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PREM 19/2264

Confidential Filing

The Shah of Iran's Wish to settle in the U.K.
Health and future of the Shah.

IRAN

May 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
14-5-79							
21-5-79							
29-5-79							
13-6-79							
29-10-79							
23-11-79							
14-1-80							
6-3-80							
13-3-80							
18-3-80							
24-3-80							
8-7-86							
21-4-86							

PREM 19/2264

PERSONAL

file
TOP COPY FILED
IRAN RELATIONS
PRIO

PRIME MINISTER

THE SHAH OF IRAN

I have obtained a copy of the manuscript of a book to be published quite shortly about the Shah of Iran. There is a passage, which I attach, referring to his wish to come to the United Kingdom in exile in 1979 and your alleged response. I am not myself familiar with the events of that period but it sounds a considerable travesty. If you wish me to propose corrections I would certainly be happy to do so. I would not of course mention that I had shown it to you.

C.D. POWELL
21 April 1988

PERSONAL



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 July 1986

I should be grateful if you would arrange
for the enclosed letter to be forwarded to
Prince Reza Pahlavi.

Charles Powell

Miss Sarah Gillett

British Embassy, Washington

485



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 July 1986

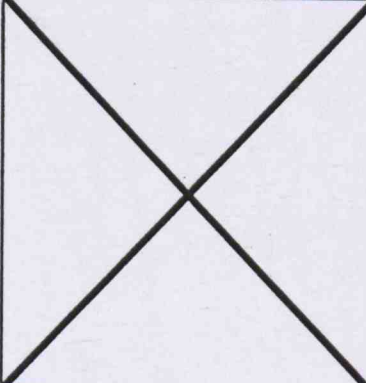
I write to thank you for your letter of 16 June informing the Prime Minister of your recent marriage. She has asked me to wish every happiness to you and your wife.

Charles Powell

Prince Reza Pahlavi

D88

A The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2264</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Letter from Cullshaw to Bowen dated 7 July 1986</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
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Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.

This should be an indication of what the extract is,

eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.

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If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

*Enclosure to letter
Culshaw to Power, 7/7/86*

DSR 11 (Revised Sept 85)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM:

Reference

PS/Prime Minister
DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

Your Reference

BUILDING:

ROOM NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Copies to:

Top Secret

Reza Pahlavi

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

SUBJECT:

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

(Sir)

CAVEAT

Thank you for your letter of 16 June informing the Prime Minister of your recent marriage. She has asked me to wish every happiness to you and your wife.

(Your humble and obedient servant).

ay.

Enclosures flag(s)

Shah of IRAN
7/7



JP

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 June 1986

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Reza II, Shah of Iran, about his recent marriage. I should be grateful for advice on whether it is appropriate for the Prime Minister to reply and for a draft if it is.

(CHARLES POWELL)

A.C. Galsworthy, Esq., CMG,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

JK



R21

June 16, 1986

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

I am delighted to share with you the news of my marriage to Miss. Yasmine Etemad-Amini which took place in accordance with the Islamic rite in a simple and private ceremony.

Due to the prevailing circumstances in my country, I was unable to inform you of my wedding sooner and ask for the pleasure of your company.

Please accept my best wishes.

Raja Pahlaj

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher
London



REZA II, SHAH OF IRAN

P.O. BOX 8636
ROCKVILLE, MD 20856
U.S.A.

AIR MAIL



The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister
House of Commons
LONDON S.W.1
England

Iran
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON 250041Z MAR 80

TO PRIORITY F C O

TEL NO 1225 OF 24 MARCH 1980

INFO PRIORITY TEHRAN, CAIRO.

SAVING INFO UKMIS NEW YORK, PANAMA CITY, TEL AVIV.

PANAMA CITY TELNO 54 (NOT TO ALL): THE SHAH'S MOVE TO EGYPT.

1. LLOYD CUTLER, WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL, WHO WAS PART OF THE AMERICAN TEAM WHO WENT TO PANAMA OVER THE WEEK-END TO DISCUSS THE SHAH'S FORTHCOMING OPERATION, TALKED TO ME TO-DAY ABOUT HIS VISIT.

2. CUTLER SAID THAT THE MOVE TO CAIRO WAS THE SECOND BEST OF THREE POSSIBLE OUTCOMES. THE BEST, AND THE ONE THE AMERICAN DELEGATION HAD AIMED FOR, WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR THE OPERATION TO BE PERFORMED IN PANAMA. BUT FOR BOTH POLITICAL AND MEDICAL REASONS THE SHAH HIMSELF HAD DECIDED AGAINST IT: POLITICAL, BECAUSE HE WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY NERVOUS ABOUT THE PANAMANIAN WILL TO RESIST IRANIAN PRESSURES FOR HIS EXTRADITION: AND MEDICAL, BECAUSE DR DEBAKEY WAS UNCERTAIN THAT PANAMANIAN AMOUR PROPRE WOULD PERMIT HIM TO EXERCISE THE DEGREE OF THE OPERATION AND POST-OPERATIVE CARE THAT HE CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL. CUTLER MADE NO SUGGESTION THAT THE PANAMANIAN HAD THEMSELVES HASTENED THE SHAH'S DEPARTURE OF THAT HE HIMSELF SHARED THE SHAH'S NERVOUSNESS ABOUT EXTRADITION: INDEED, HE DESCRIBED (WITHOUT, I THOUGHT, MUCH CONVICTION) A POSSIBLE SCENARIO IN WHICH THE LODGING OF AN EXTRADITION BID BY THE IRANIANS WOULD HAVE ENABLED THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE OVER CUSTODY OF THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES FROM THE QUOTE STUDENTS UNQUOTE.

3. GIVEN THAT THE THIRD AND WORST OPTION WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR THE SHAH TO RETURN TO THE U S, SADAT'S HONOURING OF HIS EARLIER OFFER WAS NOT A BAD RESULT, AND CUTLER BELIEVED THAT SADAT WOULD HAVE EARNED FURTHER CREDIT AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND IN THE USA GENERALLY AS A RESULT. DEBAKEY IS CONFIDENT ABOUT PERFORMING THE OPERATION IN THE EGYPTIAN MEDICAL FACILITIES. BUT CUTLER DID CONFIRM IN STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT THE SHAH IS SERIOUSLY ILL AND PROBABLY DOES NOT HAVE LONG TO LIVE - IT IS HIS WIFE WHO IS THE MOVING SPIRIT BEHIND THE EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT HE GETS THE BEST POSSIBLE MEDICAL ATTENTION FOR THIS OPERATION. WHILE NOT ENTIRELY HAPPY ABOUT THE EFFECT ON SADAT'S INTERNAL POSITION, CUTLER ATTRIBUTED HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE SHAH BOTH TO HIS SENSE OF HONOUR AND TO HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE SUPPORT THE SHAH'S REGIME HAD OVER THE YEARS PROVIDED TO EGYPT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

4. THE ADMINISTRATION'S PUBLIC LINE IS THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN OP FOR THE SHAH TO COME TO THE U S FOR HIS OPERATION BUT THAT HE HAD HIMSELF CHOSEN EGYPT. IN THEIR VIEW THIS IS A MEDICAL NOT A POLITICAL QUESTION AND THEY SEE NO REASON WHY THE SHAH'S MOVE SHOULD COMPLICATE THE HOSTAGE PROBLEM. THEY CONTINUE TO REGARD THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HOSTAGES' WELL-BEING AND SAFETY. IN PRIVATE (AND THIS EMERGES IN BACKGROUND BRIEFING OF THE PRESS) THE IRAN WORKING GROUP DO NOT SEE HOW THIS MOVE CAN FAIL TO EXACERBATE THE HOSTAGE PROBLEM IN THE SHORT TERM, BUT HOPE THAT BY THE TIME THE SECOND ROUND OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ARE OVER ANY IMMEDIATE FURORE MAY TO SOME EXTENT HAVE BLOWN OVER.

FCO PASS SAVING PANAMA, TEL AVIV.

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

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~~ADVANCE~~: ADVANCE COPIES 43

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PS/MR HURD
PS/PUS
SIR D MAITLAND
MR J C MOBERLY
LORD BRIDGES
LORD N G LENNOX
MR EVANS
MISS BROWN
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~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

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ASSESSMENTS STAFF)
MR R WADE GERY) CABINET
MR LE CHEMINANT) OFFICE
MR W N WENBAN SMITH)
DIO)
PS/CHANCELLOR)
MR F R BARRATT) TREASURY
MR R G LAVELLE)
MR C W McMAHON) BANK OF
MR P B EDGLEY) ENGLAND
MR R WILLIAMS CRE5 DOT
MR W KNIGHTON DEPT OF TRADE
MR C BENJAMIN DOI
MR D LE B JONES) DEPT OF
MR C LUCAS) ENERGY

DWF G 169/124

LWY NR 713/24 =

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~~OO FCO (DESKBY 241730Z MAR)~~

RR TEHRAN

RR WTON

GRS 220

CONFIDENTIAL

FM CAIRO 241510Z MAR

TO IMMEDIATE FCO (DESKBY 241730Z MAR)

INFO ROUTINE TEHRAN AND WASHINGTON:

THE SHAH

1. THE SHAH ARRIVED IN CAIRO THIS MORNING, AND WENT STRAIGHT TO THE EGYPTIAN MILITARY HOSPITAL IN THE SOUTHERN SUBURB OF MA'ADI. ACCORDING TO A JOURNALIST WHO WAS PRESENT, HE LOOKED VERY GREY AND FRAIL.

2. IT IS CHARACTERISTIC OF PRESIDENT SADAT THAT HE SHOULD IGNORE THE RISKS IMPLICIT IN HONOURING HIS LONG-STANDING OFFER OF ASYLUM TO THE SHAH. HIS MOTIVES PROBABLY REMAIN AS SUGGESTED

THE RISKS IMPLICIT IN HONOURING HIS LONG-STANDING OFFER OF ASYLUM TO THE SHAH. HIS MOTIVES PROBABLY REMAIN AS SUGGESTED IN MY TELNO 825 OF 12 NOV. HONOUR APART, HE WILL ALSO HOPE TO WIN FURTHER CREDIT WITH THE AMERICANS AT THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS.

3. APART FROM THE LEFTISTS AND THE RELIGIOUS EXTREMISTS, FEW EGYPTIANS HAVE OBJECTIONS OF PRINCIPLE TO ACCEPTING THE SHAH, AND MANY HAVE SYMPATHY WITH THE PRESIDENT'S LINE ON DUTY TO A FALLEN FRIEND. BUT THE LENGTHS TO WHICH THE IRANIAN REGIME IS PREPARED TO GO TO REVENGE ITSELF ON THE SHAH AND THOSE WHO PROTECT HIM ARE NOW CLEARER THAN EARLY LAST YEAR, WHEN THIS WAS LAST A LIVE ISSUE IN EGYPT. THERE WILL BE WIDESPREAD CONCERN, NOT LEAST AMONGST THE SECURITY FORCES (ALREADY AT FULL STRETCH AGAINST THE REJECTIONIST ARAB THREAT) AT THE POSSIBILITY OF IRANIAN TERRORISM. MOST EGYPTIANS PROBABLY WISH THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT STUCK HIS NECK OUT.

