

DECLASSIFIED

Authority E.O. 12958

By W) NARA Date 10/22/01



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 TEHRAN 02506 02 OF 02 131316Z

(OR INDEED BEFORE BRITISH PULL OUT) IT WOULD ALMOST UNQUESTIONABLY "TEAR IT" WITH MODERATE ARAB GULF REGIMES, THUS MAKING IMPOSSIBLE THEIR COOPERATION WITH IRAN, WHICH SEEMS ONE OF ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF FUTURE PEACE AND STABILITY IN GULF.

8. I SUGGEST SUCH ACTION ON OUR PART BECAUSE I FEAR (FROM MY TALKS WITH WRIGHT) THAT THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE IN WHITEHALL WHO BELIEVE (AS THEY DID IN CASE OF CARIBBEAN, MALAYSIA, NIGERIA AND PARTICULARLY SOUTH ARABIA) THAT CREATION OF A FEDERATION IN ITSELF WILL ASSURE FUTURE PEACE AND STABILITY. THIS, WE THINK, IS WISHFUL THINKING AS A FEDERATION IN ITSELF WILL BRING NO MEANINGFUL INCREASE IN STRENGTH OR ABILITY WITHOUT ACTIVE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF IRAN. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THERE ARE OTHERS IN WHITEHALL THAT MAY HAVE EXCESSIVE CONCERN WITH LEGAL NICETIES (WHICH WILL IN ANY CASE DISAPPEAR WHEN THEY PULL OUT IN 1971) AS WELL AS THOSE WHO DESIRE TO AVOID PRESSING SHEIKHDOMS. THIS ATTITUDE, IF IT PREDOMINATES, COULD REPRESENT A FATAL FLAW IN BRITISH FONOFF THINKING. WHAT WE SUGGEST IS THAT WE URGE BRITISH TO EXPLORE SOONEST WITH IRANIANS AND SHEIKHS EVERY CONCEIVABLE AVENUE TO ARRIVE AT PRACTICAL POLITICAL SOLUTION OF ISLANDS PROBLEM EVEN IF IT REQUIRES SOME STRETCHING OF STRICTLY CONSTRUED LEGAL TENETS AND SOME BRUISING OF SENSIBILITIES OF SHEIKHS WHO SEEM ALREADY UNDER PRESSURE FROM KUWAIT AND RADICAL ARABS. WE COULD INDICATE TO BRITISH THAT ALTHOUGH WE NOT PARTY TO NEGOTIATIONS, IF BRITISH WILL PUT FORWARD AND PRESS SHEIKHS TO ACCEPT REASONABLE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH, WHILE NOT IMPAIRING SHEIKHS'S LEGAL CLAIMS TO ISLANDS, ARE DESIGNED TO MEET IRAN'S BASIC SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, WE PREPARED USE OUR INFLUENCE INFORMALLY AT HIGH LEVEL WITH IRANIANS TO PERSUADE THEM: (A) TO FUZZ SOVEREIGNTY, (B) TO UNDERSTAND UK CAN NOT PUBLICLY IGNORE LEGAL POSITIONS ESTABLISHED OVER CENTURY AND A HALF WHICH MIGHT CARRY CONNOTATION THAT WHAT BRITAIN DID RE SHEIKHDOMS PREVIOUSLY WAS ILLEGAL, (C) TO DEMONSTRATE SAME PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT WHICH IN BAHREIN CASE BROUGHT SUCH FAVORABLE RESULTS. SINCE I HAVE ALREADY TALKED TO GOI LEADERS INFORMALLY ALONG THESE LINES IT WILL BREAK NO NEW GROUND BUT MAY HELP TO GET BRITISH OFF THE DIME AND MOVE FORWARD BEFORE SITUATION DETERIORATES FURTHER. AS "THE ECONOMIST" OF JUNE 6 PUT IT: "IN IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE... THERE SHOULD BE LESS DIFFICULTY PERSUADING SAUDIS AND GULF ARABS THAT IRAN'S DETERMINATION TO CONTROL TUNBS AND ABU MUSA IS NO RPT NO THREAT TO THEM. BRITISH DIPLOMACY

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~

[p. 2 of 4]

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS