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TELEGRAM



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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8272

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NEA FOR AMBASSADOR FARLAND

SUBJ: PRESIDENT'S VISIT -- SHAH'S VIEWS AND CONCERNS
ON SPECIFIC DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MATTERS WHICH
MAY ARISE IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT

REF: TEHRAN 2603

SUMMARY: THIS IS FOURTH IN A SERIES OF MESSAGES REGARDING
PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO TEHRAN AND COVERS SHAH'S VIEWS ON WIDE
RANGE OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SUBJECTS. DOMESTICALLY, SHAH
HAS SET AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND IS BULLISH ABOUT
HIS COUNTRY'S FUTURE. AT SAME TIME HE IS TROUBLED OVER
TREND OF EVENTS IN MIDDLE EAST, SOME OF WHICH HE CONSIDERS
THREAT TO IRAN'S SECURITY. HE IS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT
SOVIET ADVANCEMENTS IN AREA AND OVER WHAT HE CALLS GRAND
DESIGN OF USSR TO ACQUIRE WARM WATER PORT IN ARABIAN SEA
AND TO ERADICATE US AND WESTERN INFLUENCE IN GULF. HE FEELS
US AND WEST DO NOT APPRECIATE VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THEIR OWN
BASIC SELF INTERESTS OF GULF AND ITS OIL ON WHICH SO MUCH
OF FREE WORLD ECONOMY AND SECURITY IS DEPENDENT. END
SUMMARY.

1. REQUESTS FOR AUDIENCES WITH SHAH ARE CAREFULLY SCREENED,
BUT ONCE ONE IS GRANTED HE IS GENUINE WITH VISITORS
IN TIME AND SUBSTANCE OF HIS REMARKS. HE LIKES TO START
WITH TOUR D'HORIZON, LENGTH AND ORIENTATION OF WHICH DEPENDS
ON VISITOR'S INTERESTS AND SHAH'S MOOD.
HE IS ALSO A GOOD LISTENER AND IS USUALLY CANDID IN HIS

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MUST TAKE PLACE BECAUSE AVAILABLE WATER SUPPLIES CANNOT TAKE CARE OF MORE THAN 5 1/2 MILLION IN TEHRAN AREA.

4. POLITICAL GROWTH. AS RESULT HIS GOVERNMENT'S EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT, SHAH EXPECTS LITERATE AND PROSPEROUS MIDDLE CLASS TO EXPAND RAPIDLY. HE DOES NOT AGREE HOWEVER WITH THOSE WHO ASSERT THIS WILL LEAD TO ERA OF CONFRONTATION. RATHER, HIS GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES ARE INTENDED TO SEE THAT COUNTRY WILL TAKE WHAT HE CALLS PATH OF PARTICIPATION. HE IS WORKING FOR "DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY" IN WHICH PEOPLE HAVE STAKE IN THEIR FUTURE AS IN CASE OF THOSE WHO PROFITED FROM LAND REFORM, AND HE HOPES VARIOUS POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS WILL PROVIDE OUTLETS FOR POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND EXPRESSION. THESE UNITS INCLUDE COOPERATIVES AND SOCIETIES AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL, VILLAGE COUNCIL EQUITY COURTS, CITY AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILS AND FINALLY PARLIAMENT. POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ALSO IMPORTANT PART OF PROCESS AND SHAH HAS ENCOURAGED THEIR ESTABLISHMENT.

5. SECURITY OF IRAN. WHILE IRAN VALUES FRIENDS AND ALLIES, ONLY SAFE POLICY IS FOR IRAN TO STAND ON ITS OWN FEET AND BE PREPARED TO DEFEND ITSELF. IT IS BUILDING UP ITS ARMED FORCES AND AS ONE DETERRENT IS MAKING CLEAR TO ALL ITS NEIGHBORS, WITH USSR AS REAL TARGET, THAT ANY WHO HAVE AMBITIONS IN IRAN WILL FIND A WASTED COUNTRY BECAUSE IRAN WILL PURSUE A SCORCHED EARTH POLICY LEAVING NOTHING BEHIND FOR THE INVADER. IRAN AND US HAVE A TREATY RELATIONSHIP, BUT THIS IS LOOSELY WORDED AND CANNOT BE RELIED UPON IN A CRISIS. ON OTHER HAND, IRAN AND WHAT IT REPRESENTS IN GULF IS SO VITAL TO WESTERN

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ON SPECIFIC DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MATTERS WHICH
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INTERESTS THAT LATTER CANNOT AFFORD TO SEE IRAN GO UNDER.
THIS IS FACT OF LIFE WHICH UNITED STATES AND WEST MUST
TAKE INTO ACCOUNT.

