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TO IMMEDIATE BONN

TELEGRAM NUMBER 399 OF 14 OCTOBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE PARIS WASHINGTON ROME (FOR WALDEN)

MIPT: IRAQ/IRAN: ALLIED CONSULTATIONS

1. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED TEXT OF MESSAGES TO MUSKIE/FRANCOIS-PONCET.

BEGINS: I AM INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT IN OUR VARIOUS RESPONSES, BOTH IN ACTIONS ON THE GROUND AND IN CONTINGENCY PLANNING, THE FOUR WESTERN GOVERNMENTS PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED (ALTHOUGH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IS PRECLUDED FROM TAKING PART IN MILITARY MEASURES, THEY ARE OF COURSE DEEPLY CONCERNED) ARE FAILING TO WORK AS CLOSELY TOGETHER AS WE SHOULD, AND ARE RUNNING THE RISK EITHER OF TREADING ON EACH OTHER'S TOES OR OF FAILING TO UNDERTAKE NECESSARY ACTIONS, BECAUSE WE ASSUME THAT SOMEBODY ELSE WILL BE DOING IT.

2. ONE EXAMPLE IS THE NAVAL PLANNING WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON BETWEEN OURSELVES AND YOU AND THE FRENCH/OURSELVES AND THE AMERICANS AND YOU AND THE AMERICANS. WE/WE AND THE AMERICANS HAVE HAD SOME TALKS IN LONDON ABOUT A CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS, AND I AM TOLD THAT THE US INTENTION IS THAT FURTHER PLANNING SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE OPERATIONAL LEVEL, IE TO THE NAVAL COMMANDERS IN THE GULF OF OMAN. BUT THE CONCEPT THAT I HAVE SEEN, WHILE WHOLLY ADEQUATE FOR THE CURRENT SITUATION, IN WHICH THE THREAT OF A CLOSURE OF THE STRAITS OF HORMUZ IS MERELY A POTENTIAL ONE, WOULD NOT, SO BRITISH EXPERTS BELIEVE, BE ADEQUATE TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE TO TANKER OWNERS AND MASTERS, SHOULD SHIPPING COME UNDER ACTUAL ATTACK IN THE STRAITS OR THE GULF. IN THAT EVENT, TOO, BRITISH EXPERTS BELIEVE THAT ANY NAVAL MEASURES WOULD HAVE TO BE SUPPLEMENTED, IF THEY WERE TO BE EFFECTIVE IN RESTORING CONFIDENCE, BY STEPS BY GOVERNMENTS TO ASSUME, OR UNDERWRITE, WAR RISK INSURANCE COVER. THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN CONSIDERED MULTILATERALLY IN ANY DETAIL.

3. BUT MY CONCERNS EXTEND WIDER THAN THESE NAVAL TALKS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN APPROACHED, BOTH BY THE SAUDI ARABIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UAE, WITH THE LATTER OF WHOM WE HAVE A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, WHICH REQUIRES US TO CONSULT IN TIME OF NEED, ABOUT THE PROVISION OF INTELLIGENCE AND PROTECTION. CLEARLY WESTERN RESOURCES ARE LIMITED, AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE WE OUGHT ALL TO BE CONCERTING OUR EFFORTS, BOTH IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE GREATEST EFFECT AND ALSO TO AVOID TAKING MEASURES INDIVIDUALLY WHICH, IN ISOLATION, MAY SEEM DESIRABLE BUT CUMULATIVELY MIGHT BY INADVERTENCE HAVE UNDESIRABLE POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS.

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4. WITH ALL THIS IN MIND, I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL IF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR COULD MEET, AT A SENIOR POLITICAL LEVEL, BOTH TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND TO REACH DECISIONS WHICH CAN SERVE AS CLEAR GUIDELINES FOR OUR OFFICIALS. IF YOU AGREE, I WOULD HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER/YOUR REPRESENTATIVE TO VISIT LONDON IN THE NEAR FUTURE FOR JOINT TALKS. I MYSELF UNFORTUNATELY SHALL BE AWAY DURING THE NEXT TEN DAYS, BUT IAN GILMOUR WILL BE AVAILABLE AND WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE PART. ALTERNATIVELY, WE COULD CONSIDER SOME OTHER MEETING PLACE IF THAT SUITED YOU AND THE FRENCH/ AND THE AMERICANS. EVEN IF SUCH A MEETING WERE TO BECOME KNOWN TO THE PRESS, I DO NOT THINK THAT SHOULD BE AN OBSTACLE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. I AM THEREFORE WRITING IN SIMILAR TERMS BOTH TO JEAN FRANCOIS PONCET/ED MUSKIE AND HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER. ENDS.

CARRINGTON

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PS PUS  
SIR A. A. CLAN  
SIR J. GRAHAM  
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