WEIR.

NNNN

IMMEDIATE

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY
OF NEW YORK
PO BOX 161
33 LOMBARD STREET, LONDON EC3P 3BH
TELEPHONE: 01-283 8888

Iran

London

THE RT. HON. LORD SHAWCROSS, G.B.E., Q.C.
Adviser on International Operations

18th March 1980

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Prime Minister

(2)

ffg

Ant

mt

Dear Prime Minister:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 17th March about my possibly appearing for the Shah if he were arraigned before some International Tribunal.

I am most grateful for your guidance. I had myself anticipated that there could be considerations of this kind, which is why I ventured to write to you and your letter has of course resolved any doubts I had. Incidentally, the Chairman and President of this Bank (I think you met Lew Preston when he called on you last year, and you met the President when you once lunched with us here, as I hope you will again in one day) whom I told of the approach, took the same view.

I shall of course abide by your advice although it goes against one's instinctive inclination to have to turn the Shah down in view of the previous relationship and the odious hypocrisy of the present regime in Iran. I should perhaps say that I made it clear that if I did agree to appear at all, it would be without any fee!

Writing of hypocrisy, may I take the opportunity of saying how glad I was to see the voting in the Commons last night on the Moscow Olympics. I have been astounded by the view of the "leaders" of the Olympic movement that the possibility that a few athletes might win an occasional gold medal overrode considerations of international comity and decency.

With all good wishes

Yours faithfully

Harvey

2



CLP80

21

Iran

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

17 March 1980

Dear Lord Shawcross

Thank you for letting me know about the request you have received to represent the Shah if he were arraigned before an International Tribunal.

I appreciate your feelings of loyalty for the Shah. But I believe that, were you to accept this brief, there could be very unwelcome effects on our own relations with Iran, and possibly even on the safety of our Embassy staff in Tehran.

Relations with the Islamic Republic will be difficult and unrewarding while the hostage crisis lasts - and probably thereafter. Given the new Iranian Government's bitter hostility to the Shah and the considerable popular antipathy in Iran towards Britain (both because they believe that we have interfered in their internal affairs, and because of our close association with the Shah), I am afraid any role you played would be misinterpreted. The Iranians would identify you - as a Privy Counsellor and a former Minister - with Britain and the British Government. The consequences for our relations, and our people in Tehran, could be serious.

I am sorry to have to reply in this cautious vein, but given the suspicious and hysterical nature of Iranian opinion, I would not wish to run any unnecessary risks.

Thank you for asking our views. Our personal
views towards the Shah are the same as your own.
He was a good friend of this country. My concern is for the
safety of our own people still in Iran

The Rt. Hon. Lord Shawcross, G.B.E., Q.C.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Type for PM's signature

13 March 1980

Dear Michael,

LETTER FROM LORD SHAWCROSS : THE SHAH OF IRAN

You wrote on 6 March about Lord Shawcross's letter to the Prime Minister.

Although no international tribunal has yet been set up to investigate the Shah, it remains a remote possibility. Khomeini and the new Iranian regime remain bitterly opposed to the Shah and are trying to secure his extradition from Panama. Some form of investigation or tribunal could emerge, possibly as part of a compromise to effect the release of the American hostages. But without agreement on the part of Panama, it is unlikely that the Shah will be, or feel, compelled to appear in person before any such tribunal.

Lord Shawcross has himself pointed out his reluctance to accept a brief to defend the Shah in his letter to the Prime Minister. But were he to accept, our interests would almost certainly suffer. Given Iranian hostility to the Shah, popular (and Governmental) antipathy towards the UK, and our own close involvement with the Shah while he was in power, the Islamic Regime would be likely to confuse Lord Shawcross's role as Defence Counsel with his career as a Privy Councillor, member of the House of Lords and a former Attorney-General. It would be assumed that HMG had itself decided to undertake the Shah's defence or had endorsed Lord Shawcross's involvement. This

/could

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London



could have serious and immediate effects on our relations with the new regime, and could, in particular, provoke some form of retaliation against our Embassy - by the mob if not by the Government - which might seriously endanger Sir John Graham and his staff.

The Lord Privy Seal recommends that these points be put to Lord Shawcross in the Prime Minister's reply. I attach a draft letter.

Yours ever,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'M A Wickstead', with a vertical line extending downwards from the end of the signature.

M A Wickstead
Assistant Private Secretary
to the Lord Privy Seal

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:
Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:
Lord Shawcross PC, GBE QC(LP)
House of Lords
LONDON SW1

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT: *Letting him*
 Thank you for ~~writing to me~~ *about* the request you have received to represent the Shah if he were arraigned before an International Tribunal.

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

I appreciate your feelings of loyalty for the Shah. But I believe that, were you to accept this brief, there could be very unwelcome effects on our own relations with Iran and possibly even on the safety of our Embassy staff in Tehran. // Relations with the Islamic Republic will be difficult and unrewarding ~~particularly~~ *and probably* while the hostage crisis lasts - ~~but even~~ thereafter.

