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Last Updated: 11/07/2023

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March 26, 1981

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Dear Sam:

With sincere regret for the delay, the President has asked me to thank you very much for your February letter outlining your concerns about the terms of the agreement with Iran that resulted in the release of the 52 American hostages. We greatly appreciate your thoughts on this matter and want to assure you that the marious points you mentioned were carefully weighed and considered.

In welcoming the freed Americans on the White House lawn in January, the President informed the world that our future response to acts of terrorism would be "swift and effective retribution." The President's closest advisers have directed their efforts toward measures that will reinstate a measure of safethyino international affairs and, using your words, "show the world that the weak period in American history is truly over."

Again, thank you for writing and sharing with us your thoughts on this matter.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf Assistant to the President

The Honorable S. I. Hayakawa United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

X

MLF: CMP: asr

cc: w/copy of incoming, Janet Colson - for your files.

4



UNITED STATES SENATE WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON

FEB 2 1981

S. I. HAYAKAWA

February 2, 1981

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I know you are very carefully studying the terms of our agreement with Iran which resulted in the release of the 52 American hostages; however, I feel compelled to offer my comments on this issue. As I am sure you are quite aware, the way we handle this agreement will have a serious impact on our image and stature with the rest of the world, as well as with our own countrymen.

I am certain you recognize that many of the provisions of the agreement will be found to be in violation of both our own and international law: prohibiting Americans from suing the Iranian government; requiring our citizens to report knowledge of the Shah's assets or face criminal prosecution, for instance, impose unconstitutional barriers to the rights of the U.S. citizens. Beyond the legal problems, the tone of the agreement assumes without question, that the United States was the villian in the matter and the Iranians the abused, while in reality Iran committed an illegal and warlike act against the United States and its citizens. Even though President Carter and members of his administration assured us that the agreement did not represent the paying of ransom, I strongly believe that ransom has been agreed to and will be paid to Iran if we fulfill the terms of this agreement.

There are two principal arguments in favor of our keeping the bargain we struck with Iran. The first is that our honor is at stake: we made a deal and now we must abide by its terms. As far as I'm concerned, honor has no place in dealing with terrorists. Iran committed crimes against our citizens, against international law, and against all the principles of decency. If we fulfill the remainder of the terms of this agreement, we dignify these crimes; we accept the guilt for them; and we pay the price. Where is the honor in that? To me, we dishonor our own country -- and especially our citizens who suffered through 444 days of abuse at the hands of the Iranians -- if we fulfill this contract. In addition, as I stressed to you in my memo of January 17, there is a grave danger that what

happened in Iran will happen again unless we take a strong stand to deter government-sponsored terrorism.

The other major argument concerns our relationship with Algeria. It is said that we will cause problems for the Algerians if we fail to live up to the balance of this agreement and we will damage our future relationship with that country. As I'm sure you are well aware, we have not had a terrific relationship with Algeria in the past, and there is no guarantee that we will in the future. They have never been pro-U.S. or even neutral. I assume they were accepted as intermediaries by the Iranians for just that reason. The question of the participation of Algeria in our bargaining with Iran is one I intend to bring up when the Foreign Relations Committee holds hearings on the subject of the hostage crisis. In any event, I do not believe the Algerians will suffer if we do not fulfill the balance of the agreement. Your Administration did not make this deal, and from the standpoint of our Constitution alone, may not be able to fulfill portions of it.

Mr. President, I know I have probably repeated here many of the questions you and your advisors are already considering with regard to this agreement. I felt the need to emphasize them to you personally because of my experiences during these four years under the Carter Administration. Carter often spoke tough, but his actions reflected flabbiness and weakness and as you well know, the perception of America's strength has been severely damaged as a result. You presented a firm and truthful assessment of the goals and tactics of the Soviet Union during your press conference last week. I think it is vitally important that you follow these thoughts with strong action to deal with the lawless actions of Iran, and this contract presents an ideal opportunity to show the world that the weak period in American history is truly over.

Sincerely,

S. I. Hayakawa

SIH/ms

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 18, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

TRACEY COLE LAWLER

FROM:

ALLEN J. LENZ

SUBJECT:

HJR-37: Implementation of Interparliamentary Relations Between Iran and the United States

The NSC concurs with the Department of State and strongly opposes passage of H.J. Resolution 37, or any move to establish interparliamentary relations between the Congress and the Iranian legislature (Tab A).

Re 1319

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3/18/81

TO:

ALLEN J. LENZ

FROM:

GEOFFREY KEMP

Attached for your signature to OMB is NSC's comments re HJR-37.





EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON. D.C. 20503 March 17, 1981

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

TO:

Legislative Liaison Officer-National Security Council

SUBJECT:

State proposed report on H.J.Res. 37, "To establish a select committee for the implementation of interparliamentary relations between the legislatures of the Government of Iran and the Government of the United States."

The Office of Management and Budget requests the views of your agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

A response to this request for your views is needed no later than Tuesday, April 7, 1981.

Questions should be referred to Tracey Cole Lawler (395-4710), the legislative analyst in this office, or to

RONALD K. PETERSON FOR Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

Enclosures Dave Spevacek

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on H. J. Res. 37, "to establish a select committee for the implementation of interparliamentary relations between the legislatures of the Government of Iran and the Government of the United States."

