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[REDACTED] SECTION 1 OF 2 TEHRAN 2333

PASS MOSCOW AND LONDON

FOR UNDER SECY RICHARDSON AND ASST SECY BISCO FROM AMCARTHUR

SUBJECT: SHAH'S DEEP CONCERN RE (A) INCREASING SOVIET PRESSURES
AGAINST IRAN AND (B) DOUBTS RE BRITISH

REF: TEHRAN 1736 (PARA 5) ORG7U XR ORG7NEA XR POLIS-I Iran

1. IN FONMIN ZAHEDI'S ABSENCE IN JORDAN, ACTING FONMIN
KHALATBARI ASKED ME TO CALL URGENTLY LAST EVENING TO RECEIVE
MESSAGE FROM SHAH. KHALATBARI SAID SHAH ASKED HIM TO REMIND
ME OF TALK HE HAD APRIL 25 WITH ME (REF TEL
RE SOVIETS) AFTER YEARS OF SILENCE, BRINGING UP WITH
IRANIANS 1921 SOVIET-IRAN TREATY, ARTICLE 6 OF WHICH
GIVES SOVIETS RIGHT MILITARILY TO OCCUPY IRAN IF DEVELOPMENTS
THERE THREATEN SOVIET UNION.

2. SHAH WANTED USG TO KNOW AT TOP LEVEL WHAT FOLLOWING
REFERENCES BY RODGORY AND SOVIET AMB SOME WEEK AGO (REF TEL)
ANOTHER HIGH SOVIET OFFICIAL (I UNDERSTOOD IT WAS HIGH-
RANKING MEMBER OF SOVIET DELEGATION TO JOINT IRAN-USSR ECONOMIC
COMMITTEE) HAD AGAIN REFERRED RECENTLY TO 1921 TREATY BUT WITH
MORE MENACING NUANCES WHICH ALSO INVOLVED US. IN MEETING
WITH MINISTER OF ECONOMY ANSARY, THIS SOVIET OFFICIAL
REFERRED TO VISIT IN MAY OF JAMES LININ'S (TIME INC.)
US INVESTMENT GROUP, SAYING SOVIETS UNDERSTOOD MEMBERS OF
LINEN GROUP INTERESTED IN JOINING WITH IRAN IN EXPLOITING
FORESTS IN CASPIAN AREA. HE THEN REFERRED POINTEDLY TO

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1921 TREATY AND RECENT PUBLIC COMMENT BY SHAH THAT FRONTIER BETWEEN SOVIET UNION AND IRAN WAS FRONTIER OF FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE. SOVIETS WANTED FRONTIER KEPT THAT WAY AND THEREFOR IF IRAN NEEDED FOREIGN ASSISTANCE HE SUGGESTED, WITH HEAVY-HANDED HUMOR, THAT THEY GET "ANGELS" TO HELP THEM EXPLOIT IRAN'S RESOURCES, ADDING THAT IN SOVIET VIEW "AMERICANS ARE NOT ANGELS."

3. ACCORDING TO KHALATBARI, ANSARY REPLIED WITH SOME SPIRIT THAT 1921 TREATY SIGNED BEFORE UN CAME INTO EXISTENCE AND THAT UN CHARTER AND NOT 1921 TREATY GOVERNED RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. FURTHERMORE, NOT JUST AMERICANS BUT BRITISH, FRENCH, WEST GERMANS, SOVIETS THEMSELVES AND OTHERS WERE COOPERATING WITH IRAN IN DEVELOPMENT OF ITS RESOURCES. IRAN COULD NOT RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WAS ANY DIFFERENCE IN SUCH FRIENDLY FOREIGN COOPERATION WHETHER IT OCCURRED IN NORTH CENTER OR SOUTH OF IRAN. ANSARY ALSO POINTED OUT THAT SOME YEARS AGO IRAN HAD MADE CONTRACT WITH AMERICAN COMPANY (FAIRHURST CO.) RE FORESTRY IN NORTH AND ASKED WHY AT THIS LATE DATE SOVIET UNION SUDDENLY FELT OBLIGED TO RAISE THIS MATTER. SOVIET OFFICIAL TURNED ASSIDE ANSARY'S RIPOSTE WITH ANOTHER HEAVY-HANDED ATTEMPT AT HUMOR AND DROPPED SUBJECT.