~~Nonetheless, it is in the interests of both countries to try to get on to reasonable terms.~~

~~Against this background, and given the new Iranian Government's bitter hostility to the Shah and the considerable popular antipathy in Iran towards Britain (both because they believe that we have interfered in their internal affairs, and because of our close association with the Shah), I am afraid any role you played would be misinterpreted. The Iranians would identify you - as a Privy Counsellor and a former Minister - with Britain and the British Government. The consequences for our relations, and our people in Tehran, could be serious.~~

Enclosures—flag(s).....

/I

CONFIDENTIAL

I am sorry to have to reply in this cautious vein, but given the suspicious and hysterical nature of Iranian opinion, I would not wish to run any unnecessary risks.

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

CF. to see

From the Private Secretary

6 March 1980

BE 13.3.80

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Lord Shawcross. Lord Shawcross writes that he has been asked whether he would be prepared to represent the Shah if the Shah were arraigned before an International Tribunal.

I should be grateful if you could let me have a draft reply which the Prime Minister might send to Lord Shawcross. It would be helpful if this could reach me by close of play on Thursday 13 March.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Bill Beckett (Law Officers' Department), whom you will no doubt wish to consult in preparing the draft reply.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DSG

The Right Honourable Lord Shawcross GBE QC



33 LOMBARD STREET
LONDON EC3P 3BH

5th March 1980

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Ronnie Members:

R6/3

I realise that it is an impertinent presumption on my part to imagine that anything I can do would embarrass the Government, but as I am a Privy Councillor and as a Silk am bound "to be attendant to the Queen's matters when I be called thereto" I feel I should perhaps write to you about the following.

I have just been approached by an American Attorney, one Jackson, (son of Justice Jackson who was the Chief U.S. Prosecutor at Nuremberg) as an emissary of the Shah and asked whether I would appear to represent him if he were arraigned before some sort of International Tribunal.

Personally, I certainly do not want to become involved in what would be a subject of criticism and controversy. On the other hand I feel a certain loyalty in the matter: I met the Shah many times, received a high Iranian decoration from him and was for about ten years Chairman of the Iranian Society.

Much would no doubt depend upon the status of the Tribunal involved. I certainly would not wish to assist in lending respectability to a body like the present U.N. Commission which I would myself describe in more derogatory terms than The Times when they called it "meaningless."

As I am not now holding myself out to practice I am not obliged to accept a brief in the matter. It would very much help me in reaching a decision if you could indicate privately whether the acceptance of such an assignment by me would seem unwise from the point of view of our own foreign policy in the matter.

I am so sorry to bother you with this tiny matter when I know what a heavy load you are carrying.

*With kind regards &
Yours wishes*

*John
Hawkins*

520

Tran

Pamie Pinter (2)

(This has already been in the
press)

Print - 14/1

pa

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

14 January 1980

The Home Secretary has learned through our contacts with the independent television companies that Trident Television have arranged for David Frost to interview the former Shah; the interview has probably taken place and Trident Television plans to broadcast the interview on Friday, 25 January. It seems like that NBC will transmit the interview in two parts on 17 and 25 January. They also hope that Cyrus Vance will take part in the programme to comment on the taped interview.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Michael Alexander at No. 10.

J. A. CHILCOT

G. G. H. Walden, Esq.

Iran

GR 200

UNCLASSIFIED

FM WASHINGTON 232210Z NOV 79

PRIORITY F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3879 OF 23 NOVEMBER 1979

INFO PRIORITY TEHRAN UKMIS NEW YORK MEXICO CITY

MY TELNO 3819, PARAGRAPH 2: CONDITION OF THE SHAH

1. IN THE FIRST INTERVIEW HE HAS GIVEN FROM HOSPITAL, THE SHAH TOLD ABC TELEVISION YESTERDAY THAT HE WANTED TO LEAVE THE U S FOR MEXICO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE - PERHAPS IN TWO WEEKS. HE HAD NEVER WANTED TO GO TO THE U S, BUT HAD BEEN FORCED TO DO SO FOR MEDICAL REASONS. ASKED IF HE WOULD RETURN TO IRAN, THE SHAH REPLIED QUOTE I MAY BE MANY THINGS BUT I AM NOT STUPID UNQUOTE.

2. ACCORDING TO MEDICAL SOURCES THE OPERATION ON THE REMAINING GALLSTONE COULD TAKE PLACE AT ANY POINT AFTER NEXT WEDNESDAY 28 NOVEMBER. IF SUCCESSFUL (AND THE CHANCES WERE 80 PERCENT IN FAVOUR), THE SHAH WOULD BE ABLE TO TRAVEL IMMEDIATELY.

3. IN ANOTHER ABC INTERVIEW THE SHAH'S WIFE SAID THAT HE WAS QUOTE DEEPLY SADDENED UNQUOTE AT WHAT HIS STAY IN THE U S HAD CAUSED. HOWEVER HE FELT THE MAIN REASON KHOMEINI SEIZED THE U S EMBASSY WAS TO KEEP HIS REVOLUTION FROM CRUMBLING. THERE HAD BEEN NO CONTACT BETWEEN THE SHAH AND THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SINCE THEY ENTERED THE U S, AND THEY WOULD NOW LIKE SOME GUIDANCE. THE SHAH'S OUSTER FROM IRAN COULD NOT HAVE BEEN AVOIDED BECAUSE IT WAS A RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION. NOTHING CARTER COULD HAVE DONE AT THE TIME WOULD HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE.