We note that this resolution was introduced prior to the release of the 52 Americans who had been held hostage in Iran. The release of the hostages may have overtaken the purpose of the proposed legislation. In any event, the Executive branch strongly opposes the enactment of H. J. Res. 37.

The willingness of the present Iranian regime to respect the fundamental principles of international law and custom is by no means clear. We believe that the actions envisaged in this resolution, by appearing to move this country toward more normal relations with Iran under these circumstances, would tend to undermine our efforts to gain international support for effective sanctions against states that violate the principles of international law relating to the inviolability of diplomats and diplomatic premises. Such actions could also damage the credibility of our efforts to make absolutely clear that the United States will not tolerate, and will respond in the strongest terms to, any similar violations in the future. Moreover, we would view with particular concern actions by the Congress designed to establish interparliamentary relations with the government of a country with which we have severed diplomatic relations.

The Honorable Clement Zablocki, Chairman,

> House Foreign Relations Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

For these reasons, we strongly oppose passage of H. J. Res. 37, or any move to establish interparliamentary relations between the Congress and the Iranian legislature. We take this position fully cognizant of the vital interests of the United States in the Persian Gulf and the serious threat posed by the Soviet Union to that area.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of these views.

Sincerely,

Alvin Paul Drischler Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations

(f) Any bill and accompanying report of the select com-
mittee shall be subject to the rules of the Congress in the
same manner as though such bill and report had been re-
ported from a standing committee of the Congress.
(g) The select committee shall expire upon the last day
of the Ninety-seventh Congress.

W.J. Res. 31-48

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the select committee created in section 2 shall have the powers set forth in subsections (a) through (a) of this section.

7TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 37

To establish a select committee for the implementation of interparliamentary relations between the legislatures of the Government of Iran and the Government of the United States.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 5, 1981

Mr. Hansen of Idaho introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred jointly to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Rules

JOINT RESOLUTION

To establish a select committee for the implementation of interparliamentary relations between the legislatures of the Government of Iran and the Government of the United States.

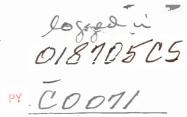
- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That there is hereby established a select committee on the
- 4 relationship between Iran and the United States.
- 5 SEC. 2. Each House of Congress shall appoint from
- 6 among its Members seven Members which shall constitute
- 7 the select committee. The chairman of the committee shall be
- 8 the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

- 1 Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the select com-
- 2 mittee created in section 2 shall have the powers set forth in
- 3 subsections (a) through (c) of this section.
- 4 (a) The committee shall investigate and report to the
- 5 Congress all matters concerning the relations of the Govern-
- 6 ment of Iran with the Government of the United States
- 7 which in its judgment caused or influenced the deterioration
- 8 of those relations and/or are necessary to the formulation of
- 9 laws for the correction of existing or past inequities in those
- 10 relations.
- 11 (b) The committee shall be the congressional agency for
- 12 the implementation of interparliamentary relations between
- 13 the legislatures of the Government of Iran and the Govern-
- 14 ment of the United States.
- 15 (c) The committee shall formulate and offer any bill
- 16 which in its judgment is necessary and desirable for the ame-
- 17 lioration of relations between the two governments.
- 18 (d) To enable the select committee to carry out the pur-
- 19 pose of this Act, such committee is authorized to utilize the
- 20 services of staffs of other standing committees of the Con-
- 21 gress, and to employ investigators, attorneys, consultants, or
- 22 organizations thereof, and clerical, stenographic, and other
- 23 assistants.
- 24 (e) The select committee is authorized and directed to
- 25 transmit findings and reports to the Congress on any matters

- 1 which have been referred to it and on which it has acted as
- 2 soon as practicable.
- 3 (f) Any bill and accompanying report of the select com-
- 4 mittee shall be subject to the rules of the Congress in the
- 5 same manner as though such bill and report had been re-
- 6 ported from a standing committee of the Congress.
- 7 (g) The select committee shall expire upon the last day
- 8 of the Ninety-seventh Congress.

0

WASHINGTON



CABINET ADMINISTRATION STAFFING MEMORANDUM

. A	CTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
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Vice President			Deaver		
State Treasury Defense			Allen		
Attorney General			Anderson		
Interior Agriculture			Garrick		
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Counsellor			Weidenbaum		
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RETURN TO:

Craig L. Fuller

Deputy Assistant to the President

Director,

Office of Cabinet Administration

456-2823

(Note: Date on Freesury meno is June or Apparently

[original -> DARMAN)

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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CABINET ADMINISTRATION STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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Vice President			Deaver		
State Treasury			Allen		
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Remarks:

Memorandum to the President on above captioned matter.

RETURN TO:

Craig L. Fuller

Deputy Assistant to the President

Director,

Office of Cabinet Administration

456-2823



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY WASHINGTON June 14, 1981

fire

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Transfer of Iranian Assets

Pursuant to your decision of February 24, 1981, to implement the Iranian hostage agreements "strictly in accordance with their terms," the Treasury Department intends to transfer approximately \$2 billion in Iranian assets held in banks in the United States. The transfer will be to the Central Bank of the Netherlands as soon as the technical arrangements have been completed. That Bank has agreed in principle to receive the funds and to establish the Security Account to hold \$1 billion of these assets to cover awards to American claimants. The Supreme Court decision of July 2, 1981, has cleared away any legal impediments to carrying out the transfer, and such transfer is consistent with the views of the State Department that recent developments in Iran do not warrant reexamination of your decision to implement the agreements.

