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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 12891

EXDIS

E.O. 12865: RDS-3 12/12/99 (LAINGEN, L.B.) OR-M  
TAGS: PINT, IR  
SUBJECT: YAZDI IN NEW YORK: WHERE NOW?

*10/1/79*  
*60 - Pages 5 & 9*  
*have lines missing*  
*Please ask*  
*CRU what*  
*we do about*  
*this*  
*(CK BC*  
*will*  
*be done)*

REF: STATE 263952

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. YAZDI'S NEW YORK PERFORMANCE WAS AN ABRASIVE AND PUBLIC REMINDER THAT WE HAVE YET TO ACT IN WAYS THAT DEMONSTRATE CONVINCINGLY THAT WE HAVE ACCEPTED THE REVOLUTION. SOME OF THIS IS REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC BUT MORE OF IT IS GENUINE, REFLECTING AMONG OTHER THINGS A CONCERN FOR CONSOLIDATION OF POWER BY AN INNER PGOI CIRCLE. WE RECOMMEND ACTION IN SEVERAL AREAS THAT WE CAN AND SHOULD TAKE TO STRENGTHEN OUR POLICY HAND IN THIS ATMOSPHERE. END SUMMARY.

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3. EMBASSY APPRECIATES EXCELLENT ANALYSIS IN REPTEL OF NEW YORK PERFORMANCE BY DR. YAZDI, A MAN INCREASINGLY INFLUENTIAL AS MEMBER OF A GROUP WITHIN THE PGOI CLOSE TO KHOMEINI AND LIKELY TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION OF POST-REVOLUTIONARY IRAN. (WE INCLUDE IN THAT INNER GROUP, IN ADDITION TO YAZDI, NEW DEFENSE MINISTER CHAMRAN, QOTBAEEN AT NIET, PGOI SPOKESMAN TABATABAI, AND MINISTER OF INTERIOR SABAGHIAN.)

4. WE SHARE DEPARTMENT'S ANALYSIS OF YAZDI'S PURPOSES -- TO CREATE, FOR HIS OWN PSYCHIC AND PERSONAL POLITICAL PURPOSES THE IMPRESSION OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY AS A NEW BREED OF MAN DEMANDING TO BE HEARD ON THE WORLD STAGE. YAZDI HAD THAT OPPORTUNITY, BOTH AT HAVANA AND AT NEW YORK, AND HE CLEARLY WAS DETERMINED TO USE IT TO MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS.

5. MORE SPECIFICALLY, AS FAR AS THE USG IS CONCERNED, HIS PURPOSE WAS TO TELL US, BOTH PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY, THAT REVOLUTION. AND TO WARN US THAT UNTIL WE DO, THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS IN BUILDING A NEW RELATIONSHIP. THE THEME WAS SOUNDED AGAIN, WITH SPECIFICS, IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ON HIS RETURN HERE FROM NEW YORK (SEPTEL). THE ICE, SAYS YAZDI, HAS NOT YET BEEN BROKEN.

6. THAT MAY SOUND A BIT EXTREME IN LIGHT OF USG ACTIONS TO DATE DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WE HAVE INDEED ACCEPTED THE REVOLUTION. BUT IT IS PERHAPS NOT ALL THAT SURPRISING, FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS -- NOT ALL OF WHICH WE NEED ACCEPT BUT WHICH WE NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT IN

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FINDING WAYS TO DEAL WITH THIS DIFFICULT REGIME.

7. PARTLY, AS REFFEL POINTS OUT, IT IS THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICIAN, THE AMBITIOUS POLITICIAN THAT YAZDI IS. THAT COMBINATION REQUIRES HIM TO TALK AND LOOK LIKE A REVOLUTIONARY, ESPECIALLY IN THIS FIRST RETURN TO THE U.S. AFTER HIS 19 YEARS IN TEXAS AND OTHER WAYPOINTS -- A PART OF HIS PAST THAT HE NOW FINDS SOMEWHAT BURDENSOME POLITICALLY. CONSEQUENTLY IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR YAZDI THAT THE HEADLINES MAKE SOME SHOW HIM IN TRUEREVOLUTIONARY COLORS, PREPARED TO STAND UP TO THE U.S. AND NOT SOMEONE STRICKEN WITH THE "MENTAL SLAVERY" THAT HE DECRIED IN HIS HAVANA SPEECH AS "THE MOST DISTINGUISHED CONSEQUENCE OF IMPERIALISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD... A CHEAP AND EFFECTIVE TOOL OF PERPETUATING IMPERIALIST DOMINATION".