4. THE WHITE HOUSE REPEATED TODAY THAT THE U S REMAINED FIRM IN ITS REFUSAL TO EXTRADITE THE SHAH TO IRAN.

HENDERSON

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MR J C MOBERLY

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 SIR R ARMSTRONG)
 ASSESSMENTS STAFF) CABINET
 MR LE CHEMINANT) OFFICE
 CABINET OFFICE DIO
 MR F R BARRATT TREASURY

Arnie Amiles

GR 100A

CONFIDENTIAL

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FM WASHINGTON 222222Z NOV 79

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3871 OF 22 NOVEMBER 1979

INFO IMMEDIATE TEHRAN PRIORITY MEXICO CITY AND CAIRO

FROM ROBINSON

MY TELNO 3869: SHAH'S MOVEMENTS.

1. SAUNDERS, WHO HAD SEEN VANCE EARLIER TODAY, SAYS HE KNOWS OF NO REASON TO ANTICIPATE ANY IMMEDIATE DEVELOPMENT IN THE SHAH'S POSITION.
2. A POTENTIALLY CRITICAL POINT WILL HOWEVER BE REACHED AT THE END OF NEXT WEEK WHEN FURTHER SURGERY IS DUE TO HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, LEAVING, IT IS HOPED, ONLY CHEMOTHERAPY FOR HIS CANCER WHICH COULD BE CONTINUED OUTSIDE THE U.S.
3. I REPEATED THAT WE LOOKED TO THE AMERICANS FOR SOME ADVANCE WARNING.
4. SEE MIFT, NOT TO ALL.

HENDERSON

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL
DEBIP

FAM CMMIS, New York
TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NUMBER 1367 OF 29 OCTOBER

YOUR TELNO 714; PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO THE SHAH

1. I THOUGHT IT BETTER NOT TO CONVEY THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE PERSONALLY, BOTH BECAUSE A VISIT OR TELEPHONE CALL BY ME TO THE HOSPITAL MIGHT HAVE GIVEN RISE TO PUBLICITY AND BECAUSE OF PERSONAL REASONS OF WHICH THE PUS WILL BE AWARE FROM MY LETTER OF 27 SEPT. HAVING DISCOVERED FROM MCHENRY THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE NO DIRECT ACCESS, I ACCORDINGLY ASKED THE HEAD OF CHANCERY TO PASS THE MESSAGE VIA ROBERT ARMAO, AN AIDE OF THE LATE NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND AN ASSOCIATE OF HENRY KISSINGER'S, WHO WAS FOR FOURTEEN YEARS CHIEF OF PROTOCOL FOR NEW YORK CITY BUT HAS BEEN HANDLING THE SHAH'S AFFAIRS FULL TIME SINCE THE LATTER ARRIVED IN EGYPT LAST YEAR.
2. GOULDING SAW ARMAO TODAY. ARMAO SAID HE WOULD PASS ON MRS THATCHER'S MESSAGE AT ONCE. THE SHAH WAS MAKING AN EXCELLENT RECOVERY. HE HAD BEEN SUFFERING FROM LYMPHOMA FOR SIX YEARS, BUT THIS HAD BEEN KEPT UNDER CONTROL BY CHEMOTHERAPY. THE ONLY NEW FACTOR HAD BEEN THE BLOCKED BILE DUCT WHICH HAD MADE HIM VERY ILL AND HAD NECESSITATED THE REMOVAL OF HIS GALLBLADDER. HE WAS EXPECTED TO SPEND ANOTHER SIX WEEKS IN HOSPITAL. THEREAFTER, HE WOULD NEED A FURTHER SIX MONTHS OF CHEMOTHERAPY, INVOLVING ONE DAY IN HOSPITAL PER MONTH. THIS COULD BE GIVEN IN MEXICO, THOUGH THE DOCTORS WOULD PREFER THE SHAH TO COME TO (OR STAY IN?) NEW YORK FOR THE PURPOSE. NO DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN ON THIS.
3. ARMAO READILY AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO PUBLICITY FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE.
4. HE SAID, INCIDENTALLY, THAT HE HAD JUST COMPLETED THE SALE OF THE SHAH'S PROPERTY AT GODALMING.

PARSONS

NNNN

Iran

mo

Prime Minister

It was a question rather than a message.

Parsons 3/7x

Original USA - June 79
Call on PM by / RAN
Mr David Rockefeller

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

cc: Mr. Cartledge
Mr. Wolfson

Mr. David Rockefeller called on the Prime Minister at 1000 on Tuesday 12 June. The following are the main points which came up in their discussion.

Mr. Rockefeller said that the position of the U.S. Congress on the Muzorewa Government was very helpful. However, President Carter was moving cautiously. He hoped that the Prime Minister might possibly be able to push the President when she met him in Tokyo in the direction of recognition and lifting of sanctions. The U.S. would certainly need the U.K.'s support if recognition and the lifting of sanctions were to take place. The Prime Minister said that she would certainly be raising the matter with the President. In her view, there was a good case for lifting sanctions - based on the turn out in the Rhodesian elections and the way in which it had been conducted. In any case, she did not think it would be possible to get a new sanction order through the House of Commons in November.

Mr. Rockefeller raised the question of a long-term residence for the Shah. At present, he was of course in Mexico - and the Mexican President had to be applauded for agreeing to have him; but he was afraid that Mexico could only be a temporary refuge. He well understood the reasons why both the U.K. and the U.S.A. had so far been unable to offer the Shah refuge; but he was very unhappy that neither of the two great free nations had been able to help. The Prime Minister said that the only reason why the U.K. had been unable to offer the Shah refuge was the risk to our staff at the Tehran Embassy; the Mexicans did not have this problem because they had closed their Embassy. In time, it might be possible to offer him refuge.

