT: AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: AMEMBASSY MOSCOW SECSTATE WASHDC 4 4

11752

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN

ACTION:

Pet-3

AMB DCM ECON2

PM USICA

OR

SHIR TABR ISFA 15/ E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IR, UR

SUBJECT: IRANIAN TUDEH LEADER INTERVIEWED

REF: FBIS LONDON DTG LD 291421Y

(REFTEL)

DOUBLE PRINT THE EXAMPLE

FBIS LONDON/REPORTS INTERVIEW WITH IRAN TUDEH LEADER ESKANDARI

UNDER HEADLINE, "IRAN TUDEH LEADER REGRETS NO RESPONSE TO

CALL FOR UNITED FRONT."

2. LOOKS TO US LIKE THIS MIGHT BE SOVIET EFFORT TO DISTANCE

THEMSELVES FROM ACCUSATIONS OF SOLIDARITY WITH KHOMEINI.

WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S AND EMBASSY MOSCOW'S VIEWS.

SULLIVAN

POL: JDStempel: lab

11-20-78

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY

DCM: CWNgas

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFICATION

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

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RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 0794
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 9525
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 6405
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 6633 RUQMER/AMEMBASSY TEERAN 2009 RT CONFIDENTIAL USNATO 25423

- E.O. 12065: RDS-1 07/27/89 (LEGERE, LAURENCE) OR-P TAGS: NATO, IR. UR SUBJECT: (C) POLADS DISCUSSION OF IRAN 1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT).
- 2. AT JULY 26 POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING, BELGIAN REP SAID BELGIAN EMBASST IN MOSCOW EAD REPORT THAT IRANIAN EMBASSY THERE HAD FORWARDED A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM ATATOLLAH KHOMEINI TO BREZHNEV BUT HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO LEARN SUBSTANCE OF REPORTED MESSAGE. HE ASKER IF ALLIES HAD INFORMATION TO CONFIRM THIS REPORT.

SALECT STITLECT A TO THEM IT DWIN I HE STEEL THE TWO STORES

WE WANTED THE .

- 3. ADDITIONALLY, FRG REP CIRCULATED FOLLOWING PATER ON MANAGEMENT STREET STREET HE STREET HE STREET SOVIET VIEWS ON IRAN.
- 4. ACTION REQUESTED: ANY INFORMATION WASHINGTON OR MOSCOW MAY HAVE ON REPORTED THOMEINI-BREZENEV MESSAGE. SEC A FOR SHE REDIAN PADISDAY
- Operate Post or GME THIS HOLD BY IN MINOR A. AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE SOVIET POSITION ON IRAN IS CONTRADICTORY AND, ON THE WHOLE, ANYTHING BUT CLEAR. THUS, IT REFLECTS THE UNCERTAIN PERSPECTIVE OF IRAN'S FUTURE DOMESTIC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND - DEPENDENT ON THIS - HER FOREIGN-POLICY ORIENTATION. THE INITIALLY -AS IT SEEMED - UNRESERVED SOVIET SYMPATHY FOR THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION IS INCREASINGLY GIVING WAY TO GREATER CONCERN AT THE FACT THAT THE PRESENT HETEROGENEOUS IRANIAN 'LEADERSHIP' IS NOT OPENING HERSELF TO MOSCOW'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC WOOING TO THE EXTENT WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD HOPED FOR.

## HEREMANNAYSIS GROUP

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THREAT ASSESSMENT: IRAN

Prepared by: Stefanie C. Stauffer Bowman H. Miller

Approved by: Sid T. Telford 632-2412

June 14, 1979 100 14 500 10 bold one

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WARNING NOTICE -INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

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> SECRET RDS-1,2,4 5/29/2009 (Multiple Sources) 125

Tribal leader

Khosro Khan Qashqai is the youngest and most virulently anti-Government of the four paramount khans -- all brothers -- of the Qashqai tribe. Although his oldest brother, Naser, is the tribal chief, Khosro was for many years the war leader and commands considerable respect among his tribesmen. He has three strong passions: a bitter hatred of the Shah, a strong loyalty to his tribe and family, and an ambition to replace the Pahlavi family as rulers of Iran. These motivations outweigh any other friendships or alliances he may form. He has often (PRE-1964)

plundering the nation's wealth.



professed friendship to the US, but has not hesitated to attack US policy in Iran. He once referred to the Shah as an American puppet who is

Since 1954, when Khosro and two of his brothers were exiled, he has been involved in innumerable plots and rumors of tribal uprisings. He is closely connected with the National Front (NF) organization in West Germany, where he now lives, although the NF does not consider him a bona fide nationalist. He has been reported to be in contact with the Tudeh (Communist) Party in East Germany, and has urged the NF to cooperate with the Tudeh against their common enemy, the Shah. He is also rumored to be in contact with UAR President Nasir. In 1963 negotiations were being held between the Qashqais and the Government to permit two of the brothers to return; Khosro, however, was not considered.

Khosro Qashqai was born in 1921 in Firuzabad in southern Iran, the main city of the Qashqais. His father, Ismail Khan Qashqai (Solat-ed-Dowleh), was poisoned by order of the Shah in the early years of the Pahlavi dynasty. The hatred of Ismail's sons for the Shah is said to date from this event. Khosro graduated from the American College of Tehran in 1939 and returned to his tribe to assume his hereditary duties. He served as governor of Firuzabad from 1943 to 1947. In addition to being the tribal war commander, Khosro was responsible for the tribe's foreign relations and politics. In 1947 he was sent by the Qashqais to be their deputy in the Majlis. He served in the three consecutive sessions until 1953. Khosro Qashqai was vice president of the 16th Majlis (1950-52), and was a member of the Majlis Agricultural Commission during that session.

The opposition of the Qashqai Khans to the Government has been almost continual since World War II. In that conflict they supported the Germans, and during the 1940's and 1950's led tribal revolts aimed at

> GROUP 1 Excluded from autom downgrading and

Form FS 405 (revised) NOV., 1951

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Foreign Service of the United States of America

### INSTRUCTIONS

CONFIDENTIAL

NO/FORN

CLASSIFICATION

For full instructions on Abmission of biographic data and use of this form see 4 FSM 500.

POST Tehran DATE Sept. 9, 198

REPORTING OFFICER Victor Wolf, Jr.

COPIES TO GTI, Tehran Bio files

NAME SHARIAT-MADARI, Seyed Kazem NATIONALITY Iranian

PRESENT POSITION

Prominent Shia Senior Clerio

### DATA AND REMARKS

Personal: Born about 189h at Tabriz of a clerical family. Presently has one wife In the Past he had a number of sigeh (temporary contract wives), especially during his travels to holy cities in Iraq and Iran. Nothing is known about his children. although he undoubtedly has some.

Educations Began his religious education in Tabriz and later studied in Qom. He has also studied at Meshed for a number of years and for short periods of time at Najaf and Kerbala.

Teaching: He is presently one of the four most important Shia clergymen at Qom and is a prominent teacher, specializing in religious jurisprudence. He is presently using some of the tithes which are available to him to construct a "House of Islamic Propa ation" in Qom with a branch in Tehran across Avenue Shah Reza from Tehran University. He has also obtained a credit of Rials 50 mill (\$667,000) for this project. Students at these "Houses" will be taught modern science and foreign languages as well as regular religious studies. The graduates of this school will reportedly be used as missionaries to proselyte Islam in foreign countries. Some years ago, Shariat-Madari was promoted to the rank of mujtahid and is considered one of the marjeh (most senior Shia clergyman and one of those contending for the Shia paramountcy). As such, he is considered a pre-eminent clergyman whose religious instructions should be followed and who has the right to command the faithful. He can also legitimately use the title of Ayatollah.

Travels: Iraq

Languages: Persian and Arabic

Political Activities: Shariat-Madari has considerable religious followers in Tabriz and Azerbaijan and his political base is in the Tabriz basear. Reports have estimated that he has perhaps as many as 500,000 followers in Northwestern Iran. He has a secondary base in Qom where he has a particular following among Azerbaijanis studying in that shrine city. Shariat-Madari is considered to be extremely cautious and conservative when it comes to tactics but he is selfpossessed, intelligent, and somewhat modernist in his religious outlook (see Political and Social Attitudes).

> CONFIDENTIAL Group 1 - Excluded from automatice downgrading and declassification.

FIELD INFORMATION REPORT

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CARCY

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METRY IRAN REPORT NO.

RECENT ANTI-IRANIAN GOVERNMENT AND DATE OF REPORT 5 APRIL 1966 ANTI-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES WITHIN RELIGIOUS CIRCLES IN QOM NO. PAGES

THEY OLD THE EXAMPLE OF SHEER PRINT HARRY. CHARGE CHOICES AND DUTTE PART OFFICE

IRAN, TEHRAN 30 MARCH 1966

AND THE PARTY HAVE DESCRIBED AND THE PRODUCT APPRICAL OF CONTEST IS PERSONNEL.

A SENIOR MULLAH WITH GOOD CONTACTS IN COURT AND RELIGIOUS CIRCLES. HE HAS PROVIDED OCCASIONAL BUT ACCURATE INFORMATION ON RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES SINCE 1963.

- ON 17 MARCH 1965 IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SECURITY OFFICERS ARRESTED SHEIKH FNU MONTAZERT) AND AT LEAST THREE OTHER MULLAHS IN COM AFTER AN ANTI-TRANTAN GOVERNMENT TALK AT MHICH A LEAFLET CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT ON THE FOLLOWING THREE POINTS WAS DISTRIBUTED
- A. THE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO PERMIT AYATOLLAH RUHOLLAH MUSAVI KHOMEINI TO RETURN TO DOM FOR THE NO RUZ HOLIDAYS.
- THE ATTEMPTS OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION TO ESTABLISH THE SAME CONTROLS OVER THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS THAT IT MAINTAINS OVER THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.
- AN ALLEGED GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL TO GIVE STUDENTS DOLES FROM THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED ENDOWMENTS OFFICE IN AN ATTEMPT TO BRIBE THE STUDENTS TO REFRAIN FROM ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES.

AS OF 30 MARCH, THE LEARNED SOCIETY OF QOM FORMED BY REPRESENTA-TIVES OF ALL THE MAJOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN QOM, WAS ATTEMPTING TO CONTACT AYATOLLAH SEYED ANMAD KHONSARI IN TEHRAN TO REQUEST THAT HE ASK SECURITY AND COURT OFFICIALS FOR THE RELEASE OF THE ARREST-ED MULLAHS.

THE ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE SUPPORTERS OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI HAVE ALSO ATTACKED AYATOLIAH SEYED KAZEM SHARIAT-MADARI OF QOM. THEY CLAIM THAT THE RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA CENTER, FOUNDED BY SMARIAT-MADARI IN COM IN 1965, MUST HAVE A SECRET GOVERNMENT

/CONTINUED/

CONFIDENTIAL NO FOREIGN DISSEM .

# CONFIDENTIAL

# MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Cyrus Elahi, Special Assistant to Educational

Minister Ganji

John D. Stempel, U.S. Embassy, Tehran Barbara Schell, U.S. Embassy, Tehran

DATE & PLACE: February 6, 1978 - Chetniks Restaurant

SUBJECT : Frustration in the GOI and the Amouzegar

Government

DISTRIBUTION: AMB/DCM, POL, POL/M, ECON, OR, USIS, BIO

NEA/IRN, INR/RNA, INR/OIL/B

Elahi, who has known both Emboffs for over two years, was very critical of Prime Minister Amouzegar's handling of basic educational problems in Iran. Elahi speaks from the perspective of one committed to the political career of his Minister. Manuchehr Ganji, and his remarks should be taken in that light. Elahi is a public participation oriented academic who has frequently expressed frustration with bureaucratic slowness and is one of the idea men on Ganji's team.

Elahi believes Amouzegar vetoed the proposed merger of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (Science and higher education had been put under Ganji's tutelage about two months ago with the intention that the ministries eventually would be merged--this is not to be the case). In response to questions, Elahi indicated he did not know why the Prime Minister was against the merger, which Elahi and Ganji believe is the only way to cope successfully with the stresses and strains in Iran's higher education. Such strains are directly related to the inadequacies of Iranian secondary education. The Prime Minister reportedly feels both jobs together are too big for one man. (At a dinner several nights earlier Elahi indicated that Ahmad Qoreshi, Chancellor of National University, was the leading candidate to become the new Minister of Science and Higher Education. Elahi said he will stick with Ganji at the Ministry of Education (implying he had received another offer, perhaps from Qoreishi) because he feels the problems of secondary education are more immediate and solving some of them will have beneficial spillover on higher education within a very few years. Elahi may simply be loyal to Ganji, or uncertain of his own priorities.

The New Amouzegar Government: When the discussion broadened to talk of the Amouzegar government in general, Elahi repeated what is becoming a common theme in many circles--the Amouzegar

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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SECRET/LIMDIS

A-105

DATE: AUGUST 1, 1978

SUBJECT: UNCERTAIN POLITICAL MOOD: RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS,

TOUGHER ROYAL LINE ON DEMONSTRATORS

SUMMARY: Source who has been helping broker court contacts with religious groups notes official disappointment with recen developments, especially Ayatollah Shariatmadari's refusal to publicly break ranks with Ayatollah Khomeini. Shah's mood and health concern some court officials. According to this source Shah has directed much tougher line against demonstrators in wake of July 26-29 rioting. Corruption could become major political issue. Communist and Khomeini forces are staying is opposition background for moment. GOI seen as still in disarr Source represents pessimistic view current in several circles but probably overstates negative aspects of present situat Support for various elements of his views are found in other quarters as well, however, and Iranian political mood seems of roller coaster for the moment. END SUMMARY.