6. PAKISTAN-INDIA: SHAH DOES NOT THINK THAT RECENT CONFLICT
IN SUBCONTINENT DAMAGED HIS RELATIONS WITH INDIA WHICH
REMAIN SATISFACTORY. INDIANS KNEW SHAH DISAGREED ~~100PERCENT~~ WITH
YAHYA KHAN'S POLICIES VIS-A-VIS EAST PAKISTAN. AT SAME TIME
IRAN HAS NOT AS YET ACCEPTED BANGLA DESH, NOR WILL IRAN
RECOGNIZE IT IN VERY NEAR FUTURE BECAUSE IT HAD BEEN
CREATED BY AGGRESSION FROM OUTSIDE. UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF
WEST PAKISTAN IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE BECAUSE THERE COULD
BE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES IF PAKISTAN PROVINCES, AND
ESPECIALLY NORTHWESTERN FRONTIER AND BALUCHISTAN PROVINCES,
BROKE AWAY. HE DOES NOT THINK INDIA WANTS BREAK-UP OF
PAKISTAN NOR DOES HE THINK INDIA COULD OR WOULD OCCUPY IT.
BREAK-UP OF PAKISTAN COULD HAVE VERY SIGNIFICANT CONSEQUENCES
TO SECURITY OF IRAN BECAUSE ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, SOVIETS WOULD
SEEK TO EXPLOIT RESULTING CONFUSION TO THEIR ADVANTAGE AND
ATTEMPT TO USE SITUATION TO ACHIEVE LAND BASE TO ARABIAN SEA.
SOVIETS COULD WORK THROUGH AFGHANISTAN, WHERE THEIR INFLUENCE IS

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WAST, THROUGH INDIA AS A RESULT OF TREATY WHICH GAVE SOVIETS
FOOTHOLD IN SUBCONTINENT OR THROUGH LOCAL MOVEMENTS SUCH AS
BALUCHISTAN. SHAH IS CONCERNED ABOUT RECENT LITERATURE AND
MAP APPEARING OUT OF BAGHDAD CALLING FOR INDEPENDENT BALUCHISTAN
WITH A BORDER ON SOVIET UNION WHICH IN EFFECT WOULD GIVE
USSR ACCESS TO WARM WATER PORT IN INDIAN OCEAN.

7. KING HUSSEIN AND THE FUTURE OF JORDAN. SHAH ADMIRES
AND RESPECTS HUSSEIN HIGHLY FOR HIS SKILL AND COURAGE.
VIABILITY OF JORDAN AND SURVIVAL OF HUSSEIN ARE CRUCIAL
TO STABILITY OF AREA. IS IS IMPORTANT THAT FRIENDS HELP
HUSSEIN, AND HE UNDERSTANDS HUSSEIN RETURNED FROM US
SATISFIED WITH USG DECISIONS TO ASSIST JORDAN FURTHER
ECONOMICALLY AND MILITARILY. JORDAN NEEDS HELP, INCLUDING

SUBSIDIES FROM FRIENDLY ARAB COUNTRIES. SAUDI ARABIA IS
CONTINUING HELP JORDAN AND THIS IS GOOD. AS FOR KUWAITIS --
"IMPOSSIBLE PEOPLE" -- EVERY TIME FLY GOES BY THEY USE
THAT AS EXCUSE TO TURN OFF THEIR SUBSIDIES TO JORDAN; HUSSEIN'S
PLAN FOR WEST BANK MAKES SENSE. UNFORTUNATELY, ARABS WILL
NOT ACCEPT IT BECAUSE OF ITS SPONSORSHIP. HE UNDERSTANDS THERE
ARE EGYPTIANS AND OTHERS WHO WELCOME PLAN BUT HAVE TO OPPOSE
IT PUBLICLY BECAUSE IT PUT FORWARD BY HUSSEIN.

WERE HUSSEIN TO LOSE OVER RESULTS COULD BE DISASTROUS.
PALESTINIANS WHO SEEK TO TAKE OVER HAVE NO REAL GOVERNMENT
AND THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE JOINT ARAB/JEWISH STATE IS
RIDICULOUS. IF JORDAN WENT, KUWAIT COULD GO IN A MATTER
OF DAYS, AND HOW LONG WOULD IT BE BEFORE SAUDI ARABIA SUFFERED
SAME FATE? GULF COULD THEN BE IN CHAOS WITH WESTERN INTERESTS
SERIOUSLY THREATENED.

8. VALUE OF SUEZ CANAL TO IRAN. SHAH FEELS SUEZ CANAL
IS NO LONGER OF COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE TO IRAN. ITS
COMMERCE WITH EUROPE NOW GOES OVERLAND THROUGH
TURKEY OR SOVIET UNION AND THIS IS A FASTER ROUTE THAN
THROUGH SUEZ. THE CLOSURE OF SUEZ IS OF COURSE OF SOME
MILITARY VALUE BY COMPLICATING SOVIET DEPLOYMENT OF FORCES
IN INDIAN OCEAN.

