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*Last Updated: 11/06/2023*

ID # 534517

C0071

### WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 87/10/16

Name of Correspondent:  Mr.  Mrs.  Miss  Ms. Mehrdad Azari

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Concerned about Iran falling into the hands of the Communists.

ROUTE TO:		ACTION		DISPOSITION		
Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CoCoza</u>		ORIGINATOR	<u>87 10 20</u>			<u>87 11 09</u>
<u>DOS</u>		R	<u>87 12 02</u>	A		<u>87 11 30</u>
			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
  - C - Comment/Recommendation
  - D - Draft Response
  - F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
  - I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
  - R - Direct Reply w/Copy
  - S - For Signature
  - X - Interim Reply
- DISPOSITION CODES:**
- A - Answered
  - B - Non-Special Referral
  - C - Completed
  - S - Suspended

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**  
 Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
 Code = "A"  
 Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).  
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

# RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

## CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: L Individual Codes: 4200 \_\_\_\_\_

Prime Subject Code: CO 071 Secondary Subject Codes: Hu 040  
CO 145 \_\_\_\_\_

## PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

<u>Code</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Comment</u>	<u>Form</u>
<u>C</u>	_____	<u>Time:</u> _____	<u>P-</u> _____
<u>DSP</u>	_____	<u>Time:</u> _____	<u>Media:</u> _____

### SIGNATURE CODES:

**CPn - Presidential Correspondence**  
n - 0 - Unknown  
n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan  
n - 2 - Ronald Reagan  
n - 3 - Ron  
n - 4 - Dutch  
n - 5 - Ron Reagan  
n - 6 - Ronald  
n - 7 - Ronnie

**CLn - First Lady's Correspondence**  
n - 0 - Unknown  
n - 1 - Nancy Reagan  
n - 2 - Nancy  
n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

**CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence**  
n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan  
n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

### MEDIA CODES:

B - Box/package  
C - Copy  
D - Official document  
G - Message  
H - Handcarried  
L - Letter  
M - Mailgram  
O - Memo  
P - Photo  
R - Report  
S - Sealed  
T - Telegram  
V - Telephone  
X - Miscellaneous  
Y - Study

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORMS/S 8730619DATE November 5, 1987FOR: MR. GRANT GREEN  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

## REFERENCE:

TO: President - Ronald Reagan FROM: Mehrdad AzariDATE: October 6, 1987 SUBJECT: Concerns about Iranfalling into the hands of the communistsREFERRAL DATED: October 22, 1987 ID# 534517  
(IF ANY)       THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## ACTION TAKEN:

- A DRAFT REPLY IS ATTACHED.
- A DRAFT REPLY WILL BE FORWARDED.
- A TRANSLATION IS ATTACHED.
- x   AN INFORMATION COPY OF A DIRECT REPLY IS ATTACHED.
- WE BELIEVE NO RESPONSE IS NECESSARY FOR THE REASON  
CITED BELOW.
- THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS NO OBJECTION TO THE  
PROPOSED TRAVEL.
- OTHER (SEE REMARKS).

## REMARKS:

*Jay Olson*  
DIRECTOR  
SECRETARIAT STAFF



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

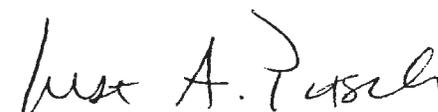
October 30, 1987

Mr. Mehrdad Azari  
P.O. Box 58241  
Los Angeles, CA 90058

Dear Mr. Azari:

The White House has forwarded to me your letter of October 6 regarding Iran. I want to thank you for taking the time to let us know your concerns -- I read your letter with great interest and found many of your comments thought-provoking.

Sincerely,

  
Lisa A. Piasek  
Country Officer for Iran

8730619

T H E   W H I T E   H O U S E   O F F I C E

REFERRAL

OCTOBER 22, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 534517

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED OCTOBER 6, 1987

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. MEHRDAD AZARI  
POST OFFICE BOX 58241  
LOS ANGELES CA 90058

SUBJECT: CONCERNED ABOUT IRAN FALLING INTO THE HANDS  
OF THE COMMUNISTS

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN  
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE  
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE  
(OR DRAFT) TO:  
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY  
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

25-10  
DOS  
CABLE: AZARIWINE



9/18/87 - Ltr sent to  
F. Ryan  
TEL:  
800-222-WINE

# AZARI INTERNATIONAL

2619 SO. SANTA FE AVE., SUITE 200, LOS ANGELES, CA 90058

OCTOBER 6, 1987

Mr. Ronald Reagan  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
The White House  
Washington D.C., 20500

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND IRAN

Dear Mr. President:

*J. Kellor*  
This is my second letter written to you within the previous month. I really hope that my first letter has been brought to your attention. I would like to thank Mr. Fred Ryan, Director of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling, for his kind letter of October 1, 1987. I am still looking forward to meeting you in person to share some of my ideas which could be very useful to save Iran from falling into hands of the Communists.

We are going through a crucial time in the history of man kind. The next few years will determine the future of Iran, the type of Government, which in turn will be forming the future of the free world nations as well. I do not have to go into detail in regard to the location of Iran on the globe. Iran is the only ground way between the Eastern and the Western free world nations, and the Persian Gulf is the major water way for oil transportation.

Should the Communists take control of Iran, the Free World will suffer a great deal politically as well as economically. Islamic Religion is based on Socialism and Islamic Republic of Iran is practicing a Socialism mixed with a total Dictatorship, forming the worth kind of Socialism existed in the world. The present regime in Iran is unknowingly preparing the Iranian people for the acceptance of the Communist ideology.

Mr. Reagan, as we all know the Communism can influence the people of a poor and weak country, who are specially involved in war and blood-shed, to accept their Communist philosophy easier than those people of a wealthy, comfortable, safe and educated nation. What is bodering me the most are the activities of the "Modjahedin" [Radjavi and his followers] who were the main Communist factors in using Khomainsi, as the Religious Leader to over-throw the late Shah, and now are fighting along with the Iraqis (the number one enemy of Iranians) to kill their fellow brothers to achieve the Soviet's goal to spread Communism in the region.

Mr. Reagan, believe me, the Soviets are playing their cards safe, cheap and right. They took advantage of Jimmy Carter's political weakness and got rid of the Shah, and now are indirectly crushing Iran to the point where the people of Iran will

PAGE 1 OF 3

MEMBER OF

INTERNATIONAL TRADERS SANTA MONICA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MARINA DEL REY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

534517



# AZARI INTERNATIONAL

2619 SO. SANTA FE AVE., SUITE 200, LOS ANGELES, CA 90058

OCTOBER 6, 1987  
MR. RONALD REAGAN  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONFIDENTIAL

have no sense of "freedom" and will consist of only one class, the working class who will be tired and frustrated of years of war, blood-shed, inflation and unemployment, at such time when the ideology of Marx or the Soviet Union will sound the only ideal solution to get out of the miseries and troubles to achieve safety, comfort, equality and employment [false Communist promises]. Please bare in mind that Khomaini gave a lot of false promises to the Iranian people before getting into power, and Iranians believed every word of his lies. In general, since the majority of the Iranians (people in the Middle-East) are not politically educated they will believe anything politically promised to them , specially if they are tired of their existing situation.