Pol. - 3 AmB

Hedayat Eslaminia, who has been discussing the religious situation with Embassy Political Officers for the past few months, opened a July 25 meeting with Political Officer Stemp in somewhat low spirits. The religious situation has "come apart". Eslaminia learned from General Fardoust and SAVAK Chief Moghaddam that the Shah was most distressed that Ayatollah Shariatmadari did not publicly oppose Ayatollah Khomeini's call for a subdued, "politicized" celebration of 12th Imam's birthday July 21. Eslaminia says Shariatmadari and his supporters have increased their dislike for Khomeini until it borders on hate because pro-Khomeini groups are blad mailing Shariatmadari supporters by threatening to shut down or burn their shops in the Bazaar.

FORM D5-323

SECRET/LIMDIS

FOR DEPT. USE CO

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Contents and Classification Approved by: CHARGE: CWNaas

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ACTION:

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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CLASSIFICATION

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

ECRET TEHRAN

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PORS, PINS, PINT, IR

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RELIGIOUS DEAL WITH GOI

REF: TEHRAN 9309 AND PREVIOUS (NOTAL)

DCM-2 AMB POL CRU 5/- SUMMARY: REPRESENTATIVE OF AYATOLLAH SHARIATMADARI (STRONGLY PROTECT) CALLED ON EMBOFF TO ASCERTAIN U.S. POSITION ON PRESENT IRANIAN GOVERNMENT AND TO INDICATE POTENTIAL DEAL IN OFFING BETWEEN MODERATE RELIGIOUS LEADERS HEADED BY SHARIATMADARI AND GOI. DEAL INCLUDES EFFORT TO CONVINCE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI IN FRANCE TO "GO EASY" IN OPPOSITION. RELIGIOUS LEADERS PREPARED TO BRING NATIONAL FRONT (INF) POLITICIANS ALONG AS PART OF ARRANGEMENT. NEGOTIATIONS WILL CONTINUE FOR NEXT FEW DAYS. END SUMMARY.

DR. NASSER MINATCHI, TREASURER OF COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE
 OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF), DURING PHONE CALL ON OTHER
 MATTER, ASKED TO SEE POLOFF STEMPEL CONCERNING "URGENT"

CLIDStemp 1: lab

10 22 Table

10-11-78

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY

DCM; CWNaas

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# TELEGRAM

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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

FROM

SECRET/LIMDIS

CLASSIFICATION

E.O. 11652: TAGS:

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY ACTION . AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

SUBJECT:

INFO: USINT BAGHDAD

ACTION:

10281 SECRET TEHRAN LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PINT, PINS, IR

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION ON THE MOVE: DEAL IN THE WIND?

A. TEHRAN 9904 (NOTAL), B. TEHRAN 9892 (NOTAL)

POL-3

AMB DCM ECON2 DIII HSTER OR CRU

SHIRX TABR XXXX 10/

SUMMARY: JOINT DELEGATION LEAVES IRAN FOR PARIS OCT 21 TO SEE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI. NATIONAL FRONT (INF) SPOKESMEN EMPHASIZE POSSIBILITY OF COALITION, ATTACK GOI FOR CORRUPTION AND CALL

FOR "NEUTRAL" GOVERNMENT TO SUPERVISE ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

 PRESS MORNING OCT 22 REPORTS DEPARTURE OF ENG MEHDI BAZARGA AND DR. NASSER MINATCHI FROM IRAN FOR PARIS TO "DISCUSS CRITIC!

MATTERS" WITH AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI. BAZARGAN, WHO IS HEAD OF

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDHRF) AS WELL AS LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAN (LMI); AND MINATCHI.

WHO IS COHRF TREASURER AND CLOSE FRIEND OF AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-

MADARI, APPEAR TO BE ON POLITICAL CONCILIATION MISSION

POL: JDS empel: lab CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE TEL. EXT. 10-22-78

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED B DCM: CWNaas

POL:GBLambrakis

OR: (info)

SECRET/LIMDIS

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM (Formerly F5

50152-101

# TELEGRAM

1978 NOV 16 AM 8 13

INDICATE COLLECT CHARGE TO

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL

11652: TAGS: ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

IMMEDIATE

11228

AJECT: ICTION:

E.O. 11652: **GDS** 

TAGS:

PINS, IR

SUBJ:

KARIM SANJABI

REF:

STATE 289279

DEPUTY MINISTER OF COURT BAHADORI MADE INQUIRIES AT OUR REQUEST YESTERDAY AND INFORMS US SANJABI IS IN COMFORTABLE CIRCUMSTANCES WHILE UNDER ARREST. HEAD OF SAVAK GENERAL MOGHADAM, WHO WAS SANJABI'S LAW STUDENT, HAS PERSONALLY INDICATED TO US THE SAME THING. WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS ARREST UNDER MARTIAL LAW REGULATION SECTION 5 ON NOV 11 WHEN HE WAS ILLEGALLY TRYING TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE.

TED BY

DRAFTING DATE

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED B

MANCES

POL: GBLambrakis

11/16/78

1110

MIN: CWNaas

CONFIDENTIAL

# TELEGRAM

1978 NOV

COLLECT 1502

E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CLASSIET CATION CONFIDENTIAL.

BOSTON GLOBE'S STEVE ERLANGER (PROTECT) IN CONVERSATION WITH

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN

11502

ACTION:

AMB DCM

ECON2 PM

USICA OR

CRU SHIR

TABR ISFA E.O. 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PGOV. PINR. PINS. IR

SUBJECT: ALI AMINI MOVES

AMINI WOULD NAME NO NAMES.

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 CON-CURRENT 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

IN COURSE OF TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION, AMINI SAID SHAH MUST

INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD SERVED AS UNDERSECRETARIES IN MINISTRIES.

DRAFTING DATE

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY

POL: GBLambrakis

CONFIDENTIAL

50152-101

1978 DEC -7 PM 12: 30

COLLECT

FROM

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CONFIDENTIAL LIMDIS

CLASSIFICATION

E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT: ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN

11959

ACTION:

AMB

DCM ECON2

OR

11

CRU

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 FRON (INF) WILL PARTICIPATE IN DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED FOR DEC 10

(TASSUA). U.S. PROFESSOR COTTAM RUMORED IN IRAN. END SUMMARY.

1. DR. NASSER MINATCHI CALLED MBOFF STEMPEL AT HOME AFTER CURFEW DEC 6 TO DISCUSS NEWS TOT 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

POL: JDSterbel: lab

MAFTING DATE TEL. EXT

DCM: CWNage

POL:GBLambrakis

CONFIDENTIAL LIMDIS

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM (Formerly FS-

### COMPIDENTIAL/LINDIS

600

PM AMEMBASSI TEHRAN
TO RUBEC/SECSTATE WASHDC HIACT IMMEDIATE 2486
INFO RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 4125
RUPHPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 3549
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TERRAN 12691

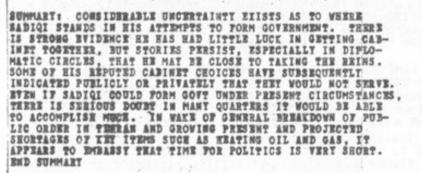
CHRON: STARTS ANY NO. 18 APPROVE DESTRUCTION OF STARTS AND THE PROPERTY OF

LIMBIS

E.O. 12865: RDS-4 12/28/84 (STEMPEL, JOHN D.) OR-P TAGS:

SUBJECT: VHITHER OR WITHER SABIQIT

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



- 1. PARA SEVEN REF A SUGGESTS POLITICAL INITIATIVES ARE AT DEAD CENTER FOR MOMENT. PUBLICLY, GHOLAM HOSSEIN 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 INGREASINGLY SEEN HERE, EVEN BY ITS OWN MEMBERS, AS A LAME STORM ADMINISTRATION. ITS MINISTERS ARE LOATE TO TAKE INDEPENDENT BECISIONS EVEN ON SIMPLE MATTERS. PRIVATELY, SHEASTY EAS EXARD WIDELY VARYING STORIES, ALE FROM GOOD SOURCES, ABOUT SADIQI PROGRESS. MOST OPTIMISTIC SAY HE HAS CABINET HEARLY FORMED (REF B) AND WILL BE READY TO MOVE WITEIN NEXT, FRW DAYS. THIS COINCIDES WITH RUMORS GOING EROUND DEC 27 AND 28 THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEW GOFT WILL COME DEC 29-31. EQUALLY GOOD SOURCES, EOWEVER, SAT SADIQI HAS HAD MINIMAL LUCK ENLISTING QUALIFIED PROPLE (I.E., THOSE NOT TAINTED BY PARTICIPATION IN PAST 15 TEARS' GOVERNMENTS) AND HAS BEEN ABLE TO LINE UPONLY FOUR TO RIGHT INDIVIDUALS.
- 2. A COUPLE OF HIS REPORTED CASINGT CHOIGES MADE SUBSE-QUENTLY INDICATED RITHER PUBLICLY OF PRITAMERY THAY THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN COALITION GOTT. MOMERN PRESENTATION TOLD CLOSED SESSION OF PAREIMPENT DEC 27 THAY YOUNG, UNTAINTED RADICAL GOVERNMENT IS NEEDED. IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE CONVERSATION INSTIGATED BY US HE CONFIRMED THAY HE WAS READY TO OFFER HIMSELF AS PRIME MINISTERIAL CAMDI-DATE, THUS SUGGESTING HE WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN BRING SADIQUES MINISTER OF JUSTICE, AS HAD BEEN TOUTED. MENDI

INFO:

DCM

PM

OR

ADM

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SHIR

TABR CRU-2

SECRET

00 RUQMHR DE RUEEC #7062 3630235 ZNY SSSSS ZZH 0 2923547 DEC 78 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS RUESRS/AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE 4170 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOXYO IMMEDIATE 2913 RUOMEM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 0578 RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 4059 RUEHME/AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE 8157 RUTAOL/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 4091 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 5548 RUSBER/AMCONSUL KARACHI IMMEDIATE 6894 RUPHOLD/AMCONSUL STUTTGART IMMEDIATE 4318 RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE RUQMPL/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE 9391 RUHQEQA/ CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII IMMEDIATE 2156 RUFEFT/AMCONSUL FRANKFURT IMMEDIATE 8802 SECRET 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 DEPINITELY 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, AH AMERICAN PRESS SOURCE REPORTS GREAT ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF ZAHEDI. ALL OF THE INTERLOCUTORS SEEM CERTAIN THE SADIQUE REFORT HAS FAILED.

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

## CONFIDENTIAL

O 0711002 JAN 79
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2754
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 00295



LIMDIS

E.O. 12U65: GDS 1/7/85 (LAMBRAKIS, GEORGE B.) OR-P TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR SUBJECT: ANOTHER MODERATE OPPOSITIONIST OPPOSES BARRYED

REF: 78 TEHRAN 127U2

- 1. HEAD OF TEACHERS UNION AND MODERATE OPPOSITION POLICIAN MOHAMMAD DERKESHESH 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, DERAKESHESH SAID, THEY WERE FORTH RANK UNKNOWNS. HE KNEW FOR A FACT THAT NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION (RIAHE). WAS AN ACTIVE SAVAK AGENT; DERAKESHESH HAD GOTTEN EIM A JOB TEARS 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 DERAKESHESH THOUGHT OF SHAH'S PLANS TO TAKE A VACATION, DERAKESHESH SAID HE WAS NOT IMPRESSED. SHAH HAS TAKEN VACATIONS BEFORE, AND COME BACK. THAT IS NOT THE PERMANET DEPARTURE THAT IS NECESSARY.
- 4. DERAKESHESH SAID SHAH IS ALVAYS 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. DERAKESHESH'S WEEKLY (ON ITS THIRD ISSUE) ATTACKED
  BAKHTIAR YESTERDAY. SULLIVAN
  BT

#0295

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

TEHRAN 30

TERRIN 2367/1

0 0912432 JAN 79 FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN TO SECSTATE WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE 2790

RT CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 TERRAN 00367

DRFTD: POL: JDSTEMPEL: CCM CLEAR: POL:GBLAMBRAKIS DISTR: DOL & AMB DCH

CERGE: STATE 1/8/79

APPRV: DCM:CWNAAS

PM ECON CERON/8

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P TAGS: PINS, PINE, PGOV, IR SUBJECT: CLERGY ORGANIZING TO HELP STABILIZE PUBLIC ORDER

SUMMARY: DR. NASSER MINATCHI TOLD EMBOFF 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.