Donald T. Regan

cc: Secretary Haig

Y

1000

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

February 6, 1981

JL003.03

MEMORANDUM FOR:

INFORMATION

RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM:

ROBERT M. KIMMITT BOX

FG036-10

SUBJECT:

Congressional Hearings on Iran

As we approach possible hearings on Iran (Tab A), you should be aware that most of the significant White House documents on this subject are in NSC files rather than with the Carter Library materials. This is because the SCC was the principal coordinating mechanism throughout the crisis. In addition, we would be required to clear release of Carter papers or agency documents reflecting White House consideration of this issue.

Interest in Iran-related documents is starting to accelerate (Tab B), and we should be careful not to commit ourselves too quickly to document inspection or production. As in the case of NSC documents requested for the Haig hearings, significant executive privilege issues are associated with materials that are this sensitive and explicit. We should thus proceed cautiously when approached by the Congress, and we should respond only after coordinating with other offices and taking all relevant factors into consideration.

Attachments

Gary Sick cc:

Brenda Reger

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8100318

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TO

ALLEN

FROM KIMMITT

DOCDATE 06 FEB 81 020154

KEYWORDS: CONGRESSIONAL IRAN

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON IRAN

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 2, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Jim Baker

Ed Meese Dick Allen

FROM:

Max Friedersdorf M. (

SUBJECT:

Congressional Hearings on Iran

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold hearings Wednesday and Thursday on the Iranian seizure of American hostages with Cutler, Christopher and the bankers expected to testify. I am unaware of any Administration witnesses.

Powell Moore

Colministration testino.

B

What to ask about the hostage episode

By Pat M. Holt

It is good that the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees are separately planning hearings on the situation arising from the seizure of the hostages in Iran. There is a valuable opportunity here to learn from the past in order to better shape the future; that, after all, is what congressional investigations are about — or should be.

But there are pitfalls of which the committees should be wary and into which various committees have fallen before.

The first of these is skimming off the sensationalism and letting it go at that — listening to selected returned hostages recount the horrors of their captivity while the nation sits transfixed before its television screens. A certain amount of this should be done to build a sober, official record, but the fascination of the congressional animal with television exposure is such that there will be a temptation to drop the proceedings when media interest begins to wane.

Another trap is to fall into quarreling over the scope of the inquiry. There will be those, particularly conservative Republicans, who will wish to focus on the fall of the Shah, hoping thereby to lay the responsibility on Jimmy Carter. There will be others, particularly liberal Democrats (an endangered but still articulate species), who will wish to go all the way back to the restoration of the Shah in 1953 following the CIA-assisted overthrow of the Mossadegh regime.

A schism of this sort is guaranteed to lead to sterile, unproductive argument. Reviewing American policy toward Iran in the early 1950s might be an interesting exercise in historical scholarship, but it would bog the committees down in a mass of detail. Rehashing the collapse of the Shah's regime in early 1979 would lead the committees, and possibly the country, into a dispute similar to that which followed the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek in China 30 years earlier. If American policy is

subject to criticism in either case, it is not that the United States withdrew support from the Shah and Chiang too soon, but that it continued that support too long.

There will also be a temptation to focus on the various avenues which the Carter administration explored, with increasing frustration, to secure the release of the hostages. This temptation will be especially strong in the case of those who, for whatever reason, wish to see the Carter administration discredited. The main outlines of the Carter efforts are already on the public record. It would be good to have an official statement, probably from former Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, but the committees ought to recognize that such a statement cannot be complete at this time without embarrassing third parties.

Attention needs to be focused instead on what happened in Iran and in United States-Iranian relations in the months of 1979 between the fall of the Shah and the seizure of the hostages. The crucial questions are:

- What was the US Embassy in Tehran, including the CIA, reporting about the uncertain course of Iranian politics during this time?
- To what extent was the embassy consulted about probable Iranian reaction to the decision to admit the Shah to the United States for medical treatment? What was the embassy's response, if any?
- Why was the embassy staff, or most of it, not withdrawn from Iran at the time the decision about the Shah was made? At the least, why were files not burned and code machines destroyed?

American treatment of the Shah during this period gyrated at least as wildly as Iranian politics — from regarding him as a pariah to welcoming him to a New York hospital to (in effect) expelling him to Panama. It was, on the whole, shabby. It is not acceptable that the American government decide whom to admit to the US on the basis of blackmail from a gang of fanatical thugs. But in ignoring blackmail, the US ought also to take steps to remove its representatives abroad from the consequences.

In order to lay out the considerations is volved in answering these questions with as thority, the committees will need access stelegraphic traffic between Washington an Tehran (including CIA messages). This wi raise some delicate questions for the Reaga administration during its first weeks in office. It is likely to be the first test of how forthcoming the new administration will be in its relations with Congress. But it will be idle to pretend that the committees can make a useful investigation without these documents.

Finally, the question arises of what can be done to prevent a recurrence of this trauma. The answer is probably not much beyond in creased vigilance and sensitivity on the part of the State Department and American diplomats abroad.

Suggestions have been made that the Vi enna conventions on diplomatic and consular relations be amended to provide an automatic response by the world community. The trouble with this is that, as long as the world community is more concerned with oil than law writing more international law on the subject is not likely to move it very much.