The sad point is that the Soviets are laying their eggs so softly and patiently that actually no-one is realising nor anyone is blaming any of the Iranian turmoil on the Communists, on the contrary, Soviet agents in Iran are blaming everything on the Free World nations, specially the United States. It is known that American Embassy in Tehran was first occupied by the Modjahedins during the riot of 1979.

The only reason that the Communist Soviet Union did not go along with the Kwaitis' proposal to re-flag the Kwaitis ships was to not face a direct military confrontation with Iran, which would have increased the hatred of the Iranians against the Soviets and their Communist philosophy. Thus, the Free World [specially the U.S.A] has become the number two enemy of the Iranians, and the Communist Soveit Government would be the one which the Iranians eventually go to for help and assistance in case of more pressure (i.e. the arms embargo or any major military attack by the U.S.A.), and that is exactly what the Soviet Union has been dreaming for the past 50 years.

Mr. President, it is not Khomaini and his Islamic ideology that we should worry to be spread in the region, for, the Islamic philosophy was spread in the Middle-East and other parts of the world over 1300 years ago; but it is the danger of the Communism which is threatening to dominate the region.

Unfortunately, I am unable to say or bring everthing on paper, but to make a recommendation; please help the "people" of Iran and the future of the free world nations by assisting to change the present regime in Iran, not through military actions, but by political and indirect means such as the one in 1954. There are still ways to enforce a Democratic government in Iran before it is too late.

In the event if the Soviet's present plan continues to succeed, gradually we will see the Socialist Khomaini to disappear, which would make all of us happy, but a



# AZARI INTERNATIONAL

2619 SO. SANTA FE AVE., SUITE 200, LOS ANGELES, CA 90058

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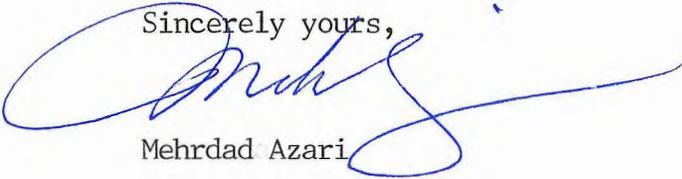
OCTOBER 6, 1987  
MR. RONALD REAGAN  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONFIDENTIAL

new pro-Communist leader (such as Radjavi) would replace Khomeini, and immediately the Modjahedins will ask for the Soviet Government to occupy Iran to assist them in running the country, i.e. another Afghanistan!

Sir, again I would like to take this opportunity to thank you in advance for your kind attention to the contents of my letters. Please feel free to contact me any-time should I could be of any assistance to the people of the United States and Iran. MAY GOD BE WITH YOU AT ALL TIMES, I remain

Sincerely yours,



Mehrdad Azari

P.S. PLEASE FORWARD ALL FUTURE CORRESPONDENCE TO:  
Mehrdad Azari  
P.O. BOX 58241  
Los Angeles, CA 90058

PAGE 3 OF 3



59

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HD

E. PY

House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

MEMORANDUM

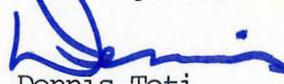
December 4, 1986

Dear Pat:

Thanks for your kind note on the defense  
speech proposal which is obviously off the agenda  
for the time being.

Best of luck with the "other matter" you  
are coping with these days. In that regard, I  
thought you might want to look at some interesting  
suggestions we put together in a q&a we wrote  
for Jim Courter (attached).

Best regards,



Dennis Teti

Nov 26 '86

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON IRAN-NICARAGUA PROBLEM

1. Has the law prohibiting assistance to the Contras been broken?

According to the Attorney General, at this point it appears that no American person actually handled any of the funds that went to the contras when the Boland Amendment was in effect.

But the White House appears to have arranged for the transfer of those funds, and there is therefore a question of a violation of the law. Two things matter: What was done, and who did it. Until we have the answers it would be irresponsible to accuse the President of breaking the law. What is required is a full accounting of the connection between the Iranian arms deals and aid to the contras.

At this point there is evidence of malfeasance, but not Presidential malfeasance.

A news item in this morning's New York Times said whether any charges are appropriate "would depend both on other facts that are not yet clear and on interpretations of very general laws in the context of a highly unusual situation."

2. Is it not true that the administration has gotten itself into a mess?

The Administration is certainly on the hook. The charges against the White House are extremely serious. But, if you will permit me to speak of more than the narrowest questions of the moment, the mess

that has been made in foreign policy goes deeper than current events. I have been saying for years, as have others, that foreign policy can't be micromanaged by Congress. Yet ever since Vietnam, Congress has done little except find ways, not to conduct foreign policy so much as to stop it from being conducted. The Boland Amendment, the Clarke Amendment on Angola, the War Powers Act - all these are examples of congressional determination to do a job which rightfully belongs to the Executive. The effect of this myriad of restrictions on our ability to carry on a steady, long-term foreign policy has been to create problems and stumbling blocks that confront Presidents with real dilemmas in defending the national interest.

Some are saying "no one is in charge of foreign policy." I totally agree - 435 Members of the House, 100 Senators, and the President -- there are 1,072 hands on the steering wheel instead of two.

3. Shouldn't the President follow Congress' law?

Yes. Of course the President is bound by the law. We are trying now to discover whether anyone acted outside it or not.

But in the case of Nicaragua, it is not inappropriate to ask "Which law" ? By my count, the Congress has reversed itself at least six times on our relations with Nicaragua in eight years. Congress approved aid -- including military aid - for Somoza; then we ended aid

to Somoza; then we voted for aid to the Sandinistas; then we stopped aiding the Sandinistas; then in 1983 we voted for aid to the contras; then we stopped helping the contras and prohibited anyone from aiding them; then we voted for humanitarian assistance ; then we voted for military assistance. Now we're trying to discover whether the executive did covertly what we've voted ourselves to do many times.

This isn't foreign policy; its schizophrenia.

The President must never violate the law, of course. But setting aside for a moment questions about what he knew or did not know, he has had one policy from the beginning while Congress has had its head spinning like a propellar going nowhere.

Q: But policy must accord with the law; it is less important than the law.

A: That's true, of course. Perhaps the President should have made his case to the American people more often than he did, and let the people make sure Congress kept the law consistent, and the appropriations steady, like his policy was.