4. SHAH WANTED TO KNOW OUR VIEW AS TO WHY SOVIETS AT THIS JUNCTURE PUTTING THINLY VEILED PRESSURE ON IRAN THROUGH 1921 TREATY. "WHAT DOES US THINK THIS MEANS?" KHALATBARI SAID WHAT WORRIES SHAH IS THAT SOVIETS MAY BE READING EXTREME PREOCCUPATION OF USG WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA AND TO LESSER EXTENT ISRAEL-UAR SITUATION AS INDICATION THAT USG HAS SUCH URGENT PROBLEMS ELSEWHERE THAT IT HAS NEITHER TIME NOR ENERGY TO BE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH FUTURE OF PERSIAN GULF REGION, THUS ENABLING SOVIETS TO BECOME "ARBITER" OF ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST. SHAH, HE SAID, VIEWS SOVIET ACTIVITY IN MIDDLE EAST AS EXTENDED HAND WITH FINGERS PROBING MEDITERRANEAN, IRAQ AND GULF, AFGHANISTAN, ETC. SOVIETS HAVE BEEN ADVANCING INTO MIDDLE EAST WITH SUCCESS AFTER SUCCESS IN MUCH OF ARAB WORLD WHERE THEY ARE CONSIDERED NOT JUST AS SUPPORTER OF ARABS AGAINST ISRAEL AND US BUT AS ACTUAL DEFENDER THROUGH SA-3 AND SOVIET AIR SQDNS IN EGYPT. KHALATBARI CONCLUDED: "SHAH WISHED TO FLASH YOU A RED LIGHT." HE FEELS RECENT SOVIET EFFORTS AT INTIMIDATION

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THROUGH 1921 TREATY MAY RESULT FROM SOVIET CONFIDENCE THAT US IS SO COMMITTED ELSEWHERE THAT SOVIETS CAN START THEIR MOVE TOWARD GULF WITH IMPUNITY, UTILIZING INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT IRAQ. SHAH HOPES USG WILL MAKE CLEAR ITS INTEREST IN THIS VITAL AREA AND WILL ALSO MOVE AHEAD WITH JOINT PROJECTS IRAN WAS DISCUSSED WITH US WITH VIEW TO STRENGTHENING IRAN'S ABILITY TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES IN GULF TO ASSURE PEACE AND STABILITY THERE AFTER BRITISH WITHDRAWAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH NIXON DOCTRINE.

5. I REPLIED I WAS SURE HIM KNEW FROM HIS TALKS (A) WITH PRESIDENT LAST AUTUMN AND (B) SUBSEQUENTLY WITH UNDER SECY RICHARDSON AND ASST SECY SISCO, AS WELL AS RICHARDSON-SISCO TEHRAN DEPARTURE STATEMENTS THAT THERE NO RPT NO QUESTION WHATSOEVER AS TO OUR VITAL INTEREST IN WHAT HAPPENS IN GULF AND OUR CONVICTION OF IMPORTANCE OF IRAN'S ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN AREA. INsofar AS IRAN'S MILITARY ACQUISITION PROGRAM CONCERNED, WE SHOULD BE ABLE COMPLETE NEGOTIATION OF EIGHTH TRANCHE JUST AS SOON AS FMS LEGISLATION PASSED CONGRESS AND IN MEANTIME GENERALS TWITCHELL AND TOUFANIAN WERE WORKING ON AGREED STUDY TO OBTAIN OVERALL PICTURE OF IRAN'S MILITARY REQUIREMENTS SO TAHT WE COULD SEE HOW BEST WE COULD ASSIST OUR IRANIAN FRIENDS WITH RESOURCES THAT WE COULD REASONABLY EXPECT WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO US.