9. ISRAEL. IN PAST SHAH HAS LOOKED UPON ISRAEL AS
BALANCING FACTOR IN IRAN'S RELATIONS WITH ARAB WORLD

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AND AS USEFUL COUNTER TO RADICAL ARAB DESIGNS ON GULF. WHILE THIS ELEMENT STILL REMAINS IN HIS THINKING AND IRAN CONTINUES HAVE QUIET AND CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, HE IS ALSO CONCERNED THAT "NO PEACE - NO WAR" SITUATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ARABS IS PROVIDING OPPORTUNITY FOR SOVIETS TO GAIN PERMANENT FOOTHOLD IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND COULD BE USED FOR SIMILAR PURPOSES IN COUNTRIES CLOSER TO IRAN. HENCE HE STRESSES IRAN'S SUPPORT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL RES 242 AND ESPECIALLY FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SEIZED ARAB TERRITORIES.

10. SOVIET-IRAQ TREATY. LANGUAGE OF TREATY IS AMBIGUOUS AND COULD BE INTERPRETED VARIOUS WAYS. ACCORDING TO ONE INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLE 8 IN PARTICULAR, TREATY COULD BE REGARDED AS HOSTILE TO IRAN. SOVIET UNION IS CAREFUL IN ITS RELATIONS WITH IRAN, AND GOI DOES NOT FEEL IT SHOULD REACT TO TREATY UNLESS SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTS ARISE OUT OF THE TREATY WHICH GIVE CAUSE FOR CONCERN. HOWEVER, SHOULD SOVIETS BE SUCCESSFUL IN BRINGING KURDS, IRAQI COMMUNISTS AND BA'ATHIST PARTY TOGETHER IN NATIONAL FRONT THIS WOULD BE A VERY SERIOUS DEVELOPMENT FOR IRAN.

11. THE GULF. SHAH STRESSES DEPENDENCE OF JAPAN AND WEST ON GULF, WHICH HAS LARGEST PROVEN PETROLEUM RESERVES IN WORLD. SOME 17 MILLION BARRELS OF OIL DAILY GO THROUGH STRAITS OF HORMUZ TO JAPAN AND TO WEST. SOME 10 YEARS FROM NOW THERE WILL BE ENERGY CRISIS IN US. IN PAST VENEZUELA AND US HAVE MET SOME OIL SHORTAGES OF WEST. THIS WILL NO LONGER BE POSSIBLE. GULF IS THEREFORE ABSOLUTELY VITAL TO SECURITY OF FREE WORLD AND IF THE FLOW OF OIL WAS INTERRUPTED OR IF OIL CAME UNDER CONTROL OF UNFRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS PREPARED TO USE OIL AS POLITICAL INSTRUMENT, FREE WORLD WOULD BE IN SERIOUS SITUATION AND ECONOMIES OF COUNTRIES LIKE JAPAN COULD BE FORCED TO COMPLETE HALT. IT THEREFORE IMPORTANT THAT US AND FREE WORLD TOOK CAREFUL LOOK AT WHAT IS GOING ON IN GULF AND ABOUT THREATS TO ITS STABILITY.

12. UNITED ARAB EMIRATES. SHAH TRACES GOI'S RELATIONS WITH UAE TO LONG NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRITISH OVER ISLANDS AND REASONS WHY HE FELT IRAN SHOULD OCCUPY THEM. HE STRESSES THAT HE HAS SET ASIDE THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER ABU MUSA

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ABU MUSA WATERS. SHEIKH ZAYID OF ABU DHABI IS PROBLEM. HE WENT OFF TO LIBYA AND OTHER CONTRIES AND COMMITTED HIMSELF TO RIDICULOUS STATEMENTS ABOUT IRAN. HE IS SURROUNDED BY ADVISERS, ESPECIALLY SUWEIDI, WHO ARE OF QUESTIONABLE ABILITY AND SYMPATHIES. THIS IS A SITUATION WHICH HAS TO BE WATCHED CLOSELY. IRAN HAS ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH UAE, BUT SHAH IS DISTURBED OVER TREND OF DEVELOPMENTS THERE AND DOES NOT BELIEVE EVEN STABLE UAE (WHICH FAR FROM CERTAIN) WILL ADD ANY STRENGTH IN GULF AREA.