4. What will happen if it turns out that the President has broken the law?

If anyone has broken the law, of course they should pay the penalty. But let me add a thought to that, a thought which may or may not apply to the facts of the present case. Ultimately the President has something additional to particular laws like the Boland Amendment to consider. The Constitution gives him a legal duty to "preserve, protect, and defend" the country. No other public servant takes an oath quite like that. Now, the Boland Amendment was a bad law; Congress affirmed as much by later revoking it. If -- I say if -- if the President decided the Boland Amendment compromised the preservation, protection, or defense of the United States, then he would have been faced with a dilemma: the Boland Amendment or his more fundamental constitutional obligations. Certainly the case would have to be extreme to justify such a thing. I will not judge whether the war in Nicaragua could meet the criteria. But let's not forget that both Houses of Congress found the Boland Amendment harmful to the national interest, and did so within a month or two, apparently, of the diversion of funds, which occurred in May.

What I enunciate here is a principle; it is too early to say whether it is one which should be invoked in the present case. And one reason for that is that to say the President did reason in this way is to presume that he did in fact make the decisions himself. No one suggests he can prove that as yet.

5. What is to be done? What about the future?

First, I would hope the President will go once again to the American people, soon, quickly, tomorrow. He should give us all the information we need to know about this Swiss account, and how the Iranian funds were used, and who was involved. If he knew, or ought to have known about it, I hope he will say so, whatever his explanation of "why". The quicker this is done the better for the country, because otherwise we are going to face weeks and months of paralysis from a Congress controlled by the President's opponents.

Secondly, we have to come to some decision as to who is going to conduct this nation's foreign policy. Senator Byrd and the others are right to say it seems that no one is in control of it. What they don't admit is that Congress has been busily making it very difficult for the Executive to control it as he should. This shell game which appears to have been played with Iran, Israel, and Switzerland may be proven to be as reprehensible as it is clever, but its genesis is in an attempt -- perhaps illegal and certainly misguided -- to skirt a bad law.

Congress is unsuited for anything much more than an oversight role in foreign policy making. The Founding Fathers saw this with great clarity. They predicted, in the Federalist Papers where they described how the Constitution would work, that Congress would be good at domestic policy but terrible at conducting a steady, expedient, and when necessary secret foreign policy. Hamilton underlined that word "secret".

It is better for our nation's security to let the President lead in foreign policy, and let Congress advise him. The American people have an excellent opportunity to decide every 4 years if they agree with the way he had done the job. There is almost no way, by contrast, to hold Congress responsible for bad foreign policy decisions, of which the Boland Amendment was one of the worst.

As to the future, I think it would be a good idea to investigate this persistent and increasing problem of how Congress and the President relate in the development of foreign policy. I'd like to see a commission -- call it a bicentennial commission on foreign policy under the Constitution -- appointed and to include former officials, judges, and experts from both parties to spell out how the two branches are supposed to cooperate in foreign policy.

6. Do you think our foreign policy goals are clear?

The President's policy on Nicaragua has always been constant, and Congress has completely agreed with him this year that aid to the contras is necessary and desirable. The problem arises because Congress keeps changing its mind. The policy goal is achieving a democratic government, and facing the fact that military aid to the Nicaraguan resistance has to be a part of that policy or there will be no results.

It's important that the justice of the resistance' fight not be forgotten. I was appalled when I heard one one elected official (Sen. Durenberger) here in town say: "I bet it's a cold day in Washington DC before any more money goes to Nicaragua." Here's exactly what I'm pointing out. Once again, the freedom fighters will be the victims of Congress' schizoid non-policy on the justice of their cause. In fact the resistance was right to fight for democracy before and they are right to fight now. What we have here in Washington is a separate legal and political problem we've got to get to the bottom of. But it shouldn't become an excuse to swing US policy on Nicaragua around once again and sell out that country's people to the Sandinistas. Support for the freedom fighters should go forward under appropriate Congressional means.

7. Do you approve of a secret foreign policy?

Not this policy, if it violated the law. But sometimes, yes. Nearly every great statesman recognized the need for secrecy in foreign policy making and negotiations. Americans can't praise secrecy when it's used to hide illegal acts, but they should permit it to the Executive in some of his spheres of action. There are many matters in which the proper recourse is periodic judgements in the electoral process.

MEMORANDUM

TO: JIM  
FROM: DENNIS  
DATE: NOVEMBER 26th 1986  
RE: 1986 CONGRESSIONAL DECISIONS ON CONTRA AID, EFFECTIVELY  
KILLING THE BOLAND AMENDMENT

Jim, one of the most interesting questions presented in the secret Iran/Contra arms deal, bearing on legality versus the President's paramount duty to "preserve, protect, and defend" is the timing of events this year.

So far as we know now, it appears that the Iranian payments and Swiss accounts were set up in April or May 1986, shortly after which the funds must have been advanced to the contras in contravention of the Boland Amendment.

The salient point is that Congress was in the process of abolishing the Boland Amendment. Key votes were as follows:

1. March 27, 1986: The Senate rejected a Kennedy substitute to prohibit U.S. aid, in any form, to military or paramilitary organizations in Nicaragua (24-74). This put the Senate on record repealing the Boland Amendment, apparently even before the Iranian funds were diverted.

2. March 27, 1986: The Senate adopted the Lugar substitute, to approve use of \$100 million in DOD funds to provide aid to the Nicaraguan "contras." Of that amount, \$25 million for non-military aid and for training and "defensive" weapons would be released immediately upon enactment of the resolution; the remainder would be released at 90-day intervals after July 1, 1986 (53-47).

3. June 25, 1986: The House adopted the Edwards substitute, to provide \$70 million in military aid and \$30 million in non-military aid to the "contra" guerrillas in Nicaragua and \$300 million in economic aid to Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras (221-209). No Boland Amendment-type restrictions were attached.

What this demonstrates is that Congress itself went on record by June 25th saying that the Boland Amendment was bad foreign policy -- a month or two after the secret funds went to the contras to get around the Boland Amendment. If the President thought the Boland Amendment was dangerous to our nation's interest, Congress agreed with him. The question now is whether the President should be criticized for violating a law which both he and Congress think was dangerous.

## CONGRESS' WAFFLING ON AID TO NICARAGUA

### fiscal years:

- 1977 & 78 Under a Democratic President, Congress appropriates 20.8 million in aid to Somoza, part of it military aid.
- 1980 & 81 Congress rushes about \$100 million in economic aid to the Sandinistas after they oust Somoza.
- 1982 & after With Reagan in office, Congress quits sending aid to the Sandinista government.

### votes in calender years:

- 1983 Congress decides to aid the Sandinistas' enemies, and votes for \$24 million for the contras.
- 1984 Congress changes its mind, imposes Boland Amendment blocking all aid to the contras. BUT NOT REALLY: the Boland language (acc. to CRS) says Congress could agree to send \$14 million to the contras under certain conditions.
- 1985 House votes NO on contra aid in April. But then Ortega goes to Moscow, the Congress gets upset, and by August 1 both bodies vote YES for \$27 million in humanitarian aid for the contras, contravening the Boland Amendment which took effect only the previous year.
- 1986 Congress votes for an aid package four times bigger than anything it had ever considered before for the contras.