- DR. NAS"ER MINATCHI INFORMED POLOFF STEMPEL MORNING JAN S THAT CLERICAL LEADERS IN TEERAN HAVE FORMED A NEW GROUP WHICH TRANSLATES AS "CLERGY LEADERS ORGANIZATION (CLO)". PURPOSE OF GROUP WAS TO HELP MAINTAIN SOCIAL ORDER OVER NEXT PEW 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 SHAE WOULD LEAVE THE COUNTRY AT SOME POINT FOLLOWING FINAL CONFIRMATION. . CLERGY WERE TO MEET AFTERNOON JAN 8 TO WORK OUT PLANS TO COMTROL EMOTIONAL OUTPOURINGWHICH WOULD FOLLOW AND CHANNEL IT CON-STRUCTIVELY IF POSSIBLE.
- 2. EMBOFF 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 BUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM (CDERF) WOULD ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE ALL ITS FOLLOWERS FOR THIS PURPOSE. EMBOFF STRESSED. AVOIDANCE OF PROVOCATION WHICH WOULD TRIGGER HILITARY BACKLASH SUCH AS OCCURRED IN GAZVIN AND MASHAD. MINATCHI SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PROBLEM VERY WELL.
- 3. CLERGY WAS ESPECIALLY YEY GROUP, AND CLO WOULD BE MAIN VEHICLE, ACCORDING TO MINATCHI. LEADER WAS HOJATOLLAR SETED MOHAMMAD BRHESHTI (KNOWN TO EMBASST AS KEY KHOMEINI LEADER), WITH FOLLOWING OTHER CLERICS AS SENIOR FIGURES: EOJATOLLAES RAFSANJANI, ABDOLKARIM MOUSSAVI ARDEBILI, AND MORAMMAD MORATER. THEY WERE HOPING TO WORK OUT PLANS JAN 8. THEN BE READY TO MEET WITH AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI. WHO WAS EXPECTED IN TERRAN EVENING JAN 9 OR JAN 18 WITH LATEST SUBTLETIES OF KHOMEINI POSITION.
- 4. STATEMENT ISSUED IN TEHRAN BY ATATOLIAH TALEQANI JAN 8 WAS ALSO SIGNED BY CLO LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS TRLANGLE" OF SENIOR AYATOLLAHS. IT CALLED ON PROPLE TO REMAIN CALM, AVOID INTERFERING WITH SECURITY FORCES. AND CEASE THREATS AND ATTACKS ON FOREIGNERS. NOTICE 113

CONFIDENTIAL/LIMDIS

STREAM MARKEY

TEHRA FESSE

P 191351Z JAN 79
PM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2876
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 60502

CHRGE:
APPRV:
DRFTD:
CLEAR:

CHRGE: STATE 1 APPRV: MIN:CWNAAS DRFTD: POL:JDSTEMP CLEAR: POL:GBLAMBR

DISTR: PCL-3 AMB D ECON-2 PM I OR ADM SY D AFOSI CHRON

E.O. 12065: RES 1/10/99 (STEMPEL, JOHN D.) OR-P TAGS: PINS, FINR, IR SEDU SUBJECT: PROFESSOR'S GROUP TO MOVE FOR UNIVERSITY RE-OPENING

SUMMARY: PROFESSOR'S GROUP WILL TRY TO REOPEN UNIVERSITIES JAN 13. THEY WERE SEEKING PROMISE OF GOVT NON-INTERFERENCE. EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY QUITE RADICAL ABOUT CORRUPTION TRIALS AND BELIEVES BAKHTIAR GOVT MUST TAKE FIRM ACTION TO SURVIVE. END SUMMARY

- 1. POLOFF SPOKE AT LENGTH JAN 6 WITH PROFESSOR ALI MOHAMMADI, PROFESSOR OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATOR AT FARABAD UNIVERSITY IN TEHRAN. MOHAMMADI IS A SENIOR OFFICIAL OF IR. NASSER PAKEAMAN'S SOLILAPITY GROUP WHICH HAS BEEN RUNNING 70 TO 100-MAN SIT IN AT TEHRAN UNIVERSITY. MOHAMMADI IS IN HIS EARLY 40'S, RECEIVED HIS PH.D. FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND WORKED FOR SOME TIME WITH NIRT (IRANIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION) BEFORE TURNING TO TEACHING A FEW YEARS AGO.
- 2. MOHAMMADE SAID THERE WILL BE MEETINGS JAN 9 AND 10 BETWEEN PAKDAMAN'S GROUP, UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATORS AND GOVT OFFICIALS. PURPOSE OF MEETINGS IS TO SET GUIDELINES FOR UNIVERSITY REOPENINGS WHICH ARE EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE JAN 13 IF ALL GOES WELL. MOFAMMADI SAID FRANKLY THAT UNIVERSITY GROUP DID NOT PARTICULARLY SUPPORT BAKHTIAR'S GOVERNMENT BUT FELT THIS WAS A CHANCE TO GET THE UNIVERSI-TIES REOPENED AND TURN STUDENTS ATTENTION IN MORE CONSTRUC-TIVE DIRECTION. SOLIDARITY GROUPS BASIC GOALS WILL BE TO ESTABLISH A DEGREE OF UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY IN SELECTION OF DEPARTMENT HEADS AND SENIOR OFFICIALS. MOHAMMADI SAID UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS WOULD PROBABLY NOT RPT NOT INSIST ON EXECUTIVE RIGHTS TO APPOINT CHANCELLORS AND VICE CHANCEL-LORS BUT DEFINITELY WANTED MORE SAY IN THIS PROCESS THAN IRANIAN GOVT HAS EVER PROVIDED BEFORE. (PRESS JAN 10 NOTED SOME UNIVERSITY FACULTY COUNCILS HAVE CALLED FOR UNIVERSITY REOPENING WITHIN A WEEK.)
- 3. MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN MOHAMMADI EYES IS QUESTION OF CORRUPTION. HE SAID UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS ARE A MAJOR FORCE BEHIND PRESSURF TO HOLD PUBLIC TRIALS IN ARYAMEHR. STADIUM FOR "LIST OF FIFTEEN" MAJOR FIGURES. HE PERSONALLY HOPES JUDICIAL PROCESS WOULD BE FOLLOWED EYEN IN SUCH PUBLIC TRIALS, BUT THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE "PEOPLE HANGING FROM THE LAMP POST WITHIN TWO WEEKS."
- 4. WITH RESPECT TO BANHTIAN GOVT, MCHAMMADI SAID SOLIDARITY GROUP THOUGHT SOMETHING USEFUL COULD COME ABOUT IF
  PRIME MINISTER COULD ACT ON ISSUES OF MAJOR PUBLIC CONCERN.
  HIS SOLIDARITY GROUP SEES BANHTIAN GOVT AS TRANSITIONAL
  EFFORT LEADING TO FREE FLECTIONS PROBLEM IN EYES OF

0 111326Z JAN 75 FY AMEMBASSY TERRAN TO RUZEC/SECSTATE WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE 2911 DRETD: POL: JDSTEMPEL: INFC RUOMBI/AMEMYASSY ABU THABI 1896. - CLYAR: PCL:GPLAMBRAKIS RUCMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4245 DISTR: FOL-3 AMB DCM PUEECR/USINT BAGHCAD 0934 RUFFOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1278 RUCMDH/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN IMMEDIATE 1999 TARK ISF DAO RUOMCD/AMFMBASSY DCHA 0732
RUFEFT/AMCONSUI FRANYFURT 1260
RUSBCD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 3711 RUGMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 3959 RUSBLY/AMEMBASSY KABUL 5113 RUGMTM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0322 RUGMKW/AMEMBASSY TUWAIT 4959 RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4192 RUOMAM/AMEMBASSY-MANAMA 1288 RUEFMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1366 RUCFMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 2723 EUSBAR/AMEMPASSY NEW DEIFI 3366 RUFNPS /AMEMBASSY PARIS 3604
RUFNPS /AMEMBASSY PARIS 3604
RUMJPG /USLO PE (ING 0252)
RUGMYA /USLC RIYAFH IMMEDIATE 0101
RUFHRO /AMEMBASSY ROMYO 0000
RUFHRO /AMEMBASSY TORYO 0000
LUSNAAA /USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE RUHCHCA/USCINCPAC BT

CYRGE: STATE 1-11-79 AFPRV: DCM:CWAAAS ECON-2 Ph USIC CR CRU SHIR

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 TEHRAN 00562

E.O. 12065: RES-4 1-11-85 (STEMPEL, J.C.) OR-P TAGS: PGOV. IR SUBJECT: BAKETIAR PRESENTS HIS CABINET; SHAFAQAT IS DEFENSE MINISTER

REF: (A( TEHRAN 268, (B) 78 TEHRAN 2243,

SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER BACHTIAR PRESENTED HIS CABINET TC MAJLES MCRNING JAN 11. JAFFAR SHAFACAT, FORMER DEPUTY SUPPEME COMMANDER AND MOST RECENTLY GOVERNOR OF FAST AZARBAIJAN PROVINCE WAS NAMED DEFENSE MINISTER. BA HTIAR'S PEOGRAM WAS SIMILAR TO PPEVIOUS INDICATIONS. MAJLES WILL RECONVENE JAN 14 FOR BEGINNING OF DEBATE. SENATE PRESENTATION JAN 13. VOTE PROBABLY WILL-COME JAN 16 CR 17. END SUMMARY.

- 1. PRIME MINISTER SHAHPOUR BAKHTIAR PRESENTED HIS CABINET TO PARLIAMENT MORNING JAN 11 AND GAVE SHORT OUTLINE OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S PECCHAM. CABINET CHOICES WERE AS LISTED REF A. EXCEPT FOR REPLACEMENT OF JAM BY LT. GEN. JAAFAR SHAFACAT FOR EEFENSE MINISTER. SHAFACAT HAS BEEN GOVERNOR OF EAST AZAPBAIJAN PROVINCE SINCE SHORTLY FOLLOWING TAPRIZ RIOTS IN FEB 1978 (SEE REF P FOR FIO DATA).
- 2. REPLACEMENT FOR JAM WAS BIGGEST DUESTION MARK IN BAKHTIAR GOVERNMENT. AND SHAFACAT WAS REPORTEDLY CANDIDATE OF THE ACTIVE MILITARY. THOUGH PRINCIPAL OPPOSITIONIST CONTACTS UNAVAILABLE FOR COMMENT, IT IS KNOWN THAT OTHERS

CHRGE: STATE 2/7/79

APPRV: MIH: CWNAAS

0 071409Z FEB 79 FM AMENBASSY TEHRAN TO SECSTATE WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE 3843 h T

CHATT: POL: DRPATTERSON CLEAR: POL: GBLAMBRAKIS DISTRIPOL 3 AMB MIN S E C R E T TEHRAN 01928 ECON-2 PM ICA E.O. 12265: RDS-4 2/7/99 (PATTERSON, D.R.) OR-P CE ALM SY DAO TAGS: PINS, PGOV. IR AFOSI CERON/15 SUBJ TT: ALI-ASCEAR HAJ-SEYYED-JAVADI SOUGHT FOR ARREST

1. (3) WE HAVE REPORTED IN SITREP ALLEGED ARREST OF HAJ-STYKED-JAVADI (HSJ). CONTACT OF POLOFF STEMPEL INDIC THAT HSJ APPARENTLY NOT ARRESTED BUT IN HIDING. ENG. EH BANAFTI TOLD POL OFF PATTERSON THAT HE HAD SPORE TO ESJ NIGHT AFTER SUPPOSED ARREST AND KNOWS THAT HY IS IN HIDING. HSJ IS PROMINENT WRITER. MUCH ADMIRED IN OPPOSITION CIRCLES. WE HAVE REPORTED LAST YEAR ON TACT THE HIM IN COURT MEETING AND SEND PACKAGE OF A. WRITINGS TO DEPT WITH RECOMMENDATION THAT THEY BE TRANSLATED. ESJ HAS WORKED CLOSELY WITH UNION OF NATIONAL FRONT FORCES (SEE TEHRAN A-19 OF FEB 1, 1978 RPT 1978) AND WRITER'S MOVEMENT, IN ADDITION TO COHRF. HE IS AN EXTREMELY SKILLED POLITICAL PAMPHLETEER. HE IS DEFINITELY LEFTIST, ANTI-ZIONIST, AND APPARENTLY ANTI-AMERICAN; HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD ISLAM APPEARS TO BE ONE OF POLITICAL ATTITUTE TO AND ISLAM APPEARS TO BE ONE OF THE ARTICLE
FOR WHICH HE WAS "ARRESTED" DOES NOT ONCE USE THE WORD
ISLAM IN ANY OF ITS FORMS, BUT REFERS ALWAYS TO THE
"MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAN" AND THE "GREAT NATIONAL REVOLUTION.

2. (C) THE ARTICLE IN QUESTION WAS PUBLISHED IN ETTELA AT ON SUNDAY, PEB 4, AND IS TITLED ANSWER TO MACHINEGUNS! IT BEARS A SUPRA-HEAD JUST WHAT IS THE ARMY DEFENDING?" AND A SUB-HEAD "THEY HAVE SENT ME A MESSAGE THAT THEY WILL MACHINEGUN ME FULL OF HOLES, THIS IS MY ANSWER TO THEIR MACHINEGUNS." TONE OF THE ARTICLE IN PERSIAN CAN ONLY BE DESCRIBED AS VIRULENT. ITS CLEAR PURFOSE IS TO DIVIDE "THE GENERALS" FROM THE REST OF THE ARMED FORCES. THEME IS THAT GENERALS HAVE BEEN BLINDLY IOYAL SERVANTS OF THE SHAH AND AS SUCH HAVE MURDERED THE PEOPLE OF IRAK TO TRY TO STOP THE GREAT NATIONAL REVOLU-TION. THEY HAVE DONE ALL THIS TO PRESERVE THE PRIVIL-EGES OF THE DICTATORIAL REGIME AND TO PROTECT THE THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM, AMERICAN IMPER-IALISM AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS SO THAT THEY, SHAH AND THEIR FRIENDS CAN CONTINUE USING IRAN AND STEALING ITS WEALTH. THOSE CRIMINAL GENERALS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO KEEP THE HONORED AND PATRIOTIC OFFICERS, NONCOMS AND MEN OF IPAN FROM REALIZING THAT THEY ARE BEING USED TO PROTECT THE PRIVILEGES OF CRIMINALS AND THE INTERESTS OF FOREIGNERS RATHER THAN TO PROTECT THE NATIONAL INDE-PENDENCE AND SECURITY OF IRAN AND ITS PEOPLE. THE LANGUAGE OF THE ORIGINAL IS EVEN HARSHER THAT THE ABOVE SUMMARY SUGGESTS. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT "THE GENERALS WERE ANGERED.