13. INDIAN OCEAN. SECURITY OF IRAN AND ITS OIL LIFELINE TO WEST THROUGH STRAITS OF HORMOZ REQUIRE THAT NAVY BE STRENGTHENED, IN FIRST INSTANCE TO SECURE IRANIAN INTERESTS IN GULF AND THEN FROM GULF INTO ARABIAN SEA, AND ON INTO INDIAN OCEAN. SHAH SEEMS UNCERTAIN STILL HOW FAR IRAN'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN INDIA OCEAN WOULD GO BUT IS CONVINCED IRAN HAS RESPONSIBILITIES IN INDIAN OCEAN AS WELL AS GULF FROM NOW ON.

14. CHINESE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN AREA. IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS IMPORTANCE OF CHINA IN MIDDLE EAST. IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY FACTOR IN STRATEGIC BALANCE, BUT WHAT ROLE IT MAY PLAY NOT YET CLEAR. IT IS TRUE THAT CHINA IS SUPPORTING THE PDRY INSURGENCY AGAINST OMAN BUT SO WERE RUSSIANS AND THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME COMPETITION AMONG THEM. IRAN'S PRINCIPAL INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH PEKING IS TO PROVIDE DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL COUNTERWEIGHT TO POTENTIAL/LIKELY PRESSURES ON IRAN FROM SOVIET UNION IN FUTURE.

15. UNITED NATIONS. UN IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY

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IMPOTENT AS DEMONSTRATED BY ITS PERFORMANCE DURING INDO-PAK CONFLICT AND MORE RECENTLY LACK OF ANY INTEREST OTHER THAN THAT GENERATED BY IRAN IN EXPULSION OF SOME 60,000 IRANIANS FROM IRAQ. NO ONE EXPRESSED CONCERN OR TOOK INTEREST IN THE MATTER. APPEARANCE OF CHINESE AT UN MIGHT CHANGE THINGS, BUT SHAH FEELS IN FUTURE MORE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT WILL BE GROUPING OF COUNTRIES WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES WORKING TOGETHER IN THEIR COMMON INTERESTS.

16. F-4'S AND F-5'S. F-5 IS USEFUL AIRCRAFT WHICH HAS MORE OR LESS OUTLIVED ITS PURPOSE. F-4, AND ESPECIALLY F-4E IMPROVED VERSION IS EXCELLENT PLANE BUT IT IS NOT A MATCH FOR MIG-23. THE LATTER CAN CLIMB TO 80,000 FEET AND FIRE A MISSILE AT ANY PLANE BELOW THAT WITH NO NEED FOR COMBAT AT LOWER ALTITUDES WHERE F-4 MIGHT HAVE ADVANTAGES. BECAUSE OF PRESENCE OF MIG-23 IN AREA AS WELL AS DEVELOPMENT OF SU-11, IRAN MUST SHORTLY MOVE TO NEXT GENERATION OF AIRCRAFT. SHAH WOULD PREFER TO BUY FROM UNITED STATES, BUT IF THERE IS ANY PROBLEM HE WILL TURN TO FRENCH AIRCRAFT OR CONSIDER NEW PLANE BEING DEVELOPED BY BRITISH-GERMAN COMBINATION.

17. NUCLEAR POLICY. SHAH IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN IRAN. HE SEES NO PURPOSE TO DIVERSION OF FUNDS FOR THIS PURPOSE BECAUSE AT BEST IRAN WOULD BE A SMALL NUCLEAR POWER FACING ONE OF BIGGEST, AND TO WHAT PURPOSE. RATHER, HE BELIEVES THAT IRAN'S BEST DETERRENTS ARE AN EFFECTIVE MODERN MILITARY FORCE, A SOUND ECONOMY AND A DECLARED POLICY OF SCORCHED EARTH.

18. IN SUMMARY, WHAT EMERGES FROM SUCH DISCUSSIONS IS PICTURE OF SHAH WHO:

(1) DOMESTICALLY, IS PROUD OF HIS COUNTRY'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN RECENT YEARS, CONFIDENT THAT IRAN'S REMARKABLE GROWTH WILL CONTINUE BUT PERHAPS AT REDUCED RATE, AND SATISFIED THAT POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WILL TAKE DEEPER ROOT AND GROW TO ACCOMMODATE GROWING ASPIRATIONS OF MORE LITERATE AND PROSPEROUS POPULATION WANTING TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL PROCESSES; AND WHO

(2) IN FOREIGN MATTERS, IS TROUBLED BY DISARRAY AMONG HIS NEIGHBORS AND OPPORTUNITIES THIS PROVIDES FOR SOVIET

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PENETRATION AND MANIPULATION IN ORDER ACHIEVE HISTORICAL
SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN AREA AND ESPECIALLY GULF, WHO WELCOMES
FRIENDS AND ALLIES WORKING WITH IRAN TO PROMOTE PEACE AND
STABILITY IN AREA BUT WHO IS DETERMINED TO STRENGTHEN COUNTRY
AND ITS ARMED FORCES SO THAT IRAN CAN STAND ALONE IF NECESSARY.
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