ELECTIONS 1986: A few seats in the Senate having changed hands, observers predict Congress may reduce future aid, and may not even send all of the \$100 million it had agreed to only a few months before.

LITTLE WONDER THAT SENATOR BYRD DOESN'T THINK THERE'S ANY COHERENCE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

WHY FOUNDING FATHERS THOUGHT  
H.O.R. COULDN'T MAKE FOREIGN POLICY:  
452 THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

would, in that case, have the option of employing him in this capacity, but they would also have the option of letting it alone and pique or cabal might induce the latter rather than the former. Besides this, the ministerial servant of the Senate could not be expected to enjoy the confidence and respect of foreign powers in the same degree with the constitutional representatives of the nation, and, of course, would not be able to act with an equal degree of weight or efficacy. While the Union would, from this cause, lose a considerable advantage in the management of its external concerns, the people would lose the additional security which would result from the co-operation of the executive. Though it would be imprudent to confide in him solely so important a trust, yet it cannot be doubted that his participation in it would materially add to the safety of the society. It must indeed be clear to a demonstration that the joint possession of the power in question, by the President and Senate, would afford a greater prospect of security than the separate possession of it by either of them. And whoever has maturely weighed the circumstances which must concur in the appointment of a President will be satisfied that the office will always bid fair to be filled by men of such characters as to render their concurrence in the formation of treaties peculiarly desirable, as well on the score of wisdom as on that of integrity.

The remarks made in a former number, which have been alluded to in another part of this paper, will apply with conclusive force against the admissions of the House of Representatives to a share in the formation of treaties. The fluctuating and, taking its future increase into the account, the multitudinous composition of that body, forbid us to expect in it those qualities which are essential to the proper execution of such a trust. Accurate and comprehensive knowledge of foreign politics; a steady and systematic adherence to the same views; a nice and uniform sensibility to national character; decision, secrecy, and dispatch, are incompatible with the genius of a body so variable and so numerous. The very complication of the business, by introducing a necessity of the concurrence of so many different bodies, would of itself afford a solid objection. The greater frequency of the calls upon the House of Representatives, and the greater

No. 75: Hamilton

453

length of time which it would often be necessary to keep them together when convened to obtain their sanction in the progressive stages of a treaty would be a source of so great inconvenience and expense as alone ought to condemn the project.

The only objection which remains to be canvassed is that which would substitute the proportion of two thirds of all the members composing the senatorial body to that of two thirds of the members *present*. It has been shown, under the second head of our inquiries, that all provisions which require more than the majority of any body to its resolutions have a direct tendency to embarrass the operations of the government and an indirect one to subject the sense of the majority to that of the minority. This consideration seems sufficient to determine our opinion, that the convention have gone as far in the endeavor to secure the advantage of numbers in the formation of treaties as could have been reconciled either with the activity of the public councils or with a reasonable regard to the major sense of the community. If two thirds of the whole number of members had been required it would, in many cases, from the nonattendance of a part, amount in practice to a necessity of unanimity. And the history of every political establishment in which this principle has prevailed is a history of impotence, perplexity, and disorder. Proofs of this position might be adduced from the examples of the Roman Tribuneship, the Polish Diet, and the States-General of the Netherlands did not an example at home render foreign precedents unnecessary.

To require a fixed proportion of the whole body would not, in all probability, contribute to the advantages of a numerous agency, better than merely to require a proportion of the attending members. The former, by increasing the difficulty of resolutions disagreeable to the minority, diminishes the motives to punctual attendance. The latter, by making the capacity of the body to depend on a *proportion* which may be varied by the absence or presence of a single member, has the contrary effect. And as, by promoting punctuality, it tends to keep the body complete, there is great likelihood that its resolutions would generally be dictated by as great a number in this case as in the other; while there would be much fewer

# WHY FUNDING MATTERS THOUGHT M.S. COULD MAKE REFORM POLICY

The Government has a duty to ensure that the public services it funds are of a high quality and that the money is spent in the most effective way possible. This is particularly true in the case of the health service, where the stakes are high and the need for reform is urgent.

It is not enough to say that the health service is in a state of crisis. We must ask why it is in a state of crisis and what can be done to improve it. The answer lies in the way the service is funded. The current system of funding is based on a combination of block grants and specific grants, which has led to a fragmented and inefficient system. We need a new system of funding that is based on a single, transparent source of funds, which would allow us to plan and invest in the health service in a more strategic way.

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537917  
PY  
E0071  
126430  
Pp 44-57

1. The Congressional report states that you tried to conceal key aspects of the Iran/Contra issue. You misled the public when you said early reports of arms sales had no foundation, you denied it was arms for hostages and you concealed the role of Israel. How do you explain this?
  
2. Attorney General Meese was criticized for his handling of the initial inquiry into the Iran arms sales and his approval of a possibly illegal effort to use private funds to ransom U.S. hostages. How can you continue to support him?
  
3. The report claims you violated your Constitutional duties. How do you explain this?
  
4. Why do you refuse to condemn the actions of those members of your Administration who lied and misled the Congress and destroyed official documents?
  
5. The report claims that members of your Administration bypassed the law. Yet, you say that no laws were broken. How can you claim this in view of the evidence in the report?
  
6. The report claims that in June 1984, Shultz told you the U.S. cannot serve as a conduit for third country contributions to the Contras since Congress refused to provide funding. Shultz told you this would be an impeachable offense. Yet, the Administration solicited such funds from Saudi Arabia. Members of your own Administration define this as an impeachable offense. Don't you?

Questions

7. The report recommends that the National Security Adviser not be an active military officer. Will you either remove General Powell or ask him to resign his commission?
  
8. The report claims that you created and tolerated an atmosphere in which members of your Administration repeatedly lied to and deceived the Congress and the American public. How do you explain this and do you think you owe the American public an apology?
  
9. You told the Tower Board that you could not remember anything concerning either a meeting about or a call back of the November 1985 Hawk shipment. Yet, the report indicates that you confided to Shultz that you had known of the shipment. Why did you lie to the Tower Board? Or is Shultz lying?
  
10. It is clear from the report that Casey, McFarlane, Poindexter and North engaged in a deliberate attempt to falsify the facts about the Hawk missile shipment. How can you, therefore, claim that there was no cover-up and will you now condemn these acts?
  
11. In your October 2 interview with Fred Barnes, you claim it was not an arms for hostages deal. Are you taking back your earlier statement that it eventually became an arms for hostages deal?
  
12. Are you considering a pardon for Poindexter and North?
  
14. Why didn't you tell your Cabinet officials, namely Shultz and Weinberger, of Saudi contributions to the Contras? Didn't your actions help in the deception of the Congress?

