

4. COMMENT AND ANALYSIS: BOTH MINATCHI AND ENTEZAM FELT CONFIDENT INITIAL DANGER OF MILITARY-ISLAMIC MOVEMENT CONFRONTATION HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED. NEITHER COULD GIVE ANY ASSURANCES THAT KHOMEINI WILL NOT ANNOUNCE ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT AND TRUS PROVOKE POLITICAL CONFRONTATION, BUT MINATCHI THOUGHT KHOMEINI HAD PRETTY WELL COMMITTED HIMSELF TO CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER ULEMA BEFORE MAKING DEFINITIVE PRONOUNCEMENTS. ENTEZAM SAID

KHOMEINI HAD DECIDED TO RETURN TO IRAN AGAINST ADVICE OF LMI. MAJOR FACTORS IN THAT DECISION AS KHOMEINI EXPLAINED PERSONALLY BY PHONE TO BAZARGAN AND ENTEZAM WERE:

(A) FEELING THAT KHOMEINI'S PRESENCE WAS NECESSARY TO CONTROL BURGEONING COMMUNIST THREAT (WHICH LMI IS TAKING VERY, VERY SERIOUSLY NOW); (B) NEED FOR PERSONAL LEADERSHIP TO PROMOTE PROPER SOLUTION AND MINIMIZE CONFRONTATION WITH MILITARY; AND (C) RELIEF THAT IF CONFRONTATION DEVELOPED, HIS PRESENCE WOULD INSURE THAT TROOPS WOULD DESERT GOVERNMENT EN MASSE AND MINIMIZE VIOLENT PHASE OF REVOLUTION. LOOKS TO US AS IF KHOMEINI WILL TRUS COME INTO IRAN PREPARED TO TAKE SITUATION AS HE FINDS IT AND DEAL WITH MATTERS ACCORDING TO "FEEL" HE GETS ON ARRIVAL. ACCORDING TO ENTEZAM, HE DOES NOT WANT VIOLENCE, BUT ALSO WANTS VICTORY. THIS SUGGESTS THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF STRONG COUNTERVAILING PRESSURES ON HIM, TEMPTATION TO ANNOUNCE ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT AND "SWEEP AWAY CLAPNET OF THE OLD REGIME" MIGHT BE ALMOST IRRESISTIBLE. BSSS HOPES FOR MINIMIZING VIOLENCE THEREFORE SEEMS TO REST ON LMI AND MODERATE RELIGIOUS LEADERS PERSUADING KHOMEINI TO TAKE IT EASY ON ARRIVAL. THIS COULD BE A SHORT-ODDS PROPOSITION. SULLIVAN

BT
#1514

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CONFIDENTIAL/AMDIS

TEHRAN 1514

301325Z JAN 79
M AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
O RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3535
UYNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE 3796

CHRG: STATE 1/30/79
APPRV: DCM:GWNAAS
DRFTD: POL:JDSTEMPEL:G
CLEAR: 1.POL:3BLAMBRA
DISTR: POL-3 AMB DCM
ECON-2 PM OR
ADM CHRON/11

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 01514

AMDIS

NO. 12665: PDS-4 1-30-79 (STEMPEL, J.L.) OR-P
AGS: PORS, PINS, PINT, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: (U) KHOMEINI RETURN AWAITS AIR FRANCE OK

BT: TEHRAN 1261 (EXDIS, NOTAL)

(C - ENTIRE EXOT).

SENIOR LIBERATION MOVEMENT (LMI) OFFICIAL ENTEZAM
TELEPHONED POLOFF AT 1330 LOCAL TIME TO SAY THAT AGREEMENT
WITH GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT. ONLY THING PREVENT-
ING KHOMEINI'S ARRIVAL PLANS GOING FORWARD WAS AIR FRANCE
APPROVAL FOR CHARTER. ENTEZAM NOTED (CORRECTLY) THAT
TEHRAN AIRPORT IS OPEN, AND PRESUMABLY GOI IS GIVING ITS
FINAL APPROVAL TO AIR FRANCE NOW. LMI HOPED TO HAVE FINAL
APPROVAL BY MIDAFTERNOON OR EARLY EVENING. ASSUMING
APPROVAL, KHOMEINI WOULD DEPART PARIS LATE EVENING JAN 30
FOR ARRIVAL TEHRAN JAN 31 ABOUT 0930 TEHRAN TIME. PLANS
FOR HIS ARRIVAL ARE ESSENTIALLY THOSE WORKED OUT EARLIER
(SEE REFTEL): KHOMEINI WILL ARRIVE, BE MET BY SELECT
COMMITTEE THEN TAKEN TO BEHEST-E-ZARA CEMETERY VIA
SHAYAD MONUMENT (SPEECH THERE). AFTER SPEECH AT CEMETERY,
HE WOULD RETIRE TO HIS QUARTERS TO RECEIVE VISITS FROM
IRAN'S ULEMA AND PERHAPS PRIME MINISTER BAKHTIAR AND
CABINET. HE WOULD REMAIN IN TEHRAN TWO OR THREE DAYS BE-
FORE DEPARTING FROM COM.

AT JAN 30 MEETING WITH POLOFF, DR. MINATCHI PROVIDED
ALL-IN ON DEAL WITH GOI WHICH LED TO RETURN PLANS.
GENERAL MOGHADDAM (SAVAK) AND GHARABAGHI (CHIEF OF STAFF)
[WITH ENG. MEDJI BAZARGAN AND DR. YADOLLAH SAHARI, TOP
LEADERS, EVENING JAN 29. UNFORTUNATELY, HOJATOLLAH
KERSHATI AND AYATOLLAH RAFTSANJANI (WHO HAD BEEN SCHEDULED
ATTEND) WERE NOT THERE; THEY EXCUSED THEIR NON-
ATTENDANCE BY SENDING WORD THEY WERE PARTICIPATING IN
IRAN UNIVERSITY SIT-IN PROTESTING ARMY KILLINGS JAN 28-
(COMMENT: THIS IS SECOND TIME THAT BEHESETI HAS IN-
STEAD ESCAPED FACE-TO-FACE MEETING WITH KEY MILITARY
LEADERS, BUT APPARENTLY GHARABAGHI WAS UNDER INSTRUCTION
TO MAKE A DEAL, BECAUSE THIS CAUSED NO DIFFICULTY.) BOTH
MOGHADDAM AND BAZARGAN TOLD MINATCHI AFTERWARDS MEETING
VERY USEFUL, DESPITE RELIGIOUS LEADERS' ABSENCE. ARMY
AND LMI MEN AGREED TO DIVISION OF LABOR FOR KHOMEINI
RETURN (MILITARY TO PROTECT AIRPORT AND ROAD TO SHAYAD
MONUMENT, LMI TO HANDLE SECURITY FROM THERE), AND GROUP
WENT TO ADDITIONAL MEETINGS OVER COMING DAYS AS RE-
QUIRED. ACCORDING TO MINATCHI, MILITARY MEN SAID THEY
WANTED POLITICAL CHANGES WERE NECESSARY AND MILITARY WOULD
NOT OPPOSE IF CARRIED OUT UNDER CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

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