8. BUT THERE IS MORE THAN THAT IN HIS TOUGH STANCE WITH US, BOTH IN HIS BILATERAL WITH THE SECRETARY AND HIS PUBLIC SPEECHES. YAZDI IS POLITICALLY AMBITIOUS BUT HE IS ALSO A BELIEVING REVOLUTIONARY. IT IS THEREFORE MORE THAN THE REVOLUTIONARY REFRESHING HIS CREDENTIALS. HIS APPROACH SAYS THINGS THAT ARE FUNDAMENTAL ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY APPARATUS HERE -- ONE THING THAT IS PRACTICAL AND REASONABLY SHORT-RANGE; THE OTHER MORE FUNDAMENTAL AND LONG-RANGE.

9. IN THE SHORT-TERM YAZDI AND OTHERS OF HIS CLOSE ASSOCIATES IN THE PCOF REFLECT, WE THINK, AN INCREASING CONCERN FOR CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR POLITICAL POWER AT A TIME OF REAL OR IMAGINED THREAT TO IT. THUS THE SHARP REACTION TO THE NEW OUTBREAK OF DIFFICULTIES IN KURDISTAN AND KHUZESTAN, A REACTION MARKED BY A BARRAGE OF INTERNAL PROPAGANDA TO THE EFFECT THAT THE U.S., BEHIND THE FACADE OF DENIAL THAT IRAQ IS ALSO INVOLVED IN SOME CONCLUSIVE COLLUSION WITH AMERICAN AGENTS AND INFLUENCE. WHATEVER ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE REAL SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN THESE TWO TROUBLED PROVINCES, THE SPATE OF PROPAGANDA SEEMS DESIGNED FURTHER TO STRENGTHEN CLERICAL AND REVOLUTIONARY CONTROL OVER THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE EVOLVING GOVERNMENT APPARATUS THAT IS TO BE PUT IN PLACE WHEN THE CONSTITUTION IS COMPLETE. THE EFFORT AT CONSOLIDATION OF POWER IS ALSO SEEN IN THE INCREASING EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO "PURGE" FROM THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT BOTH THE REMNANTS OF THE ANCIENT REGIME AND THEIR POLITICAL OPPONENTS. REFFEL YAZDI IS QUOTED FROM NEW YORK AS SAYING THAT THE

END

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JUDGE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS YET TO BE COMPLETED. CHAMRAN TALKS OF THE PURGE HE INTENDS TO PURSUE IN THE ARMED FORCES. THE NAZIR AFFAIR AT NIJC IS ACCOMPANIED BY TALK OF A NECESSARY PURGING PROCESS THAT NAZIR HAD IGNORED OR SET ASIDE. AND KHOMEINI TALKS OF THE PURGE NECESSARY FOR THE ENTIRE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IF THE REVOLUTION IS TO BE CONSOLIDATED.

10. RELATED TO THIS BUT LONGER-TERM IN ITS NATURE IS AN EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER ANOTHER AND GREATER DANGER FOR THE REVOLUTION, ITS GOALS AND PURPOSES. THAT CONCERN RELATES TO THE NEED TO ELIMINATE FOREIGN AND PARTICULARLY WESTERN CULTURAL DOMINATION -- AN ALLEGED LEGACY OF THE PREVIOUS REGIM THAT THE REVOLUTIONARIES SEE AS CORROSIVE FOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ISLAM AS THE DRIVING FORCE AND MOTIVATION FOR IRAN'S ENTIRE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MAKE-UP: INDEED THEY SEE THIS CORROSION AS THREATENING EVERYWHERE IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD, AN IDEOLOGICAL COMPELSION THAT COMBINES WITH LOOSE TALK OF IRRIDENTISM IN SHIA MESSIANIC TERMS TO Muddy THE WATERS FOR THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC'S RELATIONS WITH MOST OF ITS MUSLIM NEIGHBORS.