Mr. Rockefeller said that Chase Manhattan were planning to conduct a publicity campaign through the American Press arguing the case for capitalism and the Conservative economic philosophy.

/ He hoped

He hoped that this would have some impact in the U.S.; but it might also be helpful in Britain - and if it were successful in the U.S., it might be extended to the European edition of the Herald Tribune. He himself would be addressing a Conference of international bankers in London the following day on this basic theme. Mr. Rockefeller went on to say that he would like to keep in touch with the Prime Minister's Office on his approach so as to be of maximum help to the Conservative Administration. The Prime Minister said that this would indeed be useful, and she asked David Wolfson to establish contact with Mr. Rockefeller's London office.

72.

13 June 1979

Iran

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Prime Minister

CP 400

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM TEHRAN 290615Z MAY 79

TO ROUTINE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 639 OF 29 MAY

INFO WASHINGTON

amb *6/21*
30/5

1. I CALLED ON THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE THIRD DEPARTMENT IN THE MFA, WHICH COVERS THE UK, THIS MORNING. ALTHOUGH I HAD MET HIM, THIS WAS MY FIRST CALL ON HIM. AND CAME ABOUT BECAUSE HE HAD INDICATED THAT HE WISHED TO SEE ME, ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF HIS MINISTER. AMERI SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SAY TO ME THAT THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HAD SEEN PRESS REPORTS THAT HMG WERE CONSIDERING GRANTING ASYLUM TO THE SHAH. SINCE HIS MINISTER HAD GIVEN HIM THESE INSTRUCTIONS, HOWEVER, THEY HAD SEEN THE TEXT OF YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE OF 14 MAY AND HAD BEEN GREATLY REASSURED. THE FACT WAS THAT THEY VALUED GOOD RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN AND WOULD REGRET IT IF THESE WERE TO BE DAMAGED BY OUR RECEIVING THE SHAH, AS THEY INEVITABLY WOULD BE. THE POSITION ~~OF~~, FOR EXAMPLE, COUNTRIES IN SOUTH AMERICA, WAS QUITE DIFFERENT, AND IF ONE OF THESE WERE TO TAKE IN THE SHAH, RELATIONS WOULD NOT BE MUCH AFFECTED, THOUGH THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT LIKE IT.

2. I SAID THAT THE POSITION WAS THAT THE SHAH HAD NOT ASKED FOR ASYLUM IN BRITAIN. THE PRESS REPORTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE INVOLVING REPORTER, WERE UNTRUE. IT WAS NEVERTHE LESS A MATTER OF GREAT REGRET TO US THA THE GRANT OF ASYLUM TO A POLITICAL REFUGEE, WHICH WAS VERY MUCH IN OUR TRADITION, SHOULD BECOME AN ISSUE IN THIS WAY. IN THE LIGHT OF THE THREATS AGAINST THE SHAH'S LIFE, HOWEVER - AMERI INTERJECTED THAT THESE UTTERANCES WERE NOT OFFICIAL - WE HAD TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE PROBLEM OF HIS SECURITY. WE CONDEMNED ASSASSINATION FOR WHATEVER PURPOSE (IT WAS BECAUSE THIS WENT WITHOUT SAYING THAT WE HAD NOT COMMENTED ON THE ASSASSINATION OF

CONFIDENTIAL

/ QARANI

CONFIDENTIAL

QARANI AND MOTAHARI AND THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF RAFSANJANI). WE HAD EXPERIENCE OF THE PROBLEM AS HE WOULD KNOW, FOLLOWING THE MURDER OF NAIF IN LONDON LAST SUMMER.

3. AMERI REPEATED THAT THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN MUCH REASSURED BY YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE, AND THE MATTER WAS DROPPED.

GRAHAM

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PS/PUS
SIR A DUFF
SIR A PARSONS
MR FIGG
MR J C MOBERLY

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

TEHRAN SPECIAL

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GRG 400
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FM NASSAU 210230Z MAY 79
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 36 OF 23 MAY

Handwritten initials

Prime Minister

Handwritten initials

YOUR TELEGRAM 28 AND MY TELEGRAM 34 : SHAH.

1. MISSION ACCOMPLISHED, DUE TO WRIGHT MAKING TELEPHONIC CONTACT WITH ATABAY SINCE HE HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT AFSHAR WAS NO LONGER HERE. THIS ENTAILED SOME COVER RISK WHICH WE CALCULATED HAD TO BE TAKEN. THERE SHOULD BE NO LEAK, UNLESS FROM IRANIAN SIDE. I WILL OF COURSE REPORT AT ONCE IF THERE ARE ANY SIGNS OF THIS.

2. SIR D. WRIGHT REPORTS AS FOLLOWS :

QUOTE

I SAW KAYBIZ ATABAY THIS MORNING, EXPLAINED THE PURPOSE OF MY MISSION AND ASKED HIM TO ARRANGE AUDIENCE. AS A RESULT, I SAW SHAH THIS EVENING AND SPENT OVER AN HOUR ALONE WITH HIM.

3. AFTER PRELIMINARY COURTESIES I SPOKE ALONG LINES OF MY BRIEF, EMPHASISING THAT SO LONG AS THE GOVERNMENT IN TEHRAN WAS NOT IN CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ^{OFFER} ASYLUM TO THE SHAH, THE EMPRESS, OR THEIR CHILDREN. YOU WISHED TO STATE IN PARLIAMENT OR ELSEWHERE, IF ASKED, THAT THE SITUATION HAD BEEN EXPLAINED TO HIM AND THAT HE BOTH UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED IT.