SOME REPORTS HAVE IT THAT JAVADI MIGHT BE

, 26.49 0306002 MAR

CONFIDENTIAL

SECSTATE WASHDC, NIACT IMMEDIATE 159

LIMDIS

GDS 3/1/85 (SULLIVAN, W.H.) OR-M

### 1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

- MORNING MARCH 1, HE MENTIONED FACT THAT SHARIAR
  ROWHANI HAD SPOKEN WITH SECRETARY VANCE. HE WANTED
  US TO KNOW THAT ROWHANI DID NOT RPT NOT REPRESENT
  IRANIAN GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE WAS NICE YOUNG MAN
  WHO WAS SON-IN-LAW OF YAZDI, BUT HAD NO RPT NO OFFICIAL
  POSITION. U.S. COULD DEAL WITH HIM "OFFICIEUSEMENT"
  BUT OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE WAS CHARGE WHOSE NAME I
  CAUGHT AS FAGREH. HE SAID MORE SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE
  WOULD SOON BE NAMED.
- 3. I THEN ASKED ABOUT STATUS OF EX-SENATOR ABOUTEN?
  WHO SAID HE WAS LEGAL COUNSEL OF GOI. SANJABI SAID
  THEY KNEW THE MAN'S NAME, BUT HE HAD NO RPT NO
  CONNECTION WITH GOI.
- 4. COMMENT: AS DEPARTMENT WILL GATHER FROM BAZARGAN'S SPEECH LAST NIGHT, HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT ARE VERY SENSITIVE 10 WHAT THEY REGARD AS USURPATIONS OF AUTHORITY BY ALL SORTS OF SELF-APPOINTED IRANIAN "AUTHORITIES."

  I REALIZE THAT YOUNG ROMANI MAY APPEAR TO BE HELPFUL, BUT DEPT SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT REGARDS HIS ILK WITH SUSPICION AND RESENTMENT. THIS



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

OFFICIAL-INFORMATION CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
L. Bruce Laingen
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.
American Embassy
Tehran

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Dear Bruce:

Let me give you the flavor of the lunch Peter and I had this week with Agah and Mansour Farhang.

First, the food: austere even by the standard of Shahryar Rouhani. (But I suppose Ambassador Foroughi might have said the same of the hamburger he had with me on the 8th floor.)

Second, Farhang will be a welcome addition to the public relations department of the Embassy. He is quite articulate, smart, a true believer and a self-confessed civil libertarian. He and Agah suggested that we might be helping the Kurds or pleased that the Soviets were crushing the Afghan rebels (because both super powers oppose the Islamic Revolution). But he is sincere in opposing restrictions on the foreign press and to a lesser degree the Tehran press. He has the academic's inclination to criticize while defending. He said he was asked by Behzardnia to defend the PGOI's actions against the press on TV. Farhang said he agreed to appear, but said "I will attack you, for I strongly disagree with your actions."

Farhang has been in California since the early sixties and I suspect his reluctance to take an official position may have something to do with a green card. His two sons' interest in baseball and his wife's distaste for a land without music may also have played a part in his move here.

Sincerely,

Henry Brecht

GDS 9/20/85

603391

DIOLLECT CHARGE TO

E.O. 11652: TAGS: AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

SUBJECT:

ACTION: USICA WASHDC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEHRAN 339

USICA ACTION:

FOR: NEA AND VOA/PN

CLASSIFICATION

E.O. 12065: N/A

EMBOFFS CALL ON IRANIAN MININFO SUB-T:

ICA 2 AMB DCM CRU 5 .

- 1. THURSDAY, MARCH 29, PRESS ATTACHE AND EMBOFF TOMSETH MET WITH MININFO NASSER MINACHI. DISCUSSION COVERED VOA FARSI BROADCASTS REPORTED VTR AND FILM CENSORSHIP, DRAFT CONSTITUTION AND CLANDESTINE SOVIET BROADCASTS TO IRAN.
- 2. MINACHI EXPRESSED POSITIVE INTEREST IN VOA FARSI WITH QUESTIONS RE TIME AND FREQUENCY. PRESS ATTACHE SAID WILL KEEP MININFO INFORMED OF INAUGURAL BROADCAST AS WELL AS SCHEDULE. MINACHI HOPED VOA FARSI WILL BE ANOTHER MEANS OF ENLIGHTENING IRANIAN PUBLIC ADDING DISPLEASURE WITH BBC, IE, FACTUAL DISTORTION OF RECENT EVENTS IN GUNBAD-E KAVUS. HIS MINISTRY WILL SOON INAUGURATE ENGLISH LANGUAGE BROADCAST DIRECTED TO U.S.

| B.Gan               | DRAFTING DATE | TEL. ERT. | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED SE |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------|---|
| ICA: IO: BRosen: mn | 3/29/79       | 1142      | Acting PAO: CSpow                       |
| EL EARANCES:        |               |           | The the contest                         |

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

CLASSIFICATION

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

50152-101

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PP RUGMHR
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ENY CCCCC ZZH
P 122150Z OCT 79
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY 4979
BT
C O N F I D'E N T I A L'STATE 267795

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ABN EGON CHES

FOR CHARGE FROM PRECNT

E.O. 12865: GDS, 18/12/85 (PRECHT, MENRY)

TAGSt

OTRA. IR

SUBJECT t

PROPOSED VISIT

I. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL (I.E., NO MOSTILE DEMONSTRA-TIONS PLANNED) AND WITH YOUR PERMISSION, I WOULD LIKE FINALLY TO VISIT YOU, ARRIVING ON PAN AN 2 EVENING OF SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, AND DEPARTING MORNING OF OCTOBER 38. WOULD WANT TO FILL EVERY WAKING MOMENT AND PLACE MYSELF COMPLETELY AT YOUR DISPOSAL FOR ACTIVITIES. OFFER FOLLOW-ING SUGGESTIONS WHICH MAY, OF COURSE, BE IMPRACTICAL OR UNSUITABLE:

-- CALLS ON MINATCHI AND YAZDI WHOM I MET IN PRE-REVOLUTION TIMES. ACCOMPANY YOU ON YOUR INITIAL CALL ON CHAMMAN IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE THAT. SEE SOMEONE, POSSIBLY REZA SADR, ABOUT CONMERCIAL TANGLES AND OUR EFFORTS TO ASSIST WITH SETTLEMENTS.

--WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO CALL OF BEHESTI OR OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS OR ASTUTE OBSERVERST IF FEASIBLE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SEE SPONESMEN FOR JEVIEN AND BANAI COMMUNITIES. MOW ABOUT A CALL ON LEFT-WING JEWS WHO SUPPORT REVOLUTION?
--SPEND ABOUT TWO DAYS OUTSIDE OF TERRAN. OPEN TO IDEAS, BUT SUGGEST DRIVE TO ISFANAN VIA SAVEN, KASHAN, COURLE OF VILLAGES I KNOW ON FRIDAY; SPEND DAY IN ISFANAN, RETURN VIA AIR SUNDAY MORBING.

--WOULD LINE TO HAVE PRIVATE LUNCH WITH SAD FRIEND ALI REZA FARAHMAND AS IN PAST TIMES.

3. WILL BRING ANYTHING I CAN CARRY THAT YOU OR STAFF DESIRE. MARIAN OFFERS TO SHOP FOR AND SWIFT AND FORMER CLASSMATES. VANCE ST 77795



# Confidential atherent

# EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Tehran, Iran

October 15, 1979

UNCLASSIFIED

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Henry:

I noticed from your MemCon of September 17, 1979, that you have occasional contact with Mahmoud Foroughi. When you next see him I hope you will tell him that Penne and I remember him and his wife most fondly from our days in Kabul.

I agree with you; Foroughi is a real Persian gentleman. I hope you will tell him that is the way I remember him. Tell him also that I hope his family, which includes several children married to Americans, is well and prospering.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely

L. Broce Laingen Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

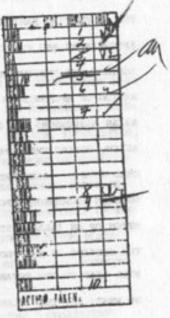
Henry Precht, Esquire,
Director for Iranian Affairs,
Bureau of Near Eastern and South
Asian Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

# AMERICAN EMBASSY

1973 NU 27 111 12



TEHRAN, IE.: N



Biographic Report

Mohammad DAUD President of Afghanistan



### THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

- The localized tribal fighting that erupted in the eastern provinces when the pro-Soviet coup group seized power in late April 1978 has since grown into a countrywide insurgency. (S)
  - A. Faced with the hostility of the great majority
    of the traditionally independent population, the
    regime of President Taraki and Prime Minister Amin
    has no better than an even change to complete its
    second year in power. (S)
  - B. Taraki and Amin will survive only as long as the loyalty of the military, the security service and the ruling party remains intact, under the heavy laid, contains brought to bear by hostile forces. (S)
    - 1. The most likely successor regime would be led by, or at least have the backing of leftist military officers. (S) with the fit of the fit of
      - Coup plotters might seek Moscow's tacit approval

        to seize power would in any case retain strong
        ties with the Soviet Union. (S)

        The Soviets favor the installation of a more
        broadly based government as a means of
        defusing the tribal insurgency. (S)