11. YAZDI DEVOTED A GOOD PART OF HIS REVEALING SPEECH AT FAYANA TO THIS PARTICULAR CONCERN OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARIES. AS HE PUT IT, "THE STANDARDIZATION OF VALUES, GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS AMONG THE RULING ELITE OF THE WORLD HAS ADDED A NEW DIMENSION OF CULTURAL DOMINATION TO THE EVOLVING CHARACTER OF IMPERIALISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD." YAZDI CALLED FOR A RECOGNITION OF "THE ALIENATING AND HABITUAL CULTURAL ALIGNMENT WITH THE SUPERPOWERS AND A SYSTEMATIC EFFORT TO FREE OURSELVES FROM THE MENTAL BONDAGE OF CULTURAL DOMINATION."

12. IT IS NOT AND IT WILL NOT BE EASY FOR US TO WORK WITH A LEADERSHIP THAT BELIEVES AND ACTS AS THIS ONE DOES: THAT KNOW THEY NEED US BUT YET FEAR FOR THEIR REVOLUTION IF THEY GET TOO CLOSE TO US. TIME AND THE COMPELLING CIRCUMSTANCES OF AN ALREADY BUILT-IN MOMENTUM IN THE SECULARIZATION AND MODERNIZATION OF IRAN'S ECONOMY AND ITS GREAT SOCIAL STRUCTURE WILL CHANGE SOME OF THIS. BUT THAT WILL BE A SLOW PROCESS, BARRING SOME DRAMATIC POLITICAL TURNAROUND THAT SEEMS UNLIKELY IN THE SHORT-TERM. WE WILL NEED TO ACT WITH A MAXIMUM OF PATIENCE AND SENSIBILITY AS WE PURSUE OUR INTERESTS IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION MANIFESTED BY YAZDI IN NEW YORK.

13. WITH THIS AS BACKGROUND, WE COMMENT BELOW ON THREE SPECIFIC AREAS OF POLICY: FIRST, MILITARY SUPPLY; SECOND, OUR PUBLIC POSTURE ON THE REVOLUTION; AND THIRD, THE SPECIAL SYMBOLISM OF CALLING ON KHOMEINI AND NOMINATING AN AMBASSADOR.

14. YAZDI DID NOT FAIL IN NEW YORK TO MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR PERFORMANCE IN THE MILITARY SUPPLY FIELD WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN ACID TEST OF OUR ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REVOLUTION. THE COURSE WILL BE ROUGH, NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE OF WHAT SEEMS DESTINED TO BE A PRICKLY RELATIONSHIP WITH CHAMRAN AS THE

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HEAD OF THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT, BUT MORE FUNDAMENTALLY BECAUSE OF THE FEAR OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN AND VIA THE MILITARY IN IRAN SOCIETY. (AS YAZDI NOTED IN HAVANA, MORE THAN 1200 IRANIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL WERE TRAINED IN THE UNITED STATES -- A CONSERVATIVE FIGURE BY OUR ESTIMATE). THERE IS ALSO THE ABIDING SUSPICION ON THE PART OF YAZDI AND OTHERS THAT IRAN HAS BEEN FINANCIALLY LED BY MEANS OF THE TRUST FUND.

15. WE THUS FACE THE CHALLENGE OF SATISFYING BOTH THE POLITICIANS SUCH AS YAZDI AND GHAMRAN BUT ALSO THE MILITARY PROFESSIONALS, WHO ARE BEGINNING TO REFLECT A CONCERN THAT THEY WILL BE DENIED THE LOGISTICAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT THEY FEEL THEY NEED FROM THE U.S. NONETHELESS WE SEE OUR CURRENT POLICY STANCE ON MILITARY SUPPLY AS ESSENTIALLY SOUND -- AN OPEN AND STRAIGHT-FORWARD POSTURE CONCERNING BILLINGS AND ACCOUNTS, FRANK AND FORCEFUL REMINDERS ABOUT OUR OWN LAWS AND REGULATIONS THAT APPLY, A DEMONSTRATED WILLINGNESS TO GO ALL OUT IN RESPONDING TO PCOI QUESTIONS ABOUT FINANCIAL DETAIL.