4. THE SHAH'S IMMEDIATE REPLY WAS QUOTE I ACCEPT BUT DO NOT UNDERSTAND UNQUOTE. HE COULD NOT, HE SAID, UNDERSTAND WHY HMG HAD TO PAY ANY ATTENTION TO A GOVERNMENT QUOTE WHICH DID NOT MATTER UNQUOTE.

/5. THERE

SECRET

5. THERE FOLLOWED A LONG RAMBLING CONVERSATION ON OTHER MATTERS ON WHICH I WILL BE REPORTING SEPERATELY. WHEN THE SHAH INDICATED THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR ME TO GO, I REVERTED TO MY OPENING REMARKS AND REPEATED THAT YOU WISHED TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT THE SITUATION HAD BEEN EXPLAINED TO HIM AND THAT HE BOTH UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED IT. HE DEMURRED AND SAID THAT IT SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO SAY NO MORE THAT THAT HE HAD NOT ASKED HMG FOR ASYLUM. I ARGUED THAT THIS WAS NOT GOOD ENOUGH AND THAT YOU MUST BE ABLE TO SAY MORE. HE THEN WILLINGLY AGREED THAT YOU WOULD SPEAK AS PROPOSED BUT WANTED YOU TO ADD THAT HE HAD NOT ASKED US FOR ASYLUM. I SAID I FELT SURE YOU WOULD AGREE.

6. IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION, THE SHAH TOLD ME THAT THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY OF HIS SETTLING IN AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, OR ONE OTHER COUNTRY (WHICH I GATHER FROM ATEBAY IS MEXICO). SHAH NEITHER ASKED FOR HELP IN THIS, NOR DID I VOLUNTEER ANY.

7. I REITERATED THE ABOVE TO ATEBAY AFTER LEAVING THE SHAH.
UNQUOTE

DUNCAN

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PS/PUS

SIR A PARSONS

MR J C MOBERLY

→ PS (no 10 D/S+ (2)

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SECRET

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Iran



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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London SW1A 2AH

21 May 1979

Prime Minister

*6/21
2/r*

Dear Bryan,

The Shah of Iran

Thank you for your letter of 14 May in which you recorded the Prime Minister's views following her discussion with Lord Carrington about the Government's attitude towards the Shah's wish to settle in the United Kingdom.

*Pa-
Gan
4/5*

After careful consideration of the alternatives open to us in trying to communicate effectively with the Shah, it was decided that Sir Anthony Parsons should approach Sir Denis Wright, a former Ambassador to Iran, whom the Shah knows well and respects. Sir Denis has agreed to act as an emissary to speak privately to the Shah and explain the difficulties which his coming to Britain would present. In view of the importance of minimising any risk of publicity which might arise from Sir Denis's visit to the Bahamas, he will be travelling under an assumed name. We have provided the necessary documentation for the exercise.

Our High Commissioner in Nassau, Mr Duncan, is fully in the picture and is attempting to prepare the way for a meeting. We have decided against bringing the Bahamian Government into the act. Sir Denis is staying with Mr Duncan. Sir Denis left London on Saturday and is due to return to Britain tomorrow.

In spite of the precautions which we have taken, we cannot discount the risk of the story leaking. Not only are the Bahamas swarming with journalists, but the Bahamian Government itself, if it became aware of the meeting, might seek to use it as a means of pressing the Shah to leave the islands or seeking to involve us in his future plans. Members of the Shah's entourage might also disclose the affair. We have decided that, if a leak does take place while Sir Denis Wright is in the Bahamas, the best course is to come clean and state the purpose of his mission. If, as is more likely perhaps, the story gathers ground afterwards, we can consider how best to play the hand.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours *aw*

*Paul d...
aw*

(G G H Walden)

B G Cartledge Esq
10 Downing Street

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TO FLASH NASSAU

TELEGRAM NUMBER 31 OF 21 MAY

INFO PRIORITY (DEDIP) TEHRAN.

YOUR TELNO 36: THE SHAH.

1. WE WERE GLAD TO HAVE THIS NEWS AND CONGRATULATE DENIS WRIGHT AND YOURSELF ON YOUR HANDLING OF THIS VERY TRICKY AFFAIR.

2. IN DEALING WITH PARLIAMENTARY, PRESS AND PRIVATE ENQUIRIES, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SAY AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE. OUR MINIMUM LINE WILL BE THAT THE SHAH HAS NOT ASKED TO COME TO BRITAIN. BUT WE WILL HAVE TO GO FURTHER E.G. IN REPLY TO SUPPLEMENTARIES, TO PRESS ENQUIRIES TO MINISTERS AND WITH RELIABLE JOURNALISTS. IN SUCH CASES WE PROPOSE TO ADD THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE SHAH AND HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY IN BRITAIN WOULD AT THIS JUNCTURE CREATE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF SECURITY. WE COULD THEN GO ON - TO SAY THAT THE SHAH UNDERSTANDS AND ACCEPTS THIS SITUATION.