Pat M. Holt, formerly chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, writes on foreign affairs from Washington

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WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

s/s #: 8118910

Date: July 14, 1981

FOR: Richard V. Allen

National Security Council

The White House

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To: Flesident Reag	an From Congressmen Ed Jones
Date: April 14, 19	81 Subj: Issuance of visas to Iranian
nationals.	•
WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DA	TED: NSC # 8103673
THE ATTACHED I	TEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY ENT OF STATE
ACTION TAKEN:	
	A draft reply is attached.
	A draft reply will be forwarded.
	A translation is attached.
х	An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
	We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
•	Other.

REMARKS:

f.L. Paul Bremer, III Executive Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Washington, D.C. 20520

July 13, 1981

Dear Mr. Jones:

I have been asked to reply to your letter dated April 14, addressed to the President, concerning travel by Iranian citizens to the United States.

As you may be aware, the issuance of visas to nationals of Iran was never completely curtailed. The restrictions imposed by former President Carter, on April 7, 1980, allowed only those Iranian nationals to obtain visas whose cases were found to have compelling humanitarian considerations or to be in our national interest.

Following release of the hostages, a determination was made to lift the special visa restrictions on Iranians effective March 20, 1981. Accordingly, requests for U.S. visas made by Iranian applicants are currently being issued subject to the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

However, in recognition of concerns similar to those expressed in your correspondence, special procedures have been retained and new ones instituted. First, at the time of the removal of the April 7, 1980 restrictions, all nonimmigrant visas issued by our Embassy in Tehran were revoked. Applicants with such visas require new visas in order to enter the United States. Second, consular officers at our posts abroad have been instructed to be particularly alert to any cases of possible ineligibility on security exclusion grounds. Third, all Iranians are required to undergo secondary inspection by immigration officers at our ports of entry. And, fourth, the Immigration and Naturalization Service will not permit Iranians to transit the U.S. without a visa.

The Honorable
Ed Jones,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

The implementation of these procedures is designed to emphasize that the removal of the special travel restrictions does not indicate business-as-usual with Iran and recognizes in practice that most Iranians seeking a visa to the U.S. have fled Iran, are long-time residents of third countries, have American citizen or Legal Permanent Resident relatives here, or have other legitimate or valid reasons to travel to the United States.

I hope this information is of assistance to you.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Fairbanks Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations

ID 8103673. NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

PAGE DO1

REFERRAL

DATE: 19 JUN 81

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

8118910

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRES

SOURCE: JONES

DATE: 14 APR 81

KEYWORDS: IRAN

CO

SUBJ:

REQUIRED ACTION: DIRECT REPLY FURNISH INFO CY

DUEDATE: 29 JUN 81

COMMENTS:

FOR ALLEN J LENZ

STAFF DIRECTOR

----- FOR NSC USE ONLY -----

FOR INFO KEMP

STEARMAN

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KAY	
CY TO VP	SHOW CC
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CY TO BAKER	SHOW CC
CY TO DEAVER	SHOW CC
CY TO BRADY	SHOW CC

Dear Ed:

I sincerely regret this delys in acknowledging your April letter to the President concerning travel by Iranian citizens to the United States.

Please know that I have transmitted your inquiry on this matter to the appropriate officials within the Administration for substantive review and response. I am certain you should be hearing further in the near future.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Priedersdorf
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Ed Jones House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

MLF: CMP: asr

cc: w/copy of incoming, NSC Secretariat - for DIRECT response.

WHITE HOUSE RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIGINAL INCOMING.

ED. JONES
7TH DISTRICT, TENNESSEE
108 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
(202) 225-4714

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

CHAIRMAN: SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSERVATION AND CREDIT

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

> CHAIRMAN: SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSE SERVICES

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

April 14, 1981

DISTRICT OFFICES:
ROOM B-7, POST OFFICE-BUILDING
JACKSON, TENNESSEE 38301
(901) 423-4848

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YORKVILLE, TENNESSEE 38389
(901) 643-6123

020889

1.2

Hon. Ronald Reagan, President The United States of America The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have been contacted lately by several of my constituents who have expressed a deep concern over the fact that Iranian citizens are again being allowed to travel to the United States.

Recent events involving this country are still very fresh in the minds of all Americans, myself included, and since this action is the result of an Executive Order, I respectfully request that you provide me with some information as to the rationale involved in this decision.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Ed Jones, M.C

EJ/kb

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TO PRES

FROM JONES, ED

DOCDATE 14 MAR 81

FRIEDERSDORF, M

15 JUN 81

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KEYWORDS: IRAN

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FROM JONES, ED

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FRIEDERSDORF, M

15 JUN 81

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TO

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FROM RAMARO, ROBERT F DOCDATE 31 MAR 81

KEYWORDS: IRAN

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SUBJECT: FWDS TEXT OF SPEECH GIVEN BY PRINCESS ASHRAF AT ANNUAL DINNER OF ASSOC

OF US ARMY - NORTHERN NEW JERSEY CHAPTER

ACTION: ANY ACTION NECESSARY DUE: 17 APR 81 STATUS S FILES

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 22, 1981

TO: NSC/S

No action necessary at this time per GKemp.

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April 15, 1981

The Honorable Ronald Reagan President of the United States of America The White House Washington, D.C.