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AND MAKING SPARE PARTS AVAILABLE AS RAPIDLY AS THE PCOI CAN GET ITS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD, HOWEVER, ALSO BE PREPARED TO TAKE SOME RISKS IN THE CASE BY CASE POLICY WE ENVISAGE AS AFFECTING CLASSIFIED AND SENSITIVE MATERIAL. AS A CASE IN POINT WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD MOVE AFFIRMATIVELY IN RESPONSE TO THE PCOI REQUEST CONCERNING THE RF4E'S. TO DELAY OR TO DENY THESE AIRCRAFT WILL AROUSE NEW SUSPICIONS OF AN INTENT TO PENALIZE THE PCOI ON BOTH FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL COUNTS; APPROVAL OF THIS SMALL NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT ALREADY LARGELY PAID FOR AND ADDITIONAL TO AN ALREADY EXISTING LIAP INVENTORY IS CERTAINLY DEFENSIBLE (IN WHAT WE ASSUME WILL BE REQUIRED CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS) IN TERMS OF OUR INTERESTS IN IRAN.

16. SECONDLY, AS THIS EMBASSY HAS RECOMMENDED EARLIER, WE BELIEVE WE CAN AND SHOULD FIND WAYS TO SPEAK PUBLICLY AND POSITIVELY MORE THAN WE HAVE TO DATE ABOUT HAVING ACCEPTED THE CHANGE IN IRAN. THERE ARE TWO REASONS FOR THIS; THE ONE OBVIOUSLY TO HELP REDUCE PCOI SUSPICIONS ABOUT OUR PURPOSES AND THE OTHER TO REMIND OUR OWN PUBLIC (ONLY SUPERFICIALLY INFORMED BY THE U.S. PRESS) ABOUT OUR LONG-TERM INTERESTS IN IRAN. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE NEED PUBLICLY TO EMBRACE AND ENDORSE KHOMEINI, OR TO APPLAUD SUCH FIGURES AS TAZDI AND CHAMRAN AND ALL THAT THEY SAY AND DO, OR TO COMMEND PCOI POLICY IN KURDESTAN. WHAT WE DO NEED TO SAY, IN WAYS THAT WE HAVE NOT YET DONE, IS THAT WE HAVE LONG-TERM INTERESTS IN IRAN THAT CONTINUE AND WHICH WE BELIEVE CAN BE PRESERVED IN AN ISLAMIC IRAN.

17. SPECIFICALLY, WE URGE THE DEPARTMENT TO FIND WAYS PUBLICLY TO SAY THAT WE WISH IRAN WELL IN PUTTING ITS REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVES INTO FORMS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT WILL COMMAND THE SUPPORT OF ALL ITS PEOPLE; THAT THE U.S. HAS NO INTEREST IN OR INTENTION OF IMPOSING ANY REGIME, MONARCHY OR OTHERWISE, ON IRAN; THAT WE HAVE AN ABIDING INTEREST IN IRAN'S INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE; THAT AMERICAN INTERESTS IN ACCESS TO IRANIAN OIL ARE SYNONYMOUS WITH IRANIAN INTERESTS IN SUSTAINING AND FINANCING ITS FUTURE INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. WE SHOULD FIND OPPORTUNITIES AS WELL TO WELCOME REVOLUTIONARY IRAN'S EMPHASIS ON ISLAM AND ITS SPIRITUAL CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY AS SOMETHING THAT AMERICANS UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT, GIVEN THE WAY IN WHICH AMERICANS ALSO SEE THINGS OF THE SPIRIT AS IMPORTANT TO HUMAN ENDEAVOR.

18. ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAUNDERS' TESTIMONY OF SOME MONTHS BACK BEFORE THE HIRC ON THE MIDDLE EAST AS A WHOLE HAS THE ESSENCE OF MUCH OF THIS AND IS THE KIND OF THING WE SHOULD BE HEARD SAYING MORE FREQUENTLY ABOUT IRAN.

19. THIRDLY, AND BRIEFLY, THERE IS THE VERY LARGE IMPORTANCE OF THE SYMBOLIC ACTS OF SEEING KHOMEINI AND NAMING AN AMBASSADOR. THESE ACTIONS ARE LONG OVERDUE; THEY ARE CENTRAL TO THE WAY IN WHICH TAZDI AND INDEED MOST IRANISMS SEE OUR ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REVOLUTION. IF A NEW AMBASSADOR IS TO BE FURTHER DELAYED, WE RECOMMEND THAT

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IF SAFE A MEETING NOW WITH TEGMEINI AT THE CHARGE LEVEL.  
IS FOR DESIGNATING AN AMBASSADOR. THE TIMING WILL NEVER  
BE TOTALLY RIGHT; THE ACTION SHOULD NO LONGER BE DELAYED.  
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