1. M. Ye gut CCS

Col Chalam Sakhi - A/F

Lt. Cil Najar H. A/F

CRET 52

# ACTION: ECONS INCOMING TELEGRAM CONTROL NO. 7692

| INFO: TO RUBHCYSCS TATE MASHDC IMMEDIATE 7931  AMM  |  | 1 1 10 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1                           |
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| AID: FOR AA/NE: WHEELER  COMS E.O. 11652: GDS  COMS E.O. 11652: GDS  CR / TAGS: EAID, AF  GR / SUBJECT: FUTURE OF US AID PROGRAMS IN AFSHANISTAN  ADM  GRD REF: STATE 116319  BE 1. SUMMARY: IN OUR VIEW, THE INSTRUCTIONS IN REFIEL CONCERNING  OUR AID PROGRAM IN AFGHANISTAN APS. TOO LIMITED AND TOO INFLEATER  HU A STRATERY FOR PURSUING OUR INTERESTS HERE.  ASLOWING "THE DUST TO SETTLE" BEFORE ESTABLISHING A DIALOGUE  ON AID MATTERS MAY FORECLOSE FUTURE OFTIONS WITH THE NEW REGINE.  WE RECOMMEND AN EARLY PROBING OF THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT'S  INTENTIONS AND PLANS. END SUMMARY  SCRO 2. WE MAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT  THE NEW AFGHAN GOVERNMENT INDEED QUALIFIES AS A "COMMUNIST"  TCU. RESINE IN THE CONTEXT OF SECTION 620 (F) OF THE "FOREIGN  MAP ASSISTANCE ACT." THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY  PREJECTED THAT LABEL AND, FOR THAT NATIER, HAS NOT YET  EVEN USED THE WORD "SOCIALIST" IN ANY OF ITS PUBLIC  AMANOUNCEMENTS OR CONVERSATIONS WITH US. THE MAJORITY  OF THE NEW RESIME'S LEADERSHIP INDEED POSSESS WHAT COULD  BE DEACHTECOMMUNIST" HAS THE STANDING FOR TO OVERTHROW  HAS AFGHAN LETTIST PARTIES). THE NEW LEADERSHIP UNDENLADE, BUT THEY  GUELD CLAIM THAT THAT WAS NECESSARY IN OUSER TO OVERTHROW  THE "TYRANNICAL DICTATORSHIP" OF DAOUD, WE SELIZUE THE  CROC THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS NADE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR PUBLICLY  AND TO ME PESSOMALLY THAT IT WANTS AID FROM ANY AND NOT CRU  BE DISCEMBLE FOR SOME TIME.  SHIBL  AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS NADE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR PUBLICLY  AND TO ME PESSOMALLY THAT IT WANTS AID FROM ANY AND ALL  TABBLE SCURCES, INCLUDING THE US, AND, IN THE NOUALIGNED CONTEXT,  WILL BE JUDGING THE "FRENDLINESS" OF FOREIGN NATIONS  IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR WILLIAMNESS TO EXTEND ECONOMIC AID.  WOMEN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE SEE NO POLITICAL  ADVANTAGE TO CUE APPEARING TO BE UNDULY STANDOFFISH OR  PERSATIVE/ SUCH A STANCE COULD IMPEL THE NEW AFGMAN RESINE  TO DECOME TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON AND ALLBORD WITH THE   |  | O R 1911352 NAY 78 A 14 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1        |
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| AID: FOR AA/NE: WHEELER  COMS E.O. 11652: GDS  COMS E.O. 11652: GDS  CR / TAGS: EAID, AF  GR / SUBJECT: FUTURE OF US AID PROGRAMS IN AFSHANISTAN  ADM  GRD REF: STATE 116319  BE 1. SUMMARY: IN OUR VIEW, THE INSTRUCTIONS IN REFIEL CONCERNING  OUR AID PROGRAM IN AFGHANISTAN APS. TOO LIMITED AND TOO INFLEATER  HU A STRATERY FOR PURSUING OUR INTERESTS HERE.  ASLOWING "THE DUST TO SETTLE" BEFORE ESTABLISHING A DIALOGUE  ON AID MATTERS MAY FORECLOSE FUTURE OFTIONS WITH THE NEW REGINE.  WE RECOMMEND AN EARLY PROBING OF THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT'S  INTENTIONS AND PLANS. END SUMMARY  SCRO 2. WE MAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT  THE NEW AFGHAN GOVERNMENT INDEED QUALIFIES AS A "COMMUNIST"  TCU. RESINE IN THE CONTEXT OF SECTION 620 (F) OF THE "FOREIGN  MAP ASSISTANCE ACT." THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY  PREJECTED THAT LABEL AND, FOR THAT NATIER, HAS NOT YET  EVEN USED THE WORD "SOCIALIST" IN ANY OF ITS PUBLIC  AMANOUNCEMENTS OR CONVERSATIONS WITH US. THE MAJORITY  OF THE NEW RESIME'S LEADERSHIP INDEED POSSESS WHAT COULD  BE DEACHTECOMMUNIST" HAS THE STANDING FOR TO OVERTHROW  HAS AFGHAN LETTIST PARTIES). THE NEW LEADERSHIP UNDENLADE, BUT THEY  GUELD CLAIM THAT THAT WAS NECESSARY IN OUSER TO OVERTHROW  THE "TYRANNICAL DICTATORSHIP" OF DAOUD, WE SELIZUE THE  CROC THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS NADE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR PUBLICLY  AND TO ME PESSOMALLY THAT IT WANTS AID FROM ANY AND NOT CRU  BE DISCEMBLE FOR SOME TIME.  SHIBL  AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS NADE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR PUBLICLY  AND TO ME PESSOMALLY THAT IT WANTS AID FROM ANY AND ALL  TABBLE SCURCES, INCLUDING THE US, AND, IN THE NOUALIGNED CONTEXT,  WILL BE JUDGING THE "FRENDLINESS" OF FOREIGN NATIONS  IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR WILLIAMNESS TO EXTEND ECONOMIC AID.  WOMEN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE SEE NO POLITICAL  ADVANTAGE TO CUE APPEARING TO BE UNDULY STANDOFFISH OR  PERSATIVE/ SUCH A STANCE COULD IMPEL THE NEW AFGMAN RESINE  TO DECOME TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON AND ALLBORD WITH THE   | DCM /  | RUCHHRIANERSASSY TEHRAN 6145                                     |
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| PM / AID: FOR AA/NE; WHEELER  IGA / SUB_CONS  |  | STATE: FOR MEA: ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAUNDERS                     |
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| CONS E.O. 11652: GDS  OR SUBJECT: FUTURE OF US AID PROGRAMS IN AFGHANISTAN  ADM  REF: STATE 116319  BE 1. SUMMARY: IN OUR VIEW, THE INSTRUCTIONS IN REFIEL CONCERNING.  OUR AID PROGRAM IN AFGHANISTAN APE TOO LIMITED AND TOO INFLEXABLE  HU A STRATERY FOR PURSUING OUR INTERESTS MERE.  BSO ALLOWING "THE DUST TO SETTLE" BEYORE RETABLISHING A DEALOGUT  ON AID MATTERS MAY FORECLOSE FUTURE OPTIONS WITH THE NEW REGINE.  WE RECOMMEND AN EARLY PROBING OF THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT'S  INTENTIONS AND PLANS. END SUMMARY  SCRO.  2. WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT  THE NEW AFGHAN GOVERNMENT INDEED CUALIFIES AS A "COMMUNIST"  TCU. RESIDE IN THE CONTEXT OF SECTION 620 (F) OF THE TEORETISM  MP ASSISTANCE ACT." THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY  REJECTED THAT LABEL AND, FOR THAT NATIOER, HAS NOT YET  EVEN USED THE WORD "SOCIALIST" IN ANY OF ITS PUBLIC  MAAGE OF THE NEW RESIME'S LEADERSHIP INDEED POSSESS WHAT COULD  BE DESCPIEDD AS A "COMMUNIST" PARTY BACKGROUND CALTHOUGH  THE MANE "COMMUNIST" HAS NEVED BEEN USED BY ANY OF THE  HAS HAVE "COMMUNIST" HAS NEVED BEEN USED BY ANY OF THE  HAS HAVE "COMMUNIST" HAS NEVED BEEN USED BY ANY OF THE  HAS AFGHAN LEFTIST PARTIES). THE NEW BEAKGROUND CALTHOUGH  THE MANE "COMMUNIST" HAS NEVED BEEN USED BY ANY OF THE  HAS HAVE "TYPANNICAL DICTATORSHIP" OF DAOUD. WE SELIZE THE  THE INTENTIONS AND POLICIES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY MOT  CRU / BE DISCEJNIELE FOR SOME TIME.  SHIB / AND TO ME PEESOMALLY THAT IT WAITS AID FROM ANY AND ALL  TABRE SOURCES, INCLUDING THE US, AND, IN THE NOUALIGNOR OF ONTEXT.  SHIB / AND TO ME PEESOMALLY THAT IT WAITS AID FROM ANY AND ALL  TABRE SOURCES, INCLUDING THE "FRIENDLINESS" OF FOREIGN MATICMS  IN THE LIBHT OF THIS WILLIMMINESS TO EXTEND ECONOMIC AID.  UNDER THESE CLACURSTANCES, WE SEE NO POLITICAL  ADVANTAGE TO OUR APPEARING TO BE UNDULY STANDOFFISH OR  WERE ATTUEVE SUCH A STANGE COULD INPEL THE WAY AFGHAN REGINE  TO DECOME TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON AND ALLGISED WITH THE   | ,  | - AIDT FOR ARTRET WHEELER  |
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# TELECRAR



E.O. 11652: TAGS: AMEMBASSY TEHRAN ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

INFO: AMEMBASSY ANKARA AMEMBASSY DACCA AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD AMEMBASSY JIDDA AMEMBASSY KABUL AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI USLO PEKING

POL:3

AMB DCM ECON-2 P/M

ICA OR CRU

SHIR TABR ISF

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS:

EAID, PEPR, AF IR, US

SUBJ: IRANIAN ASSESSMENT OF AFGHAN DEVELOPMENTS AND

U.S.-AFGHAN RELATIONS

REF: STATE 240411

1. ADDRESSEES AWARE THAT SHAH HAS VIRTUALLY FROM THE FIRST HELD PRIVATE VIEW OF NEW AFGHAN GOVERNMENT AS FOR ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES A SERVANT OF THE SOVIETS. HE HAS DISGUISED THIS VIEW BEHIND AN OFFICIAL POLICY OF "WAIT-AND-SEE", GIVING THE NEW GOA EVERY BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT. FORMAL RELATIONS HAVE CONTINUED AS BEFORE, INCLUDING CONTINUING DISBURSEMENTS ON EXISTING ECONOMIC COMMITMENTS (TEHRAN 7818 AND MEMORANDUM TO DEPT AND KABUL

DRAFTED BY

9/25/78 1110 CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY DCM: CWNaas

CLEARANCES

ECON: JMI1

OPTIONAL FORM 152(H) (Formerly FS-413(H)) January 1974 Dept. of State

50152-101

### 003213 DRAFTER: GBLambrakis CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

AMEMEASSY ISLAMABAD

PRIORITY 22 RUSB

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 34

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

PRIORITY 32 RUEHINO

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY 16 RUSBAE

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 3/25/89 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P

PINS, PEPR, AF, IR

Situation in Afghanistan

C - entire text.

Sultan Mahmud-Ghazi, member of Afghan royal family, former president of Afghan Civil Aviation and Tourism Authority, and brother of former Afghan Ambassador to Iran, visited Pol Counselor March 25 in connection with visa problem. He said he does not have extensive information on situation in Afghanistan, but had talked with people who have come from there as recently as three days ago. 3. He said rebellion is widespread and affects at least eight provinces. Afghan government has no confidence in most of its army, particularly the conscripts, and there have been cases of military units being bombed by the Air Force because they were believed to be untrustworthy. In Kabul security at night is carried out by many civilians and other Communists rather than the military. Indeed, the military are being kept out of the city to a great extent. 4. If the Afghan government had to stand alone, it would

not last "for more than a week", according to Mahmud-Ghazi.

ESASTEBRAG71 FP FUCMER DE RUEHNO #3063/21 1441319 ZWY SSSSS ZZH P 241253Z MAY 79 FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHD C PRIORITY 6621 18FO RUCMOU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA C974 RUEHAD/USINT BACKDAD 0355 RUMJPT/AMEMBASSY PEIJING 1974 RUF-CL /AMENBASSY BONN 7816 RUMJON/AMEMBASSY COLOMEO PP 68 RIMJD KIAMEMBASSY DACCA 7352 RUEYDM/AMENBASSY DAMASCUS 1876 RUHCHOA/CINCPAC HONOLULU HI RUSBOD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0961 PUCMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 1438 RUSSL K/AMEMBASSY KABUL 0506 RUMJHT/AYENBASSY KATHMANDU 8211 PHIFHL G/AX CONSUL LENINGR AD 5879 RUDIC/AMERBASSY LONDON 2454 RUSBAE / AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1448 RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS. 7487. -RUFHRO/AMENBASSY ROME 9848 RUCK HR /AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 2144 PUE!INO/AMENBASSY TOKYO 3577 RUFHJA/USKISSION USBERLIN 4714 RUFHNA/USMISSION USMATO 6966 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 7833

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CHRON

TECRET SECTION. 4 OF 33 MOSCOV 15883

E.O. 12865: RDS-3 5/21/99 (TOON, MALCOLM) OR -M
TAGS: AF, UR, MOPS, PEPR, PINT
SUBJECT: (C) AFGHANISTAN: PROSPSCTS FOR SOVIET
INTERVENTION

REF: (A) KABUL 3626, (B) MOSCOW 8384

UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES VIEWS ITS OPTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN AS OPEN-ENDED. IN OUR OPINION, ANALOGIES WITH THE 1968 SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAMIA ARE FAULTY. WE THINK THE SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO INCREASE THEIR ADVISORY AND LOTISTICAL MILITARY SUPPORT FOR THE PRO-SOVIET KABUL PEGIME. SOME SOVIET PERSONNEL MAY BECOME INVOLVED IN DRAMILITARY OPERATIONS. UNDER FORESSAPLE CIRCUMSTANCES.

VEVER, KOSCOW WILL PROBABLY AVOID SHOULD FRING A SUBSTANCES.

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ZZ SWVV ESA923MJC309 OO RUGMER DE RUSBLK #5967/1 2181035 ZNY SSSSS ZZH O P Ø61012Z AUG 79 FM AMEMBASSY KABIE TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5085 INFO RUMJPG/AMEMBASSY BEIJING PRIORITY 658 RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY 9123 RUDT C/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 1724 RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY 7192 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 1799 RUOMHR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY 375 RUSBKR/AMCONSUL KARACHI PRIORITY 4308 RUHQHQA/CINCPAC PRIORITY RUSNAAA/CINCEUR PRIORITY RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY 21 S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 5967

CN 20 2 96

POL CHG ECON CHRON RF

NOFORN

DEPT. ALSO FOR: A/SY/CC

KARACHI: FOR RSS

E.O. 12065: GDS 8-5-85 (FLATIN, BRUCE A.) OR-P TAGS: ASEC, PINS, AF, PK, IR SUBJECT: (LOU) AN INITIAL EVALUATION OF THE BALA HISSAR MUTINY

REF: KABUL 5942

## I. (S - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: KABUL WAS AGAIN CALM ON AUGUST 6, FOLLOWING
SEVERE FIGHTING THE PREVIOUS DAY BETWEEN MUTINOUS AFGHAN
TROOPS AND FORCES LOYAL TO THE KHALQI REGIME. AFTER RESTORING ORDER, THE LATTER CLAIMED THAT THE TROUBLE HAD
BEEN CAUSED BY "THE AGENTS OF PAKISTANI AND IRANIAN REACTION." THIS WAS AMONG THE MOST SERIOUS CHALLENGES THE
KHALQI REGIME HAS YET FACED -- AND IT SHOWED ITSELF CAPABLE
OF HANDLING IT. HOWEVER, THE EIISODE FORESHADOWED GROWING
PROBLEMS FOR THE KHALQI REGIME AND ITS SOVIET MENTORS. END
OF SUMMARY.