021126

Dear tr. President

I have the honor to submit to your High attention the text of a speech I recently delivered concerning the tragic events in Iran which have brought my country to the very brink of disaster and to the edge of communist domination.

With the confusion and anarchy created by Khomeini's fundamentalist regime, the danger of a communist takeover looms greater than ever. It is perhaps possible for some, to believe that Islamic fundamentalism stands against communism; but let us remember that it stands at the same time, and a lot more so against the West. If not stopped now, it will spread to other vulnerable Islamic countries, and channel its hatred, as it has already done, against the United States and the West, while furthering chaos, turmoil, economic confusion and political anarchy in the entire region. It is also quite clear that fundamentalism has become the tool of backward minority groups imposing their own authoritarian rules over a terrorized majority through guerrilla warfare and terrorist methods.

It is exactly the kind of policy which has helped marxist movements in the past, to conquer many countries. The policy of unleashing Islamic fundamentalism, advocated once by certain quarters is not without similarity to the story of the apprentice-sorcerer. More than ever, the need is felt to devise and apply a new policy which can successfully cope with the present threats and develop its own long-range ideological basis. In this context, one of the most pressing problems is indeed the restoration of sanity in Iran and



stability in the Persian Gulf.

This can be done, the triumphant journey of "Columbia" in space has proven to all, if need be that when there is a sense of purpose the mightiest problems facing mankind can be conquered. I firmly believe, that with resolve and good will, what has been achieved so successfully in space can also be accomplished on our own planet for the benefit of all concerned.

With warm regards and best wishes of good health and happiness.

tincerely Adnaf Pahlar

Encl.

RECEIVED 14 APR 81 13

TO ALLEN

FROM RAMARO, ROBERT F DOCDATE 31 MAR 81

KEYWORDS: IRAN

PAHLAVI, ASHRAF

SUBJECT: FWDS TEXT OF SPEECH GIVEN BY PRINCESS ASHRAF AT ANNUAL DINNER OF ASSOC

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Tue to Henry

ROBERT F. ARMAO
45 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

March 31, 1981

Mr. Richard V. Allen Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs THE WHITE HOUSE Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Allen:

Her Imperial Highness, Princess Ashraf Pahlavi thought you might like to see the attached.

With best wishes,

Sincerely, Robert F. am

Robert F. Armao

Enclosure



Washington, D.C. 20201

Pester Source

March 30, 1981

Note to Executive Secretariat

OCR discussed this inquiry with Leslie Sorg of the White House liaison staff. OCR indicated that HHS is not directly responsible for the regulations mentioned in the incoming letter. We suggested that the letter be forwarded to the Office of Management and Budget to prepare a response. It was agreed to return the inquiry to the White House staff.

W. van den Toorn Office for Civil Rights

TEXT OF SPEECH DELIVERED

BY

H.I.H. PRINCESS ASHRAF PAHLAVI

ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNUAL DINNER

OF

ASSOCIATION OF UNITED STATES ARMY
NORTHERN NEW JERSEY CHAPTER

AT: THE PINES MANOR EDISON, NEW JERSEY

MARCH 20, 1981

IRAN'S PAST, IMPOSSIBLE PRESENT AND POSSIBLE FUTURE

The situation in the Middle East has never been as dangerous and explosive as it is today - from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, the Arab-Islamic World is upset with intense convulsions - especially acute are those shattering now my beloved country, Iran.

Naturally, in this volatile context, the Soviet Union is profitting and taking full advantage. Already she has occupied Afghanistan and thrown her mantle over Syria. She has introduced in Iran her stooges and communist valets who are waiting for the right hour to take over the land. She encourages South Yemen and the P.L.O. to destabilize Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf Emirates. Now the anarchy and chaos in to which Iran has fallen can only profit the Soviet Union.

Yet, two years ago, peace and stability still reigned in the region and oil was flowing abundantly at reasonable prices. All that thanks to the prosperous and strong Iran which my brother had built in 18 years of brave, continued and sustained efforts - from 1960 to 1978. The regime, in addition to being an ally of the West, was a source of stability for Iran itself, as well as all other neighboring countries.

Today, the general trend is to ignore all the realizations of the Monarchy and keep silent about its great achievements. But the results were there, for all to see, and the White Revolution initiated by my brother were bearing their fruits.

The growth rate increased 12% annually. Per capita income progressed in 25 years from \$260 to \$2,200. More than 12 million children attended schools as compared to 250,000 in 1960. In 1977, more than 200,000 students from all income groups using the facilities provided by the government and the private sector were studying in foreign universities and spending more than 2 billion dollars a year. There were then 14 thriving universities against just a few in 1960. The Literacy Corps was busy teaching in the farthest corners of Iran and illiteracy fell from 85% in 1960 to less than 50%. The equality of the sexes was real. A majority of Iranians owned their own homes. The Gross National Product amounted to 75 billion dollars of which crude oil exports consisted of only 35%. Hygiene and public health programs had wiped out endemic diseases such as Typhus, Malaria, Smallpox, Trachoma, etc.

The standard of living of my compatriots had reached heights unknown in developing countries. There was full employment including a large community of foreign workers. Development programs were benefiting all Iranians and a strong thriving and growing middle class came into being. Huge industrial projects were achieved or in progress, and many more were on the drawing boards. Religious freedom for all sects created a climate of tolerance in which all ethnical and religious minorities were enjoying full rights.