15. Do you condone or condemn the illegal resupply of the Contras via private funds, third country solicitation and the diversion?
16. Are you personally responding to the written interrogatories from the Independent Counsel?
17. Can you tell us something about the number and type of questions asked you by the Independent Counsel?
18. Did you personally make any mistake or are you claiming that only your NSC staff made mistakes in this Iran/Contra issue?
19. Why didn't you ask Poindexter and North what happened before they left the White House?
20. Won't Gorbachev take advantage of your weakened political position during the Summit in view of this critical Congressional report? And, is the Soviet attempt to meet with Congress an indication that the Congress is now dominant in foreign policy?

29

C0071

### WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING  
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: Arthur B. Culvahouse, Jr.

MI Mail Report      User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Iran Import and Export Controls - Renewal

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION			
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>Cuholl</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>87,10,22</u>			<u>287,10,22</u>
	Referral Note:				
<u>Cuculo</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>87,10,22</u>			<u>287,10,22</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>See comments</u>			
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
  - C - Comment/Recommendation
  - D - Draft Response
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  - R - Direct Reply w/Copy
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- A - Answered
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  - C - Completed
  - S - Suspended

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**  
 Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
 Code = "A"  
 Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

**Comments:** Oct 22 87 ABC memo to John Suck; Oct 22 87 ABC memo to Jay Stephens with copies to Ben Cohen, Dean McQuate and John Suck

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
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 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

## RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

### CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: 0 Individual Codes: \_\_\_\_\_

Prime Subject Code: CO 071 Secondary Subject Codes: TA 004  
FB 006-01

### PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

**SIGNATURE CODES:**

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 R - Report  
 S - Sealed  
 T - Telegram  
 V - Telephone  
 X - Miscellaneous  
 Y - Study

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 22, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN TUCK  
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE  
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR.   
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Iran Import and Export Controls--Recusal

In light of the reasons specified in the attached memorandum, I respectfully recommend that Howard Baker recuse himself from any further consideration of any import or export restrictions against Iran until such time as transition issues are resolved.

Attachment

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 22, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR JAY B. STEPHENS

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR. SUBJECT: Iran Import and Export Controls--Recusal

Yesterday, Ben Cohen and I discussed the Counsel's Office clearance of the National Security Council's recommendations regarding the imposition of import controls and certain export controls relating to Iran. Other than a somewhat rambling discussion (on my part) concerning whether the Department of the Treasury had been adequately consulted and whether Treasury should be included with State and Commerce as the assigned agencies to implement the President's decision, Ben and I agreed that Counsel's Office had no legal objections. My comments about the Department of the Treasury were based on my private practice with respect to Libyan sanctions regulations and the South African anti-apartheid sanctions, both of which were administered by the Treasury Department. Our informal conclusion, however, was that the measures recommended by the National Security Advisor do not involve asset freezes, prohibitions on doing business or other economic sanctions under the International Economic Emergency Powers Act, but rather were "pure" import and export controls to be administered by Commerce in conjunction with State.

Today, Barclay Collins, Senior Vice President and General Counsel of Amerada Hess Corporation, called me. Amerada Hess Corporation was a significant client of Vinson & Elkins, my former law firm, and I personally represented Amerada Hess in connection with Libyan sanctions. Barclay Collins advised me that the Department of State had called Amerada Hess to inquire about its purchases of Iranian oil. The State Department representatives advised Barclay that the President was considering taking unilateral action to prohibit Iranian oil imports, whether or not Congress passed legislation to the same effect. Collins stated that he had advised the Department of State that Amerada Hess would not be adverse to prohibitions upon imports of Iranian oil, but that it had an outstanding end-of-the-month purchase commitment, secured by a letter of credit, which could harm Amerada Hess and benefit the Iranians if import restrictions became effective at a

time when Amerada Hess could not purchase the oil cargo, even though the letter of credit had become operative and subject to being drawn against by the seller. I advised Barclay Collins that in view of my prior representation of Amerada Hess, I could not and should not become involved in this matter; and that the Departments of State and Commerce, in the event that a Presidential decision is made, would be the appropriate agencies to address timing considerations.

Barclay Collins stated that he understood and that he and his company were pleased that the State Department had engaged in advance consultation with U.S. companies that might be affected by import restrictions affecting Iranian oil.

In light of Amerada Hess' operations in Iran (of which I was unaware prior to Collins' telephone call), I think it prudent that I not participate in any further deliberations regarding export and import restrictions affecting Iran. It is my belief, based upon Collins' brief statements, that Amerada Hess' concern relates primarily to a single cargo as to which a letter of credit in favor of the seller is presently outstanding. If this in fact proves to be accurate, my recusal perhaps could be reconsidered, if necessary, at such time as any transition issues or phase-in problems are resolved and any implementing regulations, following a Presidential decision, are in place.

cc: Dean McGrath  
Ben Cohen  
John Tuck



C0071

WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 87, 11, 18

Name of Correspondent: Lois M. Mead

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Bahais

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>OPL - Green</u>		ORIGINATOR	<u>87, 11, 18</u>	<u>PY</u>		<u>C 87, 11, 18</u>
<u>State</u>		Referral Note: <u>R</u>	<u>87, 11, 23</u>	<u>PY</u>	<u>A</u>	<del>87, 11, 18</del>
		Referral Note: <u>response undated</u>				
		Referral Note:				
		Referral Note:				
		Referral Note:				

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- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
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- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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# RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

## CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: L Individual Codes: 4500 \_\_\_\_\_

Prime Subject Code: C0071 Secondary Subject Codes: HU  
RM \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

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- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

UNCLASSIFIED  
(CLASSIFICATION)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8733977

DATE December 2, 1987

FOR: Mr. Paul Schott Stevens  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council  
THE WHITE HOUSE

REFERENCE:

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM: MR. LOIE M. MEAD  
DATE: NOVEMBER 11, 1987 SUBJECT: REGARDING BAHAI'S

OVP REFERRAL DATED: NOVEMBER 23, 1987

\_\_\_\_\_ THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- \_\_\_\_\_ A DRAFT REPLY IS ATTACHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ A DRAFT REPLY WILL BE FORWARDED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ A TRANSLATION IS ATTACHED.  
X \_\_\_\_\_ AN INFORMATION COPY OF A DIRECT REPLY IS ATTACHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ WE BELIEVE NO RESPONSE IS NECESSARY FOR THE REASON  
CITED BELOW.  
\_\_\_\_\_ OTHER.

REMARKS:

*Kathleen Mungler*  
DIRECTOR  
SECRETARIAT STAFF *KM*

UNCLASSIFIED  
(CLASSIFICATION)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Loie M. Mead  
Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is  
of Portland, Oregon  
P.O. Box 4245  
Portland, OR. 97208

Dear Ms. Mead:

The White House has asked me to respond to your letter of November 1987 concerning seventeen Baha'is imprisoned in Iran. We are aware of these reports and have been in touch with the National Baha'i office in Washington, D.C.

The treatment that Iranian Baha'is receive at the hands of their government is a matter of great concern to us and we monitor their status as closely as we can. We believe that the most effective way of bringing pressure on the Iranian government to alleviate the plight of the Baha'is is through continued international attention and we look for opportunities to speak out on this subject whenever possible.