ZMITPVV ESA032MJC897 E X D I S ZMITPVV ESA832MJCB97

OO RUGMHR

DE RUSBLK #6816/1 2191238

ZNY CCCCC ZZH

O R 871223Z AUG 79

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5115

INFO RUMJPG/AMEMBASSY BELJING 652

RUSBGD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 9133

RUDI C/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1728

RUE HMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1894

RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 7222

RUGMHR AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 388

BT

246 CHG

V

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 6016

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/7/85 (AMSTUTZ, J. BRUCE) OR-M TAGS: PGOV, ASEC, AF, US, PINR SUBJ: MY MEETING WITH THE NEW AFGHAN FOREIGN MINISTER DR. SHAH WALI

REF: STATE 201375

I. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY, LATE YESTERDAY, I PAID A COURTESY CALL ON DR. SHAH WALI, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND NEW FOREIGN MINISTER. I HANDED HIM SECRETARY VANCE'S LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS, AND
IN RESPONSE SHAH WALL ASKED THAT I CONVEY HIS THANKS FOR IT.
HE ALSO ASKED THAT I INFORM THE DEPT THAT AFGHANISTAN IS HE ALSO ASKED THAT I INFORM THE DEPT THAT AFGHANISTAN IS
DESIROUS OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., THAT IT DOES NOT
SEE ITSELF AS A THREAT TO AMERICA, AND THAT HE WAS SURE THE
U.S. COULD NOT BE AGAINST THE DRA'S BASIC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
REFORMS. HE COMPLAINED ABOUT "UNFRIENDLY AND DISTORTED" VOA AND
AMERICAN PRESS COVERAGE OF AFGHANISTAN, BUT DID NOT DWELL

MERCAN PRESS COVERAGE OF AFGHANISTAN, BUT DID NOT DWELL ON THIS. DURING THE CONVERSATION, AMBASSADOR DUBS' DEATH CAME UP AND I BRIEFED HIM ON HIS GOVT'S LACK OF COOPERATION WITH US IN TRYING TO CLEAR UP SOME OF THE MYSTERIES OF THE AFFAIR. RE THE DRA'S DEMAND THAT WE REDUCE THE SIZE OF OUR MISSION, I DECIDED THIS WAS NOT THE OCCASION TO RAISE IT AND HE DID NOT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEAVES TODAY FOR A FOUR-DAY VISIT TO BULGARIA. END SUMMARY.

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RR RUOMHR

DE RUSBQD #9324 2281145

ZNY CCCCC 7ZE

R 151830Z AUG 79

FM AMCONSUL PESHAWAR

TO RUBHC/SECSIATE WASEDC 526

RUSBLY/AMEMBASSY KABUL 648

INFO ZEN/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 961

RUSBR 3/AMCONSUL KARACHI 599

RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 835.

RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELEI 106

RUCMER/AMEMBASSY NEW DELEI 106

RUCMER/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 879

BT

CN 704

POL CHRON ECN RF

CONFIDENTIAL PESHAVAR 8199

E.O. 12865: RDS-4 88/16/99 (ARCHARD, D.B.) OR-H TAGS: PINR, PINS, AF, PE SUBJECT: (C) REBELS DENT "SHADOW CABINET" RUMORS

REF: KABUL 6023, (B) PESHAWAR

# 1. (C) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. TERRE AFGEAN REBEL REPRESENTATIVES WITH WHOM I HAVE TALKED HAVE DENIED THAT A REBEL "SHADOW CABINET" COMPOSED OF TOP DISSIDENT LEADERS HAS BEEN ORGANIZED. DENIALS CONTRADICT RUMORS FROM KABUL SOURCES WHICH WERE REPORTEDLY BASED ON BROADCASTS FROM REBELS" RADIO ASMAR.

3. I TALKED WITH HASSAN GAILANI, NEPHEW AND CONFIDANT OF STED ARMED GAILANI, ON AUGUST 10. AMCIT ZIA NASSERY ON THE 11TH, AND HIZB-ISLAMI. AFGRANISTAN, NUMBER TWO LEADER AMINULLAR ON THE 14TH. ALL CONSIDER ANY DISSIDENT PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OR SHADOW CARINET MADE UP MOSTLY OF PESHAWAR-BASED LEADERS AS UNWORKARLE. NASSERY LIKENED SUCH A GOVERNMENT TO PUTTING FIVE DIFFERENT ANIMALS IN THE SAME CAGE; GAILANI'S THOUGHTS WERE EXPRESSED ALONG SIMILAR LINES. AMINULLAR, WHO TOOK DSUAL HIZB APPROACH OF DENIGRATING THE OTHER GROUPS, SAIC BIZE WOULD NOT JOIN SUCH A COALITION.

4. CLEARLY, THE LONG-STANDING ANTAGONISMS AMONG THE BABIGUS REFEL FACTIONS HAVE NOT DIMINISPED. EACH TIME I TALK WITH DISSIDENTS, A PORTION OF THE CONVERSATION IS SPENT IN DAMNING THE COMPETITION. MOST RECENTLY, INTERGROUP HOSTILITY WAS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED TO ME AT THE HOTEL KHYBER INTERCONTINENTAL SWIMMING POOL; WEILE MY FAMILY SWAM, I SAT AND CHATTED WITH NASSERY AND AN AFGHAN TRIBAL FIGURE, BASSAN GAILANI, AN ERSTWHILE FRIEND AND

NNNNVV ESA419MJC362 RR RUGMHR DE RUSBL K #6309 2320925 ZNY SSSSS ZZH R 2008237 AUG 79 FM AMEMBASSY KABUL TO RUENC/SECSTATE WASHDC 5284 INFO RUMJPG/AMEMBSSY BEIJING 688 RUSBOD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 9190 RUDIC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1758 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1836 RUSBAE/AMENBASSY NEW DELHI 7265 RUGMHR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 489 RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 36 BT SECRET KABUL 6309 EXDIS



EXDIS

CN 814

RBK CHG CHRON

E.O. 12863: RDS-4 8-28-99 (FLATIN, BRUCE A.) OR-M TAGS: PINR, PINS, AF, GE SUBJ: (C) EAST GERMAN AMBASSADOR DEPARTS KABUL SCENE

1. (LOU) ON AUGUST 16, DR. HERMANN SCHWIESAU WAS EVACUATED FROM KABUL TO EAST BERLIN FOR EMERGENCY TREATMENT OF WHAT HIS EMBASSY OFFICERS DESCRIBED AS THREE SERIOUS FRACTURES IN HIS LOWER LEFT LEG. SCHWIESAU WAS TAKEN BY AMBULANCE TO BE PLACED DIRECTLY ABOARD AN AEROFLOT FLIGHT; THUS HIS DEPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES WERE DENIED AN OPPORTUNITY TO BID HIM FAREWELL. WE PAVE BEEN TOLD THAT HIS TREATMENT IN THE GOR WILL TAKE "AT LEAST SIX MONTHS."

- 2. (S) ON THE NIGHT OF AUGUST 12, WHILE SCHWIESAU AND THE A/DCM WERE DEPARTING A PARTY TOGETHER -- SHORTLY BEFORE THE CURFEW, THE EAST GERMAN SAID THAT HE WANTED TO SEE THE LATTER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ABOUT AN URGENT MATTER. THE A/DCM REPLIED THAT HE WOULD CALL HIM THE NEXT DAY TO ARRANGE A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME. WHEN THE A/DCM CALLED THE EAST GERMAN EMBASSY ON AUGUST 13, HE WAS TOLD THAT SCHWIESAU HAD BROKEN HIS LEG IN A HOUSEHOLD ACCIDENT THE PRECEDING EVENING AND COULD NOT RECEIVE VISITORS.
  - 3. (S) COMMENT: SCHWIESAU WILL BE MISSED IN KABUL'S DIPLO-MATIC COMMUNITY. EITHER OPERATING ON HIS OWN -- OR, MORE PROBABLY, AT SOVIET DIRECTION, HE KEPT HIS WESTERN AND THIRD WORLD COLLEAGUES "INFORMED" ABOUT SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO ARRANGE A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE AFGHAN INSURRECTION. AMSTUTZ

8T #63 @9

MNNNTT ESB213B31452 OO RUQMER DE RUERC #1749 2571989 POL ZNY SSSSS ZZH 0 R 1419217 SEP 79 CHARGE! PM SECSTATE WASEDO ECON TO RUCHER/AMEMBASSY TEERAN IMMEDIATE 1549 RF. INFO RUSBLE/AMEMBASSY CABUL 9833 CHRON PUSBAD/AMEMBASST ISLAMARAD 7114 RUSBAE/AMEMBASST NEW DELEI 1832 BUSEMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 5428 E T STATE 241748 LIMDIS E.O. 12065:CDS 09/14/85 (COON, JANE A.) NE TAGS: PRPE, PINR, AF, UR, US, IR SUBJECT: DIALOGUE ON ATGEANISTAN WITE POOL 1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT) FOR SOME TIME WE HAVE HAD AN EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND ASSESSMENTS OF THE APPRIAN SITURTION AND SOVIET INVOLVEMENT THERE VITE THE PAXISTANIE. WE THING IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE A SIMPLAR DIALOGUE WITH THE MANIANS WIFE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE SOVIET ROLL AFORANISTAN. TRIS DIALOGUE SHOPLD FLOW NATURALLY FROM PRETIONS DISCUSSIONS PHEASET HAS HALL THE REPORT THE STREET -- WE LRE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT INCREASING SOFTET INVOLVEMENT IN AFGRANISTAN. THE NUMBER OF SOVIET MILITARY ADVISERS HAS RECENTLY DROWN AND DELIVERIES OF ECUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES HAVE BEEN STEEPED UP. YOU MAY DRAW FROM FIGURES IN HABUL 6897 BUT SHOULD STRESS

TRE ROTGE ESTIMATES.

WE WOULD REGARD USE OF SOVIET COMBAT TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN AS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER VEIGE COULD HAVE ADVERSE REPERCUSSIONS TEROUSPOUT TER REGION AND FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

4. PLEASE KEEP US ADVISED OF PGOI VIEWS ON THESE MATTERS. VANCE

#1749

STAPE

20081 SECTION ANGELES GERUF

TELEP DIRECTOR INFO MEANERONS DERM N

SGSWIRL FORENS AJAJA MOLD BLABEL 100 香 EPLESE:

IRECTOR 584525

SLAMABAD 40289 CABUL 24591 KABUL 24582

Di. ROME 7/7466 볈

COB INTRODUCED BASE OFFI MESTANG BASE ABB NING 38 ADDUST. RESPONSE THEORMATION IN RESPONSE ES. ALSO OBTAINED RECOFFE FS. ALSO OBTAINED RECOFFE +HDUH O OR IN JONS CASSETTE TAI OR TUBS MURDER STORY WE IS AT THEY AST BELOW. OBTAINED PEOU GRAPE ON PRESENT AS SUPPORTER OF ABOUT ALL. TAPE AND AS UM STAPE MAJOR Q A DI btid

SIMMARY DUBS ASSASSINATE OF GOLONEL AND TWO OF SIS BY MERE INVITED TO LYITS S LEAVING SIS TWO SUBORDIN SHIMMARY DUBS 'MABUL | CH ##F | OF PH ASSISTANTS ( AMES AND ME. LIL MORA MED TES MED PROGREDED LV1' ON SHO CATED. THESE TWO MEN ARE THE SOUPER INT THE ASSIGNED TO FIRE MACE SECONDS INTO THE BOTAL THE BOT TEI NE GUNS FOR OM WESEN AME SSADO WAI BUT APPARENTLY DE. ON SCHEDULE. THE TW OPENSO | HE BE ON ROOF OF THE BANK ACH 計出日 S THE STREET AND SZD RIRING THE DODR DEA PORCED BY BE LA AMBASSADOR DUBS WAS CORDING PO MESE 40

S R R E 7 281314Z SEP 79 STAFF

GITE NEW DELET 51273

TO: IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR INTO IMMEDIATE ISLAMABAD, KABUL, TEERAN, Flod, KARACEI, DACCA, COLOMBO, LONDON, KATEMANDU, BONN, GERMANY COPENBAGEN.

NIMEL LWEBELL QROOBBLE GECARRION QRMYSTIC

EF: A. NEW DELEH S1235 (SENT DIRECTOR, ISLAMABAI, KABUL ONLY)

B. DIRECTOR S28818 (SENT NEW DELEH, ISLAMABAI, KABUL ONLY)

ATTERNOON 28 SEPTEMBER ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION OF PATRIOTIC

FCHA STUDENTS IN INDIA (IAPASIX MOUNTED & NOIST DEMONSTRATION

PCHA STUDENTS IN INDIA (IAPASIX MOUNTED A NOIST DEMONSTRATION NO FRONT OF THE SOVIET EMBASSE IN NEW DELEU PROTESTING SOVIET EMBASSE IN NEW DELEU PROTESTING SOVIET WOLLEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. (THE AFGHAN STUDENTS ATTEMPTED TO SOVIET ESSIDENT LEON ID BREZENEY. THE SOVIETS DEGLINED TO ACCEPT THE TITES. THEIS DEMONSTRATION WAS FUNDED BY NEW DELE STATION AND GANILED AT STATION BEHEST BY UNILATERAL ASSET GENERALION/1 (G/1) IAPASE OFFICER. ORMISTIC WROTE THE OPEN LETTER TO THE VIET PRESIDENT. THE FACT THAT THE DEMONSTRATION WAS TO TAKE ACE AS EXTENSIVELY REPORTED IN NEW DELET NEWSTRAIRS THE

ACT AS EXTENSIVELY REPORTED IN NEW DELET NEWSPANERS THE VIOLS DAY (REF A). THE DEMONSTRATION ITSELF WAS REED BY INDIAN NEWSPARER REPORTERS AND RILMED BY INDIAN ATTION ANTICIPATES GOOD COVERAGE OF THE EVENT ON NIVE TONIGHT (28 SEPTEMBER) AND IN THE PAPERS TO ORROW MORN-STATION ATTEMPTING THROUGH ICA TO OBTAIN STILL PROTOS AND FILM OF THE DEMONSTRATION FOR POSSIBLE REPLAY ELEMERS. ANY-NOT INFO ADDRESSIES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES CAN 10 TO REPLAY LIZEY GIVEN THE DEMONSTRATION IN NEW DELHI WILL BE APPRECIAT-

2. DERECTOR, BONN, GERMANT, TREMAN, GOPENHAGEN: AN IAPASI ESMAN TOLD THE PRESS THAT SIMILAR DEMONSTRATIONS WERE SCHEDUL-D TAKE PLACE 28 SEPTEMBER IN THE U.S. GHRMANT, IKAN AND ARE. PLEASE ADVISE IF THEY IN PACT DID.