3. IF DENIS WRIGHT'S MISSION LEAKS TO THE PRESS, WE PROPOSE TO COME CLEAN I.E. TO ADMIT THAT HE WENT TO THE BAHAMAS AS AN OFFICIAL EMISSARY TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF THE SHAH COMING TO BRITAIN. AS NECESSARY, WE WOULD GO ON TO DEVELOP THE LINE IN PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE. IF ASKED WHY OUR EMISSARY WENT CLANDESTINELY, WE WOULD SAY THAT, FOR OBYIOUS REASONS, WE SAY NO PURPOSE IN ADVERTISING A CONTACT BETWEEN HMG AND THE SHAH. WE DID NOT IMAGINE THAT THE SHAH HIMSELF WOULD WELCOME PUBLICITY.

4. SINCE WE MAY NOT SEE DENIS WRIGHT FOR SOME DAYS AFTER HIS RETURN, WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR CONFIRMATION BEFORE HE LEAVES NASSAU THAT THE ABOVE SHOULD NOT CREATE PROBLEMS WITH THE SHAH.

CARRINGTON

FILES

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SIR A PARSONS

S E C R E T

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FM NASSAU 211330Z MAY 79
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 37 OF 21 MAY

Enter in
BWA
24/5

MY TELEGRAM 36
FOLLOWING FROM SIR DENNIS WRIGHT.

1. KAMBIZ ATABAY (WHOSE WIFE AND CHILDREN ARE IN LONDON) APPEARS TO BE SENIOR IRANIAN WITH THE SHAH. RAM, SON OF THE FORMER HEAD OF THE BANK OMRAN IS ALSO HERE BUT I DO NOT KNOW IN WHAT CAPACITY. ASLAH AF SHAR HAS LEFT AND IS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE. SHAH'S IRANIAN RETINUE NOW SEEMS REDUCED TO HANDFUL OF GUARDS AND/OR SERVANTS PLUS A EUROPEAN NANNY. THERE WERE BLACK SERVANTS IN THE HOUSE.
2. SHAH'S HOUSE IS WITHIN A WIRE COMPOUND WHERE AMERICAN SECURITY MEN WERE TUMBLING OVER EACH OTHER.
3. THE HOUSE IS CLEARLY TOO SMALL FOR SHAH AND HIS FAMILY AND DOGS. I GATHERED FROM ATABAY THAT ATMOSPHERE IS FAR FROM HAPPY AND SHAH IS LONGING TO SETTLE WHERE THE CHILDREN CAN GET PROPER EDUCUATION.
4. ACCORDING TO ATABAY THE EMPRESS' IRANIAN FRIENDS SOMETIMES VISIT HER. THESE INCLUDE AMIR SADEGHI WHO ENJOYS HER COMPLETE CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT. IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION THE SHAH MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE HIMSELF HAD LITTLE USE FOR SADEGHI AND THAT HE HAD NO AUTHORITY TO SPEAK IN THE SHAH'S NAME. HE CONFIRMED THAT SADEGHI ENJOYED THE EMPRESS' CONFIDENCE. ATABAY TOLD ME THAT HE REGARDED SADEGHI WITH SOME SUSPICION AS HE HAD NEVER BEEN ABLE TO EXPLAIN HOW HE HAD MANAGED TO LEAVE TEHRAN.
5. SIR SHAPOUR REPORTER'S NAME WAS NOT MENTIONED.

SECRET

/ 6. I HOPE

S E C R E T

6. I SPOKE BRIEFLY TO THE CROWN PRINCE BUT NOT TO ANY OTHER MEMBER OF THE FAMILY.

7. TO MY SURPRISE THE SHAH SEEMED UNAWARE OF RECENT REPORTING BY BRITISH PRESS ON IRAN BUT COMPLAINED OF THEIR HAVING 'GANGED UP' ON HIM LAST YEAR.

F I L E S:
HEAD MEE
HEAD PUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/FUS
SIR A. PARSONS
MR J.C. MOBERLY

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S E C R E T



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tw
IRAN

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

14 May 1979

The Shah of Iran

You may like to have a short note of an informal conversation which the Prime Minister had with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary on 10 May about the Government's attitude towards the Shah of Iran's wish to settle in the United Kingdom.

Lord Carrington told the Prime Minister that Sir Anthony Parsons's argument that to give shelter to the Shah in the UK would expose our Ambassador and his staff in Tehran to very serious risk had made a strong impression on him. The Prime Minister said that she would herself be very reluctant to disregard Sir Anthony Parsons's advice. Lord Carrington told the Prime Minister of Sir Anthony Parsons's suggestion that he might himself go to see the Shah to explain frankly to him the difficulties which stood in the way of allowing him to settle here. The Prime Minister thought this a good idea and suggested that the Government might at least agree to allow the Shah's children to come to the UK to continue their education.

The possibility was discussed of asking Sir Peter Ramsbotham to visit the Shah, from Bermuda, on the grounds that this might attract less attention than a visit to him by Sir Anthony Parsons. Lord Carrington said that he would give further consideration to this.

The Prime Minister made it clear that she was deeply unhappy about the Government's inability to offer sanctuary to a ruler who had, in her view, been a firm and helpful friend to the UK. The Prime Minister is nevertheless very conscious of the need to avoid any risk to those British subjects remaining in Iran or to our Embassy there; she suggested that, if either Sir Anthony Parsons or Sir Peter Ramsbotham were to be instructed to visit the Shah, our Embassy staff in Tehran might be temporarily reduced until the risk of a leak had passed. The Prime Minister made it clear that she did not wish to have any discussion of this matter in OD.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

B. G. CARTLEDGE

G.G.H. Walden, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

MB

Grey Scale #13



A 1 2 3 4 5 6 **M** 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 **B** 17 18 19



Inches 1 2 3
Centimetres 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Colour Chart #13

Blue Cyan Green Yellow