The United States has fully supported past United Nations General Assembly resolutions regarding human rights in Iran and we are currently involved in efforts to adopt a similar resolution in this year's General Assembly.

Sincerely,

  
Laurence E. Pope  
Director  
Office of Northern Gulf Affairs

8733977

T H E   W H I T E   H O U S E   O F F I C E

REFERRAL

NOVEMBER 23, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:  
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 546965

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED NOVEMBER 11, 1987

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. LOIE M. MEAD  
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY  
SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY OF BAHAI'S OF  
PORTLAND, OREGON  
POST OFFICE BOX 4245  
PORTLAND OR 97208

SUBJECT: REGARDING BAHAI'S

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN  
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE  
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE  
(OR DRAFT) TO:  
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY  
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

546965



SPIRITUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE BAHAI'S  
OF PORTLAND, OREGON

11 November 1987

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C., 20500

Dear President Reagan:

The Assembly asks that you be informed of information we have received. You are most aware of the persecutions inflicted upon Baha'is by the Islamic regime during the past eight years. Presently seventeen Baha'is imprisoned in Iran are in very great danger. Three of these are former members of the National Spiritual Assembly, the national governing body of the Baha'is banned in 1983 by the Iranian government.

Experience has shown to us that international publicity is the means of preventing inhuman acts. We appeal to you to protest the actions of the Iranian government in your position as President of the United States. We are ever mindful and deeply appreciative of your strong defense of the Baha'is in the past.

The National Baha'i Office at 1606 New Hampshire NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 may be contacted for additional information or assistance with a statement. The telephone number is (202) 265-8830.

President Reagan, the Assembly is also contacting Senators Hatfield and Packwood, as well as, Representatives Wyden and AuCoin.

Sincerely,

Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is  
of Portland, Oregon

*Loie M. Mead*

Loie M. Mead  
Corresponding Secretary



by

ID # 547252 CU  
C0071

### WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING  
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

Name of Correspondent: Paul Schott Stevens

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: White Paper on Iranian Terrorism released by State Department - Predicate for the Executive Order on Trade Sanctions

ROUTE TO: Office/Agency (Staff Name)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>cuhol</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>87110130</u> <sup>WS</sup>		<u>C87110130</u> <sup>WS</sup>
	Referral Note:			
<u>cuat 29</u>	<u>Z</u>	<u>87110130</u> <sup>WS</sup>		<u>C87110130</u> <sup>WS</sup>
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1/1</u>		<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1/1</u>		<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u>1/1</u>		<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:			

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No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: 0 Individual Codes: \_\_\_\_\_

Prime Subject Code: CO 071 Secondary Subject Codes: JL 003  
FE 006-12

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DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

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- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 29, 1987

2CU

*please file  
with E.O. Order  
on Iran  
Cyrus  
around  
last week*

NOTE FOR JAY STEVENS

JAY,

This is the White Paper on Iranian terrorism that State has released (or shortly will release). As you will note, there's plenty here that post-dates January 1986 and provides a predicate for the E.O. on trade sanctions.



PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS

Attachment

*101 OCT 30 11 0 1987*

1987 OCT 30 AM 8:48

Paul:  
Per phone conv.  
[Signature]

IRAN'S USE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Iran is currently one of the the world's most active states supporting international terrorism and subversion against other countries. The revolutionaries who came to power in Iran with the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini first attracted public attention to their use of terrorism with the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979. Their activities have continued since then in a variety of forms and places. The Government of Iran regards terrorism as an integral tool of its foreign policy, to be used when the opportunity seems propitious.

An official explanation of the use of terrorism was made as early as May 1979 by Ayatollah Sadeq Khalkhali who supported killing

"those who enter into a war against God and His prophets and who try to spread corruption on earth. No one who kills any of these persons can be arrested as a terrorist by a foreign government inasmuch as he will have carried out the orders of the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Iran."

Iran has shown exceptional readiness to use terrorism and subversion of other governments as a policy tool. The Government of Iran, or groups over which it has strong influence, have attacked civilians, government officials, peace-keeping forces, Iranian dissidents at home and abroad, and the economic assets of neighboring states. Kidnapping, car bombing, suicide attacks, hijacking and assassination have been used in these attacks. While Iranian Government personnel have been used directly in terrorist operations, particularly those against Iranian dissidents, the Iranian Government prefers to use surrogates such as the Lebanese-based Hizballah group.

The Iranian Government's use of terrorism and subversion of other countries is wide-ranging. The major goals of Iranian-backed terrorism and subversion include spreading its Shi'a fundamentalist revolution to other Islamic states, creating a copy of an Iranian Islamic Republic in Lebanon, and driving Western influence -- especially that of the United States -- from the Middle East. Iran also uses terrorism as part of a broader strategy to deter Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other Arab states from supporting Iraq in the Gulf War.

Iran recruits disgruntled Shi'a from the Gulf states and elsewhere, gives them paramilitary and terrorist training, and returns them home. Most of the Iranian-backed terrorist acts in the Gulf are conducted by Iranian-inspired and sponsored Shi'a radicals. Such Iranian-inspired Kuwaiti Shi'a were convicted of a number of sabotage attacks at Kuwaiti oil facilities since June 1986. Groups in the Gulf area promoted by Iran include the Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, the Islamic Dawa party (which has local branches in Kuwait, Bahrain, and Lebanon), and the Organization for the Islamic Revolution in the Arabian Peninsula.

But Iranian terrorist-related activities reach well beyond the Gulf. Egyptian officials announced in July that they apprehended members of what they described as a new Iranian-backed terrorist ring with explosives in their possession. In March 1987, Tunisia broke relations with Iran, charging it was supporting fundamentalist groups trying to undermine the government.

In Lebanon, Hizballah operates under multiple cover names, including "Islamic Jihad," "Right Against Wrong," and "Revolutionary Justice Organization." In Iraq and Kuwait, the Dawa Party has been used. Iran has nurtured these groups with financial assistance, arms, and training. In Lebanon, Iranian Revolutionary Guards coordinate closely with Hizballah leaders and maintain co-located headquarters. Iran has made clear its ability to manipulate Hizballah's foreign hostages. This pattern of support, combined with evidence of direct Iranian involvement in some Shi'a terrorist operations (e.g., the 1985-86 Paris bombings and the 1973 "Dawa 17" attacks on U.S., French, and Kuwaiti targets in Kuwait), demonstrates Iran's culpability in many, if not all, of its radical Shi'a surrogates' terrorist operations. Hizballah's involvement in hostage-takings, hijackings, and bombings is well-known.

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, formed in the early stages of the Iranian revolution, has served to support Iranian terrorism abroad, especially in Lebanon. A contingent of Revolutionary Guards went to Lebanon's Bekka

Valley in the summer of 1982 and has remained there since. One of their principal functions is liaison with and training of Hizballah.