The moderate and wise foreign policy of Iran had allowed for a constructive and fruitful cooperation with all our neighbors and the World Community.

A modern and highly disciplined army looked over the security of the region. Iran was a buttress for all moderate regimes. We were giving economic aid to Afghanistan and Pakistan and other countries. Iraq and South Yemen were quiet. The best proof of what I am stating tonight on the reign of my brother is that if the Iranian army, despite its humiliation and dismemberment today, is able to sustain some sort of resistance to the Iraqi invasion, it is still thanks to well-trained soldiers and the stockpile of modern armaments left by the Monarchy.

But as I speak tonight, Iran has become a country in ruins on the very edge of total destruction and disintegration. In less than two years, and well before the Iraqi invasion, the blood-thirsty dictatorship of the Mullahs had wrecked and thrown out of gear the entire economic, administrative and social machinery left by my brother.

Mr. Banisadr himself, confessed that the economy only works at 20% of its prior capacity and all further programs of development have been abandoned or outright cancelled. The inflation rate has reached 100%! Qualified and efficient civil servants, as well as industrial managers have fled the tyranny of the regime and none are to be found to replace those who have fled, who have been jailed or murdered by the Khomeini regime. More than 4 million Iranians, that is to say 10% of the entire population have been thrown out of work. Oil production which was around six million barrels a day has fallen to less than 800,000 barrels. The administration and the judicial systems have been dismantled, all schools and universities have been closed down. Endemic diseases have reappeared.

The monetary reserves left by the Shah which amounted to more than 12 billion dollars and 20 billion received from oil sales in 1979 and 1980 or in all 32 billion dollars have been squandered in less than 2 years by the so-called dignitaries of the new regime! Mr. Ghotbzadeh, the former Foreign Minister, in an interview, last August, said that a corruption of fantastic magnitude was sapping the country at all levels. A document made public by the employees of the Central Bank of Iran, last summer, revealed that the mullahs were sending hundreds of millions of dollars to their private accounts in foreign banks. As of the first days of the Iraqi attack, the coffers of the state were bare and empty. It is for this reason that Khomeini, contradicting his prior statements, signed a "deal" with Carter and liberated the hostages! The funds received from the hostage "deal" is being spent to further promote international terrorism and fill the private coffers of the Mullahs.

How was it possible, in less than two years to arrive at such a catastrophic situation? Of course it is always easier to destroy rather than to build. But that does not explain the magnitude of the disaster.

The truth of the matter is that, at the very outset of the arrival of Khomeini in Tehran, the mullahs, taking advantage of the extreme weakness of then Prime Minister Bazargan, established a merciless and blood-thirsty dictatorship. Arbitrary imprisonment, barbarous executions, blood-thirsty repression, torture and the imposition of laws from the darkest of medieval times forced educated and experienced Iranians to flee their beleagured land. Today almost two million distressed Iranians live in exile, under harassing conditions in Europe and the United States. It was those Iranians who, in the private and public sectors, built the modern Iran that we knew! Administrators, professors, lawyers, intellectuals, writers, researchers, engineers, army officers, managers, technocrats, doctors, businessmen, etc. They had cooperated with all their might under the reign of my brother to build and develop schools, universities, hospitals, dams, industrial complexes, The actual regime is confronted with a void which it cannot fill. In addition, with reverting to practices going back to the Seventh Century where women are concerned, the Khomeini regime deprived itself from the services of hundreds of thousands of Iranian women educated in Iran, Europe and the United States.

Last but not least, the hate campaign initiated by Khomeini against Iranian and western culture and civilization has helped to create an atmosphere of unprecedented xenophobia which highly discourages foreigners as well as all educated Iranians.

I wish to quote here the very words of one of the few legal experts who tried to cooperate with the new regime. He is Hassan Nazih, former head of the Iranian Petroleum Industry. He was able, luckily for himself, to escape the vindictiveness and persecution of the mullahs and find refuge in Paris. In an interview granted to one of the most important French newspapers, he revealed, and I quote:

"Today, Khomeini has decapitated and practically destroyed the Iranian intelligentsia, he has also reduced to ashes the military capability of my country by ruthlessly eliminating its best officers and elements the Iranian economy is in a state of bankruptcy the oil production which assured daily returns of upward 75 million dollars has ceased to exist. Monetary reserves were entirely depleted because everyone and especially the mullahs, had their hands in the till. War finally has achieved the destruction of whatever was still standing. Foreign experts have assessed war damages to Iran, at the end of the first month of the conflict, to upward 30 billion dollars. Tens of thousands of Iranians have been killed and more than a million and a half, fleeing the battle zones have invaded Tehran and other Iranian cities." End of quote.

The two sketches of Iran, prior to 1978 and from the advent of Khomeini on, which I have just brushed, are bound to raise within you a major question. With the success of the White Revolution of the Shahanshah, how come and especially why could the destructive revolution of Khomeini take place?

Yes, why?

Many so-called liberals in the U.S.A. as well as leftists in Europe pretend that Iranians have revolted against what they would like to call the tyranny of the Shah and the lack of democratic liberties in Iran.

Their reasoning does not stand. For if such would have been the case, how come the Iranian people "craving for democracy" submitted themselves to the barbarous and medieval dictatorship of Khomeini, one of the most blood-thirsty and merciless dictatorships ever.

