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By JW NARA Date 4-26-02

POL 7 US/NIXON
XR POL IRAN-US

Department of State **TELEGRAM**



~~SECRET~~ 532

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 NSCE-00 SSD-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO UBCSTATE WASHDC 8271

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NEA FOR AMBASSADOR FARLAND

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S VISIT; US/IRAN RELATIONS AND WHAT
THEY MEAN TO SHAH

REF: TEHRAN 2488

THIS IS THIRD IN SERIES OF MESSAGES REGARDING PRESIDENT'S
VISIT AND DEALS WITH PRESENT STATE OF US/IRAN RELATIONS AND
MATTERS SHAH MAY RAISE WITH PRESIDENT IN THIS CONTEXT.

1. PRESIDENT WILL COME TO IRAN AT TIME WHEN SHAH HAS
CHARACTERIZED US/IRANIAN RELATIONS AS NEVER HAVING BEEN
BETTER. RELATIONS ARE CLOSE, WE DERIVE CONSIDERABLE BENEFIT
FROM THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS (INTELLIGENCE FACILITIES, SECURE
AIR CORRIDOR, ETC.) AND US MISSION IS ABLE OPERATE IN IRAN
IN ATMOSPHERE OF FRIENDLINESS AND COOPERATION, RARE IN THIS
PART OF WORLD. FURTHER, IRAN IS EXCELLENT CUSTOMER FOR
US PRODUCTS.

2. WE ARE IN UNUSUAL STATE OF HAVING ONLY TWO BILATERAL
ISSUES CURRENTLY UNDER NEGOTIATION WITH GOI: CIVAIR
AGREEMENT AND LEND-LEASE DEBTS. HOPEFULLY, FORMER WILL
BE RESOLVED AT CONFERENCE TABLE IN NEXT FEW DAYS.
PROGRESS

IS BEING MADE ON LATTER AS GOI HAS ACKNOWLEDGED DEBT AND
HAS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE TO PAY IT.

3. ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS: IRAN RECORD OF COLLABORATION WITH

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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US IS GOOD. MOST RECENTLY ITS DELEGATION TO SINGLE NARCOTICS CONVENTION IN GENEVA WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORTED OUR EFFORTS. GOI TRIES TO TAKE OUR POINT OF VIEW INTO CONSIDERATION, IS GENERALLY RESPONSIVE TO OUR SUGGESTIONS AND TRIES NOT TO TAKE POSITIONS THAT MIGHT EMBARRASS US.

4. THERE ARE MANY STRANDS IN FABRIC OF OUR RELATIONS WITH IRAN, ONE OF MOST IMPORTANT BEING CONTACT SHAH HAS HAD WITH ALL AMERICAN PRESIDENTS SINCE PRESIDENT TRUMAN. HE GREATLY VALUES COMMUNICATING WITH AMERICAN PRESIDENTS ON A PERSONAL AND INTIMATE BASIS AND HIS FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON SHOULD CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO STRENGTHENING FURTHER THIS BOND THAT USG HAS HAD WITH SHAH OVER THE YEARS.

5. SHAH AND GOI LOOK UPON US AS IRAN'S BEST AND MOST TRUST WORTHY FRIEND. THIS IS VALUABLE PLUS FOR US INTERESTS IN THIS STRATEGIC PART OF WORLD. THERE ARE ALSO OCCASIONAL IRRITANTS THAT DEVELOP IN OUR RELATIONS THAT ARISE OUT OF EXPECTATIONS GENERATED BY VERY TRUST AND SENSE OF DEEP FRIENDSHIP IRAN ACCORDS US. BECAUSE IRAN IS SUCCESS STORY, PUTS NO DEMANDS UPON OUR RESOURCES AND CREATES NO PROBLEMS FOR US THERE IS FEELING HERE THAT IRAN TENDS TO BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED BY CRISIS-ORIENTED LEADERSHIP IN WASHINGTON. THERE IS ALSO FEELING THAT US AT TIMES IS OVERLOOKING ONE OF ITS BEST FRIENDS AND MOST SUCCESSFUL GRADUATES FROM GRANT MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID RELATIONSHIP, BEING A COUNTRY THAT HAS RESOURCES, PAYS ITS OWN WAY AND IS WILLING TO PLAY RESPONSIBLE ROLE IN AREA WHERE PEACE AND STABILITY ARE VITAL TO INTERESTS OF US AND FREE WORLD.

6. IRRITANTS ALSO DEVELOP WHEN SHAH TURNS TO US, AS HE GENERALLY DOES BEFORE CONSIDERING OTHERS, FOR INFORMATION OR EQUIPMENT TO MOVE HIS COUNTRY FORWARD ECONOMICALLY AND STRENGTHEN ITS ARMED FORCES. HE WANTS BEST MONEY CAN BUY, AND SINCE HE CONSIDERS PROGRESSIVE, STRONG AND RESPONSIBLE IRAN TO BE IN US INTERESTS HE CANNOT UNDERSTAND OUR VENDORSHIP TO SECOND-GUESS HIS REQUESTS IN MILITARY FIELD OR OUR RELUCTANCE AT TIMES TO SHARE WITH HIM OUR LATEST TECHNOLOGY AND WEAPONS SYSTEMS, ETC. SO THAT HE CAN MAKE INFORMED DECISIONS OF HIS OWN ABOUT REQUIREMENTS. IN HIS EXPERIENCE, AMERICAN PRESIDENTS HAVE SEEN HIS NEEDS CLEARLY BUT HE FINDS OUR BUREAUCRACY DOESN'T ALSO HAVE THE MESSAGE, AND AGONIZING MONTHS CAN

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GO BY WHILE NEGOTIATING MATTERS ON WHICH HE BELIEVES AGREEMENT
HAD BEEN REACHED AT HIGHEST LEVELS OF USG.