Iran also has shown a disregard for internationally accepted conventions and norms, including those applying to diplomats. On November 4, 1979, the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was seized and its personnel held hostage for 444 days. More recently, a British diplomat in Tehran was abducted and beaten in May of this year. The French Embassy in Tehran was surrounded as part of the "embassy war" with France when French officials attempted to question a suspected terrorist who took refuge in the Iranian Embassy in Paris.

#### Examples of Iranian Terrorism and Subversion

We have good reason to believe that Iran or its surrogates are responsible for the following acts. For more specific information, see the detailed chronology (attached).

Kidnappings in Lebanon:

- o Although the Iranian-supported Hizballah is responsible for almost all of the kidnappings of Westerners in Lebanon, Iran exercises strong influence over all hostage-related decisions. For example, we believe Iran ordered the June 1987 kidnapping of journalist Charles Glass, who was held for two months before he escaped in August.

Assassinations of Anti-Khomeini Iranian dissidents:

- o October 1987 - Two murdered in London
- o August 1987 - One murdered in Istanbul
- o August 1987 - One murdered in Geneva
- o July 1987 - Failed assassination attempt in London
- o July 1987 - Three murdered in Karachi
- o January 1987 - One murdered in Hamburg

Attacks against Arab and Islamic Interests:

- o July 1987 - Disruption of the pilgrimages to Mecca, Saudi Arabia; at least 400 killed
- o January, 1987 - Attempt to disrupt the Organization of Islamic Countries meeting in Kuwait by a series of bombings
- o 1986 - Bombing of Saudia airline offices in New Delhi, Vienna and Karachi
- o August 1986 - Arrest of 113 Iranian pilgrims trying to smuggle 51 kilos of plastic explosives into Mecca, Saudi Arabia
- o June 1986 through May 1987 - Bombings at oil installations in Kuwait
- o May 1985 - Attempt to assassinate Amir Sabah of Kuwait
- o December 1983 - Bombings of Kuwaiti Government buildings along with bombings of U.S. and French Embassies

Attacks on Peacekeeping Forces:

- o October 1983 - Suicide bombings of the French and U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut.

Embassy bombings:

- o September 1984 - Bombing of U.S. Embassy annex in Lebanon
- o December 1983 - Attacks on the U.S. and French Embassies in Kuwait
- o April 1983 - U.S. Embassy in Lebanon destroyed by suicide bomber

Airline Hijackings:

- o July 1987 - Hijacker of Air Afrique flight from Rome to Paris claimed Hizballah affiliation
- o December 1986 - Hijacking of Iraqi airliner en route to Jordan; over 60 killed when the plane crashed in Saudi Arabia
- o June 1985 - TWA 847 hijackers had and have strong ties to Iran
- o December 1984 - Kuwait Airlines flight 221 hijacked to Tehran, two U.S. Government auditors, Charles Hegna and William Stanford were killed

Bombings in Europe:

- o Dec. 1985-Sept. 1986 - Series of bombings in Paris
- o August 1986 - Bookstore in London
- o July 1985 - Northwest Airlines office in Copenhagen

Responses to Iranian Terrorism

Several countries have responded to Iranian terrorism:

Tunisia broke diplomatic relations with Iran earlier this year, charging Iran was stirring up fundamentalist unrest. After a Tunisian court in September passed sentences on 90 Tunisian nationals accused of fundamentalist subversive activities, several pro-Iranian groups held demonstrations and threatened retaliation.

The French Government in 1983 closed down the Iranian cultural center in Paris because of concern it was being used by potential terrorists. In July 1987, France broke diplomatic relations with Iran as part of the so-called "embassy war," which started when an Iranian translator without diplomatic immunity fled to the Iranian Embassy to avoid questioning about his role in a series of terrorist bombings in France. Subsequently French officials in Iran were ordered to appear before Iranian courts on trumped-up charges. Each country's embassy continues to be surrounded by the security forces of the other.

The United Kingdom, France, and the United States,  
exercising their special responsibilities in West  
Berlin, ordered the expulsion in August 1987 of Iranian  
consular officials following Iran's renewed threats of  
terrorist activities.

The United States broke diplomatic relations and imposed  
a series of trade and financial sanctions against Iran  
after official government complicity in the seizure of  
our Embassy became clear. After the hostages were  
released in January 1981, the trade and financial  
restrictions were lifted. Iran was formally placed on  
the U.S. Government's list of countries repeatedly  
supporting acts of international terrorism in January,  
1984. (Other countries now on the list are Libya,  
Syria, Cuba, and the People's Democratic Republic of  
Yemen). A number of measures, including a ban on  
Iranian imports, have been taken because of Iran's  
support for terrorism and its refusal to end the war  
with Iraq, which has threatened international shipping.  
Export controls and other economic measures have been  
taken against Iran in the past, and coupled with these  
more recent additional steps, are part of a process of  
trying to contain Iran's support for terrorism and  
subversion.

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10/27/87

CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED TERRORIST INCIDENTS  
BY IRANIAN SUPPORTED GROUPS; 1980-1987

The following is an illustrative list of terrorist incidents attributed to Iran or Iranian surrogates:

1987

- Oct 2 London. An anti-Khomeini activist and his son were shot and killed in their home. A group called "The Guardians of the Islamic Revolution and Soldiers of Imam Khomeini" claimed responsibility.
- Aug. 10 Geneva. A former Iranian Air Force pilot who had defected in February was shot by two unknown assailants. Iran is suspected.
- July 24 Geneva. An Air Afrique airliner was hijacked en route from Rome to Paris and diverted to Geneva. One French passenger was killed. The Lebanese hijacker was subdued, and Swiss police took control of the aircraft. The flight originated in Brazzaville with an intermediate stop in Bangui. The hijacker said he was affiliated with Hizballah.
- June 17 Beirut. American Charles Glass was kidnapped. Iran reportedly approved the operation, which was carried out by elements of Hizballah. Glass escaped on August 17.
- Jan. 24 Beirut. Four Beirut University College professors were kidnapped (three American citizens and one Indian U.S. permanent resident). Claimed by "Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine."
- Jan. 20 Beirut. Church of England envoy Terry Waite disappeared. Hizballah is suspected.
- Jan. 19 Kuwait. Several explosions damaged several oil installations south of Kuwait City. Iran involvement is suspected.
- Jan. 17 Beirut. German businessman Rudolph Cordes was kidnapped. Three days later, another German businessman, Alfred Schmidt, was kidnapped. "Organization of the Oppressed on Earth" claimed responsibility. Hizballah is suspected.