Some are saying that Khomeini "mesmerized" the illiterate masses, just as the famous Jim Jones did in the United States.

But this reasoning also does not stand when one witnesses the magnitude of the crimes committed by the new regime.

In eighteen months, the Islamic Komitehs, authentic "Soviets" installed in towns and the countryside have sent to their death more than 40,000 people. Torture, for which certain liberal elements were quick to condemn the ancient regime, has reached such a degree of horror, that confronted with the scandal, Khomeini himself had to demote from his sinister functions of public executioner and judge, the infamous Mullah Khalkhali who not only ordered all forms of torture but practiced it personally with utter relish!!

Today human rights are being daily trampled upon in Iran. Tens of thousands of Iranians are being arbitrarily jailed. 50,000 political prisoners are languishing in the gaols of Khomeini. Our Kurdish brothers are bombed out with Napalm. Turkoman and other minorities are persecuted. The so-called "Party of God" with its henchmen and assassins, organize, just as Hitler and his "S.S." did in the past, destructive raids in the houses and dwellings of peaceful citizens, in the editorial rooms and printing plants of newspapers, in the premises of other parties. They kill and steal with impunity. They shoot pregnant women, stone them to death like in antiquity, and bury people alive.

Looking at the chamber of horrors that has become the Iran of today, the press and former champions of human rights which never had enough words to criticize the Shah and his regime are now mute on the crimes of Khomeini: Better, they even defend him! Mr. Andrew Young, friend and confidant of President Carter called Khomeini, a "Saint"

Following the liberation of the hostages, Mr. Ramsey Clark, finds excuses for the atrocities of Khomeini and his violations of the most elementary principles of international law. We can even discover university professors, clergymen, and politicians who tell us that we should comprehend, that we should "understand" with sympathy the fantastic accusations of Khomeini against the U.S.A. and the previous regime of Iran. Furthermore, those professors, journalists, etc. condemn and criticize Saudi Arabia, the Sheikhs of the Persian Gulf and what is left of the moderate regimes in Asia, Africa and South and Central America.

They denounce what they like to call the "illegal" intervention of the U.S.A., but never find enough excuses for those of Cuba, Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Asia, Africa and Latin America, when not completely excusing the acts of terrorism committed by the P.L.O.

It is this very same attitude which has led to a concerted movement of destabilization which wrecked Iran during 1978-79.

It is utterly impossible to believe that the Iranian people, wilfully destroyed the momentous achievements of the White Revolution to submit themselves to a medieval dictatorship.

In fact, behind the tragic events of Iran, we can clearly see foreign hands and interests pursuing determined goals.

To begin with, the success of the White Revolution and its achievements, disquietened certain circles which feared to see a

new Japan emerging in our region of the world. To understand that, just have a glance at the programs of their puppets, Mr. Khomeini and Mr. Banisadr. They want Iran to become an agricultural country, self-sufficient. Their destruction of the Iranian industry, profits to alien interests and will lead Iran, should they remain in power, to total anihilation. For Iran does not have enough water or fertile agricultural land to nourish a population growing at a rate of over 3% and which will reach 76 million inhabitants at the turn of the century.

What is even more fraught with danger is that the events of 1978-79 and the determination of Khomeini to export his brand of mad revolution aims not only at Iran itself but also other countries.

In this respect, the tactics of some of the liberals and so-called human rights activists is crystal clear.

They wish to replace, one after another, the moderate regimes presently allied to the United States with regimes conforming more to their own wishes. Thus, consciously or not, they are opening the way for the takeover by the avowed enemies of the western democracies. Their determination in this respect, which I hope is unconscious, can only profit one country: the Soviet Union!! The Soviet Union does not need to act directly, all it has to do is to encourage the liberals.

In today's Iran, according to all observers, the Marxists are the only well organized and disciplined force. Once in power, they will call for the Soviet Union to come to their rescue, just as they did in Afghanistan!! Already the red flag flies over some of the northern provinces.

If we look back at events in Iran, what I have just said confirms itself. In 1977 my brother had initiated a program of progressive liberalization and free elections were scheduled for 1979. It was the moment chosen by some liberals here and in Europe to intensify their campaign against Iran. Professors, like Cottam and Falk, ancient politicians, like Ramsey Clark, threw themselves wholeheartedly into the battle. They encouraged dissidents within the student community, infested the press and television. In Europe also a similar movemnt began. They encouraged Iranians to revolt. They invented and circulated stories about the SAVAK, which let us say now, are quite pale when compared to Khomeini's deeds. While Khaddafi and his friends were sending abundant supplies of money to organize subversion and disturbances, the Carter Administration was providing Iran with messages of They strongly dissuaded the government to utilize the forces of order as it is generally used everywhere in case of

insurrection. Haven't you used yourself, the National Guard, in Ohio Washington, Chicago, Detroit and Florida in recent years? Therefore why prevent Iran from doing the same? The press and the media in the West surrendered all their means of support to Khomeini and made of him a hero. But as long as the Shah remained in Tehran, Khomeini was unable to return. Alas, the Carter Administration advised, or rather let me emphasize it, forced my brother to leave Iran. Furthermore, they sent General Huyser to paralyze the Army. At long last, the way was paved wide open for the return of Khomeini in whose entourage were so-called friends of the U.S.A. Even citizens such as Yazdi and Farhang and old friends called "liberal" like Bazargan who stated publicly that the revolution could not have been successful without the help of the United States.