7. WE ANTICIPATE THIS EXPERIENCE CLEARLY INFLUENCES HIS APPROACH
TO PRESIDENT. WE EXPECT HE WILL RAISE NUMBER OF SPECIFIC
SUBJECTS FOR DECISION WITH PRESIDENT SUCH AS ACQUISITION OF
F-15'S, STEADY SUPPLY OF SPECIALIZED PERSONNEL TO ADVISE

HIS ARMED FORCES, ETC.

8. THE PRESIDENT WILL ALSO BE COMING TO TEHRAN AT TIME
WHEN SHAH FEELS HIMSELF SOMEWHAT ISOLATED AND DEEPLY
TROUBLED ABOUT STATE OF WORLD AROUND HIM. HE IS THEREFORE
EVEN MORE DEPENDENT ON US AS CLOSE AND TRUSTWORTHY FRIEND.
SHAH IS CONCERNED OVER PRECARIOUS SITUATION THAT CONFRONTS
HIM ON HIS EASTERN, WESTERN AND SOUTHERN BORDERS, WITH
NEIGHBORS IN A STATE OF DISARRAY (PAKISTAN), FACING UNCERTAIN
FUTURE (AFGHANISTAN, SAUDI ARABIA, UAE, AND TURKEY) OR OPENLY
HOSTILE (IRAQ AND, TO LESSER EXTENT, KUWAIT). HE IS ESPECIALLY
TROUBLED ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN GULF AND RECOGNIZES THAT
THIS AREA IS AS STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT TO IRAN AS IT IS
TO WEST. THROUGH GULF FLOWS WEALTH WHICH FINANCES SHAH'S
AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS FOR HIS COUNTRY AND WHICH
FUELS ECONOMIES OF FREE WORLD. FUNDAMENTAL TO HIS CONCERNS
IS HIS APPREHENSION OVER SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN AREA AND
USSR SUCCESS TO DATE IN ACHIEVING THEM. HE POINTS OUT THAT
HIS NEIGHBOR TO NORTH, WITH WHICH SUPERFICIALLY IRAN HAS
GOOD RELATIONS IN SPIRIT OF DETENTE, HAS FOR CENTURIES HAD
THREE HISTORICAL OBJECTIVES. A ROLE IN MEDITERRANEAN, PRESENCE
IN SUBCONTINENT AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, CONTROL IN ONE FORM
OR ANOTHER OF THE GULF AND ITS RESOURCES. NOW THAT THE SOVIETS
HAVE ACHIEVED FIRST TWO OBJECTIVES SHAH FEELS THEY ARE CLOSING
IN ON GULF. HE HAS ACCUMULATED EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT HIS
THESIS INCLUDING RECENT SOVIET/IRAQ TREATY, SOVIET PLANS
TO ESTABLISH NAVAL BASE AT UMM AL-QASR IN GULF, SOVIET
EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GULF STATES,
ETC. IN ADDITION, HE SEES RADICAL ARAB STATES SUCH AS IRAQ
AND SOUTH YEMEN INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT UPON SOVIETS AND
RESPONSIVE TO MOSCOW GUIDANCE WORKING HAND IN GLOVE WITH
SOVIETS TO PENETRATE GULF STATES AND, DIRECTLY OR THROUGH
SUBVERSION, TAKE OVER AREA TO ERADICATE WESTERN INFLUENCE,
GAIN CONTROL OF PRODUCTION OF PRIMARY SOURCE OF FREE WORLD.

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PETROLEUM AND USE THIS CONTROL TO EXACT CONCESSIONS FROM
FREE WORLD.

9. WE CAN ANTICIPATE THAT SHAH WILL PAINT FAIRLY BLEAK
PICTURE TO PRESIDENT OF WORLD AS HE SEES IT. HE IS A PRO-
FESSIONAL CASSANDRA

AND PRIDES HIMSELF ON HAVING BEEN RIGHT
IN HIS PREDICTIONS. VISIT THEREFORE COMES AT MOST OPPORTUNE
TIME. SHAH WILL BE ANXIOUS TO HAVE PRESIDENT'S ASSESSMENT OF
SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN EUROPE, MEDITERRANEAN, MIDDLE EAST AND
SOUTH ASIA AND CLARIFICATION OF US VIEWS AND REACTIONS TO THESE
OBJECTIVES IN ORDER BETTER TO DETERMINE WHAT IRAN'S ROLE AND
RESPONSE SHOULD BE. HE WILL HOPE THAT FROM THESE DISCUSSIONS
HE WILL BE ABLE REAFFIRM HIS VIEW OF US AS TRUSTWORTHY,
RELIABLE AND DEPENDABLE FRIEND PREPARED TO BE RESPONSIVE TO
SHAH'S NEEDS AS HE DEFINES THEM IN ORDER TO PLAY
RESPONSIBLE ROLE IN AREA IN FULL SPIRIT OF NIXON DOCTRINE.

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