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FM THE WHITE HOUSE

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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~~T O P S E C R E T~~ SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

0151209

FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON

HENRY A. KISSINGER

TO: TEHRAN

AMBASSADOR HELMS/EYES ONLY

TO BE HELD FOR ARRIVAL

1. THANK YOU FOR TEHRAN 019.

2. ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD WELCOME ANY ADVICE THE IRANIS COULD
BE OFFERED AGAINST INITIATING HOSTILITIES AGAINST ISRAEL.
RECENT HISTORY OF A RESUMPTION OF FIGHTING WOULD LEAD TO DEFO-
CUSSED EFFORTS. I SEE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT ANOTHER ROUND
OF FIGHTING WOULD BE ANY MORE LIKELY TO PRODUCE NEGOTIATIONS
THAN THE FIRST TWO ROUNDS. WHAT WE NEED NOW AT A MINIMUM
IS THE IRANIS NOW MAKING A CREDIBLE ARGUMENT THAT SADAT WANTS
ISRAEL AND IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE REALISTICALLY.

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, I FIND IT DIFFICULT AT THIS STAGE TO

SEE EXACTLY WHAT CONCRETE ROLE THE SHAH COULD PLAY IN ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. HE MIGHT HAVE A ROLE AT SOME LATER POINT IN PROVIDING SUPPLEMENTARY ENCOURAGEMENT OR PRESSURE. BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SOME SPECIFIC FRAMEWORK ESTABLISHED BY OTHERS BEFORE AN IRANIAN ROLE COULD EMERGE.

4. I AM INCLINED TO AGREE WITH YOU ABOUT THE NEED TO UPGRADE OUR DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF. WE HAVE JUST SENT OUT A NSSH ASKING FOR A STUDY OF THE PENINSULA AND THE GULF AREA. THIS ISSUE WILL CERTAINLY BE ADDRESSED.

5. AGAIN, THANK YOU FOR YOUR CONTINUING REPORTS AND SUGGESTIONS.
KINDEST REGARDS