5. TO ELOW ING ARE VERBANTM TEXTS OF REPORTS WISICS MOVED ON

CATE COPENHASEN 250

WATER LASKELL SECONALE GECARRIDA GARANY, E

SICRET 288-124-179-3; 281-938561. AUVEGOTSS

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C T T 73 13327 OCT 79 STAFF

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TO IMM DIATE DIRECTOR INFO IMMEDIATE ISLE ABAD . K BIL TERRAN, DIRECTOR NEW ACTION OF THE ARMY GERMANY

MENTEL SERVELL GROOMER SECARRION GRAYST SC

PERT A. DIRECTOR 524448 B. HEW DELHI 51273

SE SPARE S CARRIED COVERAGE OF REF B FISHER ET LOCKT DEN STRA-TI MS OL STDE SOVIET EMBASSY (PRO-SOVET WATER DOT AS E XESTIC) D. STATESMALM AND INDIAN EXPRESS GARRID STOS AN BASKES.

2. DILLOWING IS VER ATIM TEXT OF REPRESENTATIVE AS CLE.
FROM TILLS OF INDIA: APPRIAN STIDEN'S HALD RALLOW VISION
MESSION - BY A STAFF REMORTER - NEW LHI SEPTEMBE 2 A
FROM THE SOULT EMBASSY IN CHANAKYAPURI TO PROJECT ACAIND
SOVIET
SOUTH THE THALLOW REGIME IN AFCHINES TO THERE WE ASOME
INDIAN E WENTS ALSO AMONG THE DEMONSTRATION.

"HART FINE TROM TEEN MORT! THE STEDENTS CHANGED SLEERS LIKE HEDENTS CARRYING A BANNER WITH THE KOBS. "IN AH HO AND TWO TOWN WITH THE LEGENS FOOD BE DNEAD TOWN TOWN THE LEGENS FOOD BE DNEAD TOWN TOWN TOWN THE WARRENCE THE WANGUAR.

TO PRESIDENT STREED TO HAND WER MEMORA DUMS DRESSED AFELAN S UDENTS, LAN EMPASSY OFFICIAL SALETTEY OF DEED THE SETTER TO BOUGHTHE ARGHANISTAN EMBASSY.

LIVED AN PEACEFUL WEIGHROURS FOR SE WEARST BEASING THE

REPORT CLASS S E C R E T-VETNOEL-NOFORN-NOCONTRACT-ORGON DESCRIPTION OF AFGRAN SITUATION DURING THE VISIT OF BUBJECT A CHIMESE MILITARY DELIGATION TO PARISTAN (DOI: RAPED OCHOPER 1979)

SOURCE: A GENERALLY PRIMARLY PASTSTANT FIELD GRADE OFFICER COSE PAST REPORTING WAS BEEN GENERALLY SUPSTAINTIATED.

1979. DIRECTOR OF MILITARY OPERATIONS (DMO) BRIGADIER MIAN MOLAMMAD A F Z A L SAID TEAT DURING THE 12 DAY VISIT (20-29 OCTOBER) O A CEINESE "MILITARY GOODWILL DELEGATION" HEADED BY Z H A N G CA QIAN, DEPUTY CRIEF OF THERAL STAFF (CGS) OF THE FEOPLE'S LIBERATIO ARMY, THE STITUATION IN APCHANISTAN WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. HESE DISCUSSIONS INCLUIED A BRIEFING BY SENIGR PAC MILITARY OFFICES AND ATTENDED BY GENER L Z I A UL-FAO ON THE INSURGENCY, BEING CONDUCTED AGAINST THE APCRA ACAINST THE APGRA REGIME BY MUSILIM INSURGENTS.

2. AT ONE POINT IN THE DISCUSSIONS DEPUTY COS ZEANG CATCUEN COMMENSED THAT IF THE MUSLIM INSURGENTS DID NOT RECEIVE SUFFICIENT OUTSIDE SUPPORT, HE RESIME OF AFGRAN PRESIDENT EAFIZULIAR AM IN WOULD, SE ABLE TO ONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION AND THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO FURTHER INSTABLITY AND SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE REGIME. THIS SMATEMENT PROMPTED GENERAL ZIM TO ASK WHY THE CRINSE WERE NOT SUPPORTING THE MULLIM INSURGENTS IF THEY (THE CHINESE) WIRE ISTURBED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN AFGRANISTAN. ZHANG CAIDIAN REPLIED THAT

WHILE SYMPATHETIC TO THE INSTRUCTOR CAUSE, THE CHINESE COULD NOT PROVIDE AID TO THE INSURBENTS BECAUSE SHOULD THIS BE DISTITUTED FOR STRUCTURE OF THE PERCUSSIONS AND WOULD BE IDES OVERED AFFICOT TER MALIS BETWEEN CHIMA AND THE SOVIET GREEN CURRENTL TO PROTECT THE CETHESE POSTTION, ZHAN CAIQIAN REITERATED AN EARLITH REQUEST MADE BY THE CHINSE AME SSADOR IN ISLAMABAD THAT NO CHINSSE ARMS AND AMMUNITION IN THE PARTITAN ARMY INVENTORY STORED BY STEPPITED TO THE AFGRAN MUSLIM INSUR-BENTS.

(FIELD COMMENT: SEE TOPISDR-31: / 15822-70: DATED 18 SEFTEMBER 1979.
FROM THE SAME SO RCE: WEIGH REPORTED SENERAL ZIA IS ORDER THAT NO YEAPONS. AMMUNITION OR OTHER SUPPLIES OF CHINESE ORIGIN BROULD BE SUPPLIED TO APER INSURED TO ARE BEING COVERTLY SUPPLIED BY BRING BELD IN MOSCOW.

HE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

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STOR METERS OF STREET S HESTED BY COL TAKON. ACG:

APGENBESTAN. ELD REPORT NO. MEET-6230. DONG ISLAMBAR SHERE

CHOR. CHADGE ARED DINCH ATE COME CINCPAR , CSQ PE MOR CHNFIAL MOGRES. SLASS S E C # 2 VARATINO

METHODS INVOLVED | NOT BELEADARI ENISAPION AND EXTENCETON OF INAMOR. INV SMOVED DAY DEC 1 DE RECOZDEM ALL PORTEONS CAMPY CLASS INICATION

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ENTEL-MOTORN-NOCORTRAC MERT STAN AN PRITIS PRODUMES DE TES MAJOE ON TO ATGRAM GOP/ TO/ PROTTED /LIMITE STUPPLY SUBC RANG 1909 MENER MINDLE-LET / YOUNG GOTTE HWIND STANTS TITE BELLERADERSTIP OF SHARE TELEVATION / PROVI / TEXT / AND OFFICE AREA INTO THE TEXT A NEW AND UNTIRED BESTINED HIS IMPORMATION FROM AND LA GREEPS IN A SEXTE LEADERS IN PAKISTAN. REPORTS REACTING APPROXIMATELY 21 OCTOBER 1079 ATGENT (DRA) ARMED E JOSAT ON RESERVANTALY 21 OCTOBER 1079 ATGENT (DRA) ARMED UNION THE SECOND OF OF STRIRT MILITARY ADVISORS LAUBERED A OFFICE TO PROVINCE. AFGENT TERMAL INSURGENTS, VEOLULI VIED TO PROSTAN IN THE SAKE OFFICE RA OFFICENTS, REPORTED DRA HAR SELT ARPHOXIMATELY SON TANK AND ASHORED VEHICLE RECEDED, BY MIG-21 AIRCRAFT AND MI-CO HELLS OFFICE JUNSHIPS /TG/FL AND JAJI /REIBAL ARRAS OF PARTY PROFINOR, RECAPTURING STRINK INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL INSURGENTS FOR THE PAST SWEEKE AFRAS /HEIGE HAD REEN /TELMAL HAD HAD REEN /TELMAL HAD EK (33-57 N. J. 85-435) AND GRANKANI/(33-486, 69-49E). AUMBER OF MANGEL AND JAJI TRIBAL INSURCENTS ALONG VITE TATE LANGUES HAVE TIRD ANGESS THE BORDER TO TAN de Parachinas (33-54n, 70-65k) and Minam SES TH THE ARE (33+01X) BANKET IN PARTSTAN AND WALL RETURN TO TERIA FAMIL TESA ATGHAN METCHAL LIBERATE FRONT AND ALL RETURN ATGHAN METCHAL LIBERATE FRONT AND LIBERATE SESOAT AT EVEN TO PARACHINAR VICE AND TREAT AMILE. AMILE AND TREAT A W 0.8/0 ICE" TRA FORCES IN THE ILL PRINCE.

ENDRY CLASS SECENT WHINTEL/NOFORM/NOFORMACT PROFESSIONS COM

UBJECT: INCREASE IN SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IN (ER) (I MARE

(DOI: SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1979)

OURCE: A MIDDLE-LEVEL AFGRAN GOVERNMENT EMPLOY OF THE PLOTES OF THROUGH FOUR FROM AN AFGRAN MILITAL OFFICER AND PARAS FIVE AND SIX FROM PER FROM SIXEROM PER FROM A PROBLEM OFFICER AND PARAS FIVE AND SIX FROM PER FROM SIXEROM SIXEROM

PESPONSIBLE FOR TRAINING TANK DRIVERS, THE NUMBER TO THE SOVIE PESPONSIBLE FOR TRAINING TANK DRIVERS, THE NUMBER TO THE SOVIE SOVIE STRUCTORS HAS INCREASED FROM ABOUT 18 IN LATE A TO LATE AND TO DETWEEN BC-193 AS OF LATE OCTOBER 1979. (SOUT . (STHERE CITARY SUB-SOURCE DOES NOT HAVE FREE ACCESS TO THE OTHER THE MILL ARRAS OF PULL-1-CHARKI BUT STATES IT IS HIS IMPRES ! 1078 IS 104 THAT PAINED FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER AFGRAM OFFICE HOLD THE STATES IT IS HIS IMPRES ! 1078 IS 104 THAT PAINED FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER AFGRAM OFFICE HOLD THE SARE INCREASED DEAMATICALLY.

2. AT THE PULLI-CHARKI GARRISON, THERE ARE PILL ARE MESINAMIS ABOUT 200 TANKS, ALL IN OPERATING CONDITION. THIS IS SET TAKEN FROM INSIDE THE SHEDS AT THE GARRISON, VERD 18, MENT THE WERE STORED ON THE DIRECTION OF THE SOVIET ADVISOR WISOMS. DULD SOVIETS WERE CONCERNED THAT AN ATTACK ON THE SHE, Y. SHEDS WISOMS. DULD INCAPACITATE THE TANKS. THERE HAS NOT BEEN A DR. 14 S. PAMARIC INCREASE IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF TANKS AT THE FAC. 11 FINISHED

3. PRESENTLY THERE ARE BOO AFGRAN INDICTEES THE STATE OF GOING TANK TRAINING AT PUL-E-CHARKI. THEY PANCE TAKET ON CE WILLIAM OF COMMENT: THEIR CURRENT LEVEL OF COMMENTS OF CO

4. (SOURCE COMMENT: SUR-SOURCE SATES CATEGO : TELLICAL BARS
THE RUSSIANS (SOVIETS) HAVE TAKEN COMMAN OF PURE 1 15 121-1-

CARRETS OF SECONDARY MILTERY OF STREET -DEPORTS ASSET South day aneroldes bes asses appear RESTRIBE OUNCIL, GRIED OF SIGNALS, EN BAS WADUD. WILL CUL MARAS /2 0 4 M A T IA THE INSPECTION. OUR MANAGE SECRET TO SEATH TAJON ERUPAT DOST A B D A 2. CHEEN MAJOR GUL /B & R A R. CEPES OF PERSON ENT). DEPUTY CHIEF OF CREATITATION. A S (SOURCE COMMENTS ADDITIONAL ERRESTS THEFT MESS (FIRLD COMMERT: SEE MEE -6130 FOR A PROVINCE ATRESTS OF PRO-TARAKE SUPPORTERS

REPORT CLASS S & C R & T WHIMPEL MOYORS DOCUMENT COURTRY AFGRANTSTAN

APPARENT APPENDT TO ASSESSINGUE PR SI BENET SUBJECT EAPIEULLER AMIR.

> AMBOUN OF BUILD OR OFFICERS OF LA 275 1428 6020928 1978) (BOX:

BOUNCES

A MEDDLE-EDUCE APOREM MILITARY OFFICES WHOSE ANDORYTHO RAS BEEN SENIRALLY SESSERE! THEA . N ACQUIRED THES INFORMATION PROM AN APPL INTENTIONS OFFICER.