Indeed, some of your politicians firmly believed in a close cooperation with Khomeini and congratulated themselves on the marvellous "Islamic-anti-Communist" nature of the new regime!!

From then on the Carter Administration treated my brother as an undesirable person and an erring refugee. The shabby treatment he received deeply shocked your friends throughout the world driving them away from you. Furthermore, the unfortunate hostage ordeal led you in an ever deeper maze of incredible concessions. The disclosures and revelations of Pierre Salinger in an ABC program are edifying. Mr. Hamilton Jordan was ready to have my brother arrested in Panama, while your President conferred in the White House with a French communist lawyer and a shady Argentinian adventurer. Needless to say, the inhuman treatment given my brother accelerated the course of his illness. However, despite my emotion, I do not wish to mix personal sentiments with facts.

My purpose is quite different. The communist danger in Iran is real and imminent. Unknowingly or not, many movements are working presently to the advantage of Moscow.

Thus Mr. Khaddafi is anti-communist, but he keeps helping terrorists and destabilizes regimes, like the one in Chad. All that is to the advantage of Moscow.

The P.L.O. is not communist but it helps everywhere forces favorable to the Soviet Union. Khaddafi, it is said, hates the communists. But the anarchy and chaos he creates surely must profit the U.S.S.R.

What is the common denominator between all these individuals?

Obviously it is <a href="https://hate.com/hate.c

This hate towards the United States is methodically cultivated within the masses and especially within the youth, in the Islamic world, in Latin America, in Asia, even within the youth of the industrialized nations as far as the U.S.A. Take a look at your campuses, the virus is already spreading.

The reasoning of Khomeini and his followers is crystal clear:

I cannot attack directly the U.S.A., therefore I will ruin them from within. I will utilize Islam, the minorities, university professors, I will introduce terrorism and if I am not successful I will destroy Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia and stop the flow of oil to the U.S.A. My chances of success are good, Allah is with me and Allah is the greatest!!

It is the reasoning of the cancerous cell which kills the body feeding it. It is the reasoning of Hitler and all those who know nothing but hate.

Who will profit from this state of affairs, if not the U.S.S.R. and other communists who jump on every available opportunity. Only Mr. Carter was puzzled by the Afghanistan invasion. "I did not know the Russians were like this" he declared! Although we had warned him of the imminent communist takeover at a CENTO reunion in April 1977.

Nevertheless, as early as February 1976, in his report to the Communist Party Congress, Mr. Brezhnev stated and I quote: "We do not hide the fact that for us, detente enables favorable conditions to be established for socialist and communist build-up". Fortunately, your new president knows better, for he did not hesitate to state that detente should not be a "one way street".

Thus we see a double danger facing the U.S.A. and its western allies. For not only international communism continues to progress and installs at your very doormat its valets who seek the uprising of Latin America, but in addition, Khomeini and his supporters can deprive you and your allies of oil and other vital resources.

Facing these dangers the previous administration hesitated and practiced a policy of contradiction. It showed itself to be weak during the communist intervention in Angola and Ethiopia. The

Soviet Union took advantage of this weakness in order to spread its power. What do you want Mr. Brezhnev and Castro to do when Mr. Andrew Young, the friend of the President, publicly estimates that the Cuban presence in Africa is a stabilizing factor.

In the Iranian context, we all recall the hesitations of the Carter Administration before and after Khomeini and during the entire hostage crisis.

It is high time for the United States to recapture its rightful rank. We do not speak of sending in the Marines, but there is a definite need to show firmness and determination against subversion.

Not hearing the voice of the United States, the silent majorities in the world are loosing faith. That is exactly what is beginning to happen in Iran where a distressed and terrorized people are giving up, looking rather to the "communist order" which it hears is at any rate better than the terror, the anarchy, the arbitrary and chaos of Khomeini.

This brings me to the last point I wish to dwell upon tonight:

The future of Iran.

The Khomeini regime is fast loosing its grip and momentum. it is not only openly challenged and fought by different tendencies and separatist movements, but it is also undermined by an intense power struggle from within, it would be a grave error to artificially maintain it, and to believe that a Beheshti, a Banisadr or a Bazargan could bring back order and stability. It would be also a grave mistake to believe that a "sanitary Islamic fundamentalist cordon" around the southern borders of the U.S.S.R. could prevent Soviet expansionism.

In fact there are only two alternatives, two solution left:

Constitutional Monarchy or Communism.

For 25 centuries monarchy was the backbone of Iran, the needed catalyst which brought the nation and its people together. At times monarchy faded temporarily only to reappear brighter than ever in order to recreate the unity and prosperity of the land.

Following the invasion of the Greeks, the Arabs, the Mongols, she faded for short periods, but she always reappeared for the greater benefit of all concerned.

The events of today are not all that different from those of the past. Already, in Iran, people remember the blessings and benefits of the monarchy, the great achievements of 1960-1978. Everywhere, portraits of Reza Shah II are appearing.

Should the monarchy fail to return and restore soon order and national unity, the communists will definitely take over power. For, as we know it from undeniable sources, the people of Iran have had enough of a backward clergy. They want a secular regime.

It will be therefore monarchy or communism.

Thank you