6. KHALATBARI THEN SAID THAT SHAH AND GOV ALSO WORRIED BY ATTITUDE OF BRITISH IN GULF AREA, FEARING BRITISH

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PASS MOSCOW AND LONDON

FOR UNDER SECY RICHARDSON AND ASST SECY BISCO FROM MACARTHUR

SUBJECT: SHAH'S DEEP CONCERN RE (A) INCREASING SOVIET PRESSURES
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REF: TEHRAN 1736 (PARA 5)

PLAYING SOME KIND OF DEVIANT GAME. HE SAID WHILE BRITISH
AMB WRIGHT ASSURES GOI BRITISH INFLUENCE IS BEING USED WITH
SHEIKHS OF SHARJA AND RAS-AL-KHAIMAH ON BEHALF OF ACCEPTABLE
SETTLEMENT WITH IRAN RE ABU MUSA AND TUNBS ISLANDS. ON OTHER
HAND BRITISH OFFICIALS IN GULF ARE INDICATING TO SHEIKHS
THAT RAF AIRCRAFT AND BRITISH FORCES ARE THERE TO "PROTECT
THEM" AGAINST IRANIAN OR OTHER RETENSIONS. IRANIANS ALSO
ANGERED BY UK FOREIGN MINISTER STEWART'S EXCHANGE WITH
KAHEDI DURING RECENT WASHINGTON CENTO MEETING OVER ISLANDS,
BUT MORE PARTICULARLY OVER STEWART'S BLAND ASSERTION TO
KAHEDI WHEN LATTER TRIED TO PROBE HIM THAT HE (STEWART)
"WAS REALLY NOT INFORMED RE DETAILS." KHALATBARI SAID THIS
ABSURD IN LIGHT OF CONVERSATIONS WITH STEWART DURING HIS
LAST VISIT HERE AND PREOCCUPATION OF BRITISH FONOFF WITH
ISLAND SITUATION AND UNHELPFUL LEAKING TO PRESS IT HAS
RECENTLY ENGAGED IN RE SHARJA AND UMM-AL-QAIWAIN OIL
CONCESSION DISPUTE. (HE MENTIONED ARTICLE
IN LATEST "ECONOMIST" AND MAY 31 "SUNDAY TIMES" AS EXAMPLES.)
KHALATBARI SAID THERE ALSO RUMORS BRITAIN MAY IN SOME WAY
BE CONNIVING WITH IRAQ AND SOME IRANIANS BELIEVE KUWAIT GOVT

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ILLEGAL SEEMED UNREALISTIC.

9. COMMENT: I HAVE REPORTED FOREGOING AT LENGTH BECAUSE FROM EVERY QUARTER WE HEAR OF SHAH'S (A) INCREASING PRE-OCCUPATION WITH SOVIET ADVANCES INTO THIS AREA AND (B) SHAH'S GROWING SUSPICION THAT IF BRITAIN IS NOT PLAYING SOME DUBIOUS GAME OF ITS OWN DEVISING, IT IS AT LEAST BEHAVING IN A WAY WHICH WILL MAKE MORE DIFFICULT MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN GULF AFTER BRITISH WITHDRAWAL IN 1971. WHETHER OR NOT SUSPICIONS AND FEARS OF SHAH AND SOME SENIOR MEMBERS OF HIS GOVT ARE JUSTIFIED IS QUITE BESIDE POINT. UNHAPPY FACT AT THIS JUNCTURE IS THAT SUCH SUSPICIONS AND APPREHENSIONS RE BRITAIN DO EXIST. I WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE ANY THOUGHTS OR COMMENTS, PARTICULARLY TO ALLEVIATE SHAH'S APPREHENSION THAT WE ARE SO BOGGED DOWN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA THAT WE WILL SIT BY AND LET SOVIETS FULFILL THEIR TRADITIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND MOVE IN TO BECOME "ARBITER OF GULF AND ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST" AS SHAH PUTS IT. GP-3.
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