IN LATE OCTOBER, A TRESPUS TRAIGE OFFICE 報告の STANDS GUAND DUTY AT THE PROPERT SOME TWEET FROM BE TRIED TO ANGAE A PIRTOL TUTO AN EREAUST TER VERRE NO PERSONS ARE ALLGHED, MECEPY THOSE CARR PREEROGATION OF THE KELL PRENCHAL BOBYSSARDS. INDICATES BE BAS ASTROPTED TO BIDS THE PISTOL PROBLETED AREA PRIOR TO 275 REINS USED IN 48 & ASSAUSTRATE ANTH. (SUB-BOURCE COMPLET) PRIOR SETURATE OF POWER PROM TABLET, TRUSTED ERALAT OF TO THE ARRESTED OFFICIAL WERE PREMITTED TO CAMPTARESHOE OF ANTH AND MARKET. SINCE AMIN'S ASSESSMENT PRINTIDENCY, ALL OFFICIER SAVE BEEN BASHER FROM IN THE AREA OF THE PARAGE WHERE ROLD LIVES AND VISITORS TO THE PALES AND MEMORIES AS SEASY THE HOLF SEAGURE AND POTTE NOTICE OF SCHOOL A METAL SEE PINCOL THE ENALGY TER

ENERGES PERMO on ABORT SI OCTOBER. TO BE READERS END FOR FORE THE PROPERTY

OFFICER TRE TEMPT FOR AMER'S BEG, BIMSLAR CHAPOUS IN THE TION OF TER DEES. REGRA E WITH HOPE **91562 1096** EQUALIBRIE A.

BE SMEH!

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学習を「保険の支援者」を記す PER INFRISHATE HOTORS 2 BYDEAN THE

NOCONTRAC HOYONE THE KABUL AREA.

APGHANISTNA/USSE APPUNITON FLEGER GETS TO 16世紀11年 (DOLL DOLDER 1979)

AIR FORCE OFFICER MARGRAM HIDDLE-LEWSL ATTON IN THE NORM PAST REPORTED HAS SE DURCE OF HIS MAKINS OF OCTOBER 1979

PROBLING THE BAST TWO WEEK MINITION FLIGHTS MIP BAGRAN ATR HE HOMBER OF AMMUNITION RIVED AT KEWAJA RAWASE (KABO DONING THE PIRST 日本語名詞 口单位 BOM THE WEST TELLS IS THINK LIGHTS AS THOSE WHILE AMELYED TY OCHOBER.

AMMOREGA GOMING TROM THE BRETED TO PORVARI SOUTH UNION CONTEMUS TO BE AREAS BY TRANSPORT ATROSART S LOTED BY SOVIET CREWS. UL (31 OCTOBEL 19 9)

KAY AWGHAN THTAN . PIRID REPORT NO. 14 -4153. SHY DELET CINCUS NATRUE | CIN ISLAMABAD ALSO SENT LONDOM ISLAMABAD, JIDDA CINCEUR, CINCUSAREUR, MYAIRMED, CINCSA ME SHAPE POR GEN BAL ROGERS.

COMSTRUCT COMIDEASTFOR. CSG IBAC BACAF PACELT, U HING NOTICE H - NOT RELEASABLE NATIONALS - NOT RELEASABLE TO TONTRACT OR CON-RWW 1 NOW GO DRY DGG A ST PORTIONS CARRY CLASSIFICATION AND CONTROLS OF BT OFFICER | ALL SQUECES AND METEODS DOCU

#5288

SOVIET CHE COOK OF COOK HAS BEEN TO TO NTRY RCT SHINDS 1979) CE AS OF MID-OC OBER. SOVIET OFFICES WE SERVE THE SOVIET BASE IN THE PROPERTY OF THE SERVE THE SERV ACQ: ATGRANTSTAN, MARGE (2 MON NO. MEE-5136. FIELD DISSEN ARBUR CINCERN AVENUE OF STREET TASS S E C 2 2 T WAR OF OF BRIDE BOUNDS Dan Dan Barbar

XY S

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E E | E | B | E | 1985 21 22 | DEP | 29 | STREET

CITE PIRECTOR SISSES

TO: PHIORITY THERAN MATO KARULL

MAINAED INZER

REFA TEHRAN 54242 (NOT SENT/NEEDED KABOK)

DM AFGRAN SITUATION REP REQUESTS TEAT TEARAN BE ADDED

- 2. AS A CONTINUATION OF THE STEPS TAKEN TO BEGIN AS LEVENCE BELLIONSHIP WITE THE BAILARGAN GOVERNMENT, WE WOIL OF RAE LAINGEN TO PROVIDE SELECTED INTEL ORALLY EPT ORALLY APPLIANTSTAN SO, TAZDI OF BAZARGAN. THESE TIMES WOULD BE GARD TO STATION BY HOS TO PASS TO LAINGEN. THE FIRST OF THIS YAP WOLL AS BELDE. LAINGEN SHOULD MAKE HT CLEAR THAT INTO SING HILLED AS PART OF EFFORT SEGUN BY THE 22 AUGUST BRIFFING IN IS BE SECULD ALSO EMQUEST BAZARGAN OR LAZDI FOR AMI COMBRED AND WHICE TRANSAN GOVERNMENT WIGHT HAVE OR BE ABLE LIFT. WE WART THUS TO ENCOURAGE INTEL DIALOGUE APD PILLOGUE SIT, AND CONCURS.
- S. OW 17 AUGUST, A SENTOR SOWIET MILITARY DELEGRATION DED

  ET A FOUR STAR GENERAL ARRIVED IN MASUL. THE CENERAL MAS AC
  CO PANTED B 12 OTHER GENERALS AND SIX COLONELS. THE DELEGATION

  S. AS EXPECTED TO REMAIN FOR ABOUT 25 DATS TO STUDY TESTIN
  EGENOY SITUATION. THE SOWIET ADVISORY ROLE WITH THE AFGENN

  14 APT BIS INCREASED OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTES. IN ADDITION

  ELL TSPITTE BER SI RECEIVED UNCONFIRMED INFORMATION TEAT

  EL TROOPS IN RELIGIOUS SITENSTE HAD ARRIVED IN ABOUT DOSSIBLY

  CONTON SOVIET CITIZENS AND PACILITIES. WE DO HAVE REALABLE

  THE APPROXIMATED AS SOVIET TROOPS ARE STATIONED AT BACKAM

  APPLICATION.

SHIT'S DIALOGODA ON AFGRANATAN WITE COVERNMENT OF INW.

### COMPIDENTIAL

SF

The Ambassador

Docember 19, 1970

POL - Donald R. Toussaint

Your Meeting with Mr. Meir Exri, Heed of the Israeli Mission, December 21

Mr. Meir Erri, Chief of the Taraeli Mission, is calling on you at 11:00 a.m., December 21. A brief biographic sketch is attached. We underwtand from Mr. Erri's staff that the call is principally a goodwill call "in connection with the holidays", but you might, if the occasion arises, probe on the following points:

- (1) Israeli assessment of apparent varying of Iran/Arab relations, e.g., renewal of Iran/URR relations, runers of the renewal of Iran/Lobenon relations, and slight that is Iran/Syria relations.
- (2) The Israeli assessment of the Kurdish situation. There are signs that the situation between Berzani and Baghdad is alsoly deteriorating, though neither side apparently wants fighting to etert again. Because of long time Israeli involvement in the Eurdish question and support for Berzani, we would be interested in Mr. Euri's assessment of the present situation and his prediction how long it will last.
- (3) Freq! Proops in Jordan. We have recently based from Francism charge in Baghded that the Frag! troops in Jordan have, for tactical ressons, been moved back very close to the Jordanian side of the Jordan/Ireq border. Do the Israelis have any information on this?

Attachment: Euri Bio Sketch

POL: ChateCaskill: psk

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2750 SECRET TEHRAN

E.O. 11652: GDB

TRGS: PFOR, PINT, SREF, IE, IR, US

SUBJECT: Kurdish Refugees

REFS: (A) State 66705 (NOTAL); (B) Tehran 2684 (NOTAL)

1. Embessy knows of one Kurdish approach to a high-level GO! official requesting extension of April 1 deadline on movements across Fran-Ireq horder. This was turned down, and new request has been made with no response as yet. Head of Mundish Democratic Party office in Tehran told newsman he had approached unnamed GOI official on same matter with same inconclusive results. Tehran ICRC Director Hams Becken made similar approach through Red Lion and Sun society but hasm not yet received reply.

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TAGS: PINS, SREF, IR, IZ

SUBJECT: Iraqi Kurds in Iran

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| RSO     | SUBJECT: BARZANI'S ENTOURAGE   |               | -    |
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| 100     | - THAT BARZANI WANTS TO BRING SOMEONE TO THE UNITE   | D STATES TO   | Bara |
| SCRO    | PERFORM GENERAL HOUSEHOLD WORK, THEY HAVE CHOSE  | HIM A PASS    | 2    |
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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 226730

E.O. 12065GDS 8/28/85 (DILLERY, C. EDWARD)

TAGS: PEPR. TU. IR

SUBJECT: (C) TURKISH CONCERNS ABOUT U.S. POLICY TOWARDS KURDS IN IRAN: TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM

1. (Q - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. TURKISH AMBASSADOR ELENDAG CALLED ON UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM AUGUST 27 ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANKARA TO DISCUSS U.S. VIEWS AND POLICY ON KURDISH SITUATION IN IRAN. IN OPENING CONVERSATION, ELEXDAG SAID GOT HAD RECEIVED CON-FUSING WIRE SERVICE REPORTS OF DEPARTMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN'S AUGUST 24 STATEMENT AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS. THIS HAD CAUSED ANKARA TO ASK HIM TO CLARIFY U.S. VIEWS AND POLICY WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS IN THE DEPARTMENT. HE HAD SEEN COPY OF DEPARTMENT PRESS GUIDANCE (SEPTEL). SPECIFICALLY. ELEKDAG ASKED FOR U.S. "VIEWS AND POSITIONS" ON U.S. RELA-TIONS WITH IRAN AND ON THE KURDISH SITUATION IN IRAN.

UNDER SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT US-IRANIAN RELATIONS ARE IMPROVING AFTER NATURAL PROBLEMS WHICH AROSE IN THE WAKE OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. NOTING THAT WE HAVE MANY SPECIFIC ISSUES LIKE COMMERCIAL CLAIMS AND MILITARY CONTRACTS, THE UNDER SECRETARY SAID THAT THE SITUATION IS IMPROVING.

4. THE UNDER SECRETARY SAID THE KURDISH SITUATION IS AN INTER NAL IRANIAN MATTER. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT WE RESPECT THE TERRITOREAL INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF IRAN. WE SHE THE KURDISM STITUATION AS ONE OF THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS FACING THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN. MR. RESTON HAD COMMENTED ON THE SUBJECT OF THE "QUICK JUSTICE" THAT HAD BEEN METED GUT IN THE KURDISH AREA. HIS COMMENTS WERE ALONG THE LIMES OF OUR STANDING OPPOSITION TO EXECUTIONS WITHOUT FAT TRIALS.

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4190
INFO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASH DC

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RF DAO A/M RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 0292
RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0364
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0368
RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 0363
RUUMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 0328
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0435
RUQMMW/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 0293
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E.O. 12065: GDS 10/10/85 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P TAGS: IR, PINT, PINS SUBJECT: KURDISH PROBLEMS REF: TEHRAN 10804

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT). ATT BOD AND THE BOD ALLOW AS GIAR TO MARROW

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS AND RADIO REPORTS, IN RESPONSE TO AMBUSH OF REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS (REFTEL) DEF MIN CHAMRAN HAS FLOWN TO KURDESTAN TO OVERSEE OPERATIONS AGAINST
REBELS. AT THE SAME TIME JCS CHIEF SHAKER ANNOUNCED THAT THE ARMY HAD "EXTENSIVE PLANS TO COUNTER THE KURDISH REBELS" AND INTERIOR MINISTER SABAGHIAN TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE PGOI PLANNED TO TAKE THE WAR OUT OF THE TOWNS INTO THE MOUNTAINS "AFTER THE AREA IS STUDIED.

3. STORY OF AMBUSH SEEMS FAR FROM CLEAR: AMBUSH REPORTEDLY TOOK PLACE SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7; IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER 22 OR 52 GUARDSMEN WERE KILLED IN AMBUSH WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE OCCURRED WHEN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS WITHDREW FROM GENDARMARIE POST NEAR SARDASHT TO BANEE WITHOUT COORDINATING WITH LOCAL ARMY COMMANDER AND AGAINST HIS 4. CERIMONIES FOR THE SLAIN GUARDS WERE HELD OCTOBER 10 IN CITIES ACROSS IRAN. IN TEHRAN, THE BAZAAR CLOSED AND CERIMONIES WERE HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEHRAN BUT NO FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE APPEARED AT EMBASSY. (OCT 9 DEMONSTRATIONS, ACCORDING TO JUMEURI-E-ISLAMI, WERE ORGANIZED BY TEHRAN UNIVERSITY ISLAMIC STUDENTS SOCIETY AND SHARIF INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITY MOSLEM STUDENTS ORGANIZATION.)

5. RIGHT-WING ISLAMIC PAPER JUMHURI-E-ISLAMI CONTINUED ITS ATTACKS TODAY ON ALLEGED AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN EURDISTAN FRONT PAGING A GORY PICTURE OF A CHARRED REVOLUTIONARY GUARD ENTITLED "HUMAN RIGHTS AMERICAN

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