1986

- Dec. 25 Saudi Arabia. An Iraqi airliner en route from Baghdad to Amman crashed in Saudi Arabia following a hijacking attempt; at least 62 of the 107 persons on board were killed, including two of the four hijackers. Several groups claimed responsibility, but Iranian-backed terrorists probably were responsible.
- Oct. 26 Istanbul. A prominent Iranian dissident was killed. Iran is suspected.
- Oct. 21 Beirut. Edward Austin Tracy was kidnapped. The Revolutionary Justice Organization, a covername used by Hizballah, claimed responsibility.
- September Paris. A series of bombings was claimed by "Committee in Solidarity with Arab Political Prisoners." The French have arrested Hizballah members involved and believe this network was connected to Iran. (See December 1985 entry.)
- September Beirut. The French Military Attache was assassinated in September by a Hizballah member.
- Sept. 12 Beirut. American citizen Joseph Cicippio was kidnapped. Revolutionary Justice Organization claimed.
- Sept. 9 Beirut. American citizen Frank Reed was kidnapped. Hizballah is suspected.
- August 8 Mecca. 113 Iranian pilgrims were arrested with 51 kilos of plastic explosives.
- August New Delhi. Saudia Airline office was bombed. Other airline offices were bombed in Vienna in April and in Karachi in May. Iran is suspected.
- August 19 London. A video shop owned by an Iranian dissident was bombed; one person died. Iran is suspected.
- June Kuwait. Five explosions occurred at Kuwaiti oil installations. Iran-backed Kuwaiti Shia are suspected.
- April 28 Beirut. Two Greek Cypriots were kidnapped. The Islamic Liberation Organization, a name used by Hizballah, claimed responsibility.
- April 7 Stockholm. The Northwest Airlines office was bombed. Hizballah is suspected.

(1986 continued)

- March 8 Beirut. A four-man French TV crew was kidnapped, probably by elements of Hizballah.
- February Beirut. Seven Iraqi Ba'ath officials were killed. Dawa Party is suspected.

1985

- December Paris. A series of bombings was claimed by "Committee in Solidarity with Arab Political Prisoners." The French have arrested Hizballah members involved and believe this network was connected to Iran. (See September 1986 entry.)
- Dec. 25 Istanbul. A prominent Iranian dissident was assassinated.
- Nov. 24 Frankfurt. A car bomb exploded in a parking lot adjacent to a U.S. military shopping center. German authorities have issued an arrest warrant for an Iranian identified as having placed the bomb.
- July 12 Copenhagen. Simultaneous bombings damaged the Northwest Orient Airlines office and a synagogue; one person was killed and 26 injured. Islamic Jihad took responsibility. Hizballah is suspected.
- June 14 Lebanon. TWA 847 was hijacked by two Lebanese Shia gunmen en route to Athens from Rome and forced to land in Beirut after two round trips from Beirut to Algiers. The hijackers demanded the release of Shia prisoners. U.S. Navy Diver Robert Stethem was murdered aboard the aircraft. Hizballah gave support to the hijackers, holding 39 Americans hostage in Beirut for 17 days. ==
- June 10 Beirut. American citizen Thomas Sutherland was kidnapped. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

(1985 continued)

- May 28 Beirut. American citizen David Jacobsen was kidnapped. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility. Jacobsen was released November 2, 1986.
- May 25 Kuwait. Members of the Iranian-backed Dawa Party carried out a car-bombing on the motorcade of the Amir of Kuwait. Six people died in the explosion and ensuing melee, and 12 were injured. The Amir suffered minor injuries. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- May 22 Beirut. French citizens Jean Paul Kaufmann and Michel Seurat were kidnapped.
- March 16 Beirut. Terry Anderson was kidnapped. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- March 22 Beirut. Marcel Carton, Marcel Fontaine, and Danielle Perez of the French Embassy in Lebanon were kidnapped. Ms. Perez was released nine days later.
- January 8 Lebanon. An American priest, Rev. Lawrence Jenco, was kidnapped. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility. Rev. Jenco was released July 26, 1986.

1984

- Dec 4 Tehran. Kuwaiti Airways flight 221 carrying 166 people, including six Americans, was hijacked to Tehran. The hijackers demanded the release of prisoners held in Kuwait. Two U.S. AID officials were murdered. U.S. and Kuwaiti hostages were set apart and tortured. The Iranian Government assisted the hijackers.
- Nov Ladispoli, Italy. Seven pro-Iranian Shia were arrested for planning a car attack against the U.S. Embassy in Rome.
- Sept. 20 Beirut. The U.S. Embassy annex in East Beirut was severely damaged by a suicide car bomber. Twenty-three persons, including two Americans, were killed and at least 60 injured. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

- July 31 Tehran. An Air France airliner en route from Frankfurt to Paris was hijacked to Iran by three Lebanese Shi'a.
- July 14 Pakistan police arrested 8 Iranians suspected of planning attacks against a Pan Am office and three Saudi Arabian airlines offices. Iran is thought to have been responsible.
- May 8 Beirut. Reverend Benjamin Weir, an American clergyman, was kidnapped. He was released September 14, 1985.
- Mar. 7 Beirut. Jeremy Levin, an American journalist, was kidnapped. He escaped February 14, 1985.
- Mar. 16 Beirut. William Buckley, an American Embassy officer, was kidnapped. Islamic Jihad claimed he was "executed" in October 1985, but other evidence indicates he died from wounds inflicted during beatings while in captivity.
- Feb. 10 Beirut. Frank Regier, an American professor at the American University of Beirut, was kidnapped. He was rescued on April 15, 1984.
- Jan. 18 Beirut. Malcolm Kerr, president of the American University of Beirut, was assassinated. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

### 1983

- Oct. 23 Beirut. U.S. Marine barracks were bombed, killing 240 and wounding 70. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- Oct. 23 Beirut. Another truck filled with explosives crashed into a French MNF barracks, killing 56 and wounding 15. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- Dec. 12 Kuwait. Simultaneous bombings of U.S. and French Embassies.
- April 18 Beirut. Five U.S. Marines, part of the Multinational Peace-keeping Force, were attacked.
- April 18 Beirut. A car bomb destroyed the U.S. Embassy, killing 49 and wounding 120.

1982

March 22 Beirut. Third Secretary Ali Hajim Sultan of the Iraqi Embassy was assassinated. Iranian involvement is suspected.

1981

Sept. 4 Beirut. French Ambassador Louis Delamare was assassinated by four gunmen, Iranian-backed Lebanese Red Brigades claimed responsibility.

1980

Sept. 26 Beirut. The U.S. Embassy was struck by three rocket-propelled grenades. Iranian-sponsored "Forces of Mujahedeen" claimed responsibility.

July 22 Washington, D.C. Exiled Iranian diplomat Ali Akbar Tabatabai was assassinated in his suburban Bethesda home. The assassin was identified as Daoud Salahuddin of the "Islamic Guerillas in America."

July 18 Paris. Attempted assassination of former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar by Anis Naccache, who is serving a life sentence for the crime.

July 7 Rome. Explosions occurred at multinational corporation Snia-Techint's office. On August 8, an explosion occurred at Snia-Techint's director's home. No injuries were reported as a result of either blast. "The Guardians of the Islamic Revolution" claimed responsibility.

18