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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

August 18, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: RAYMOND TANTER RT

SUBJECT: Briefing Lyn Nofziger for his Meeting with Jewish War Veterans Organization

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Lyn Nofziger for his briefing. Chris Shoemaker drafted the section on AWACS in the speech.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

Chris Shoemaker *CS* concurs. Doug Feith *DF* concurs, also.

Attachments

Tab I RVA memo to Nofziger

Tab A Draft speech

NSC# 8104769

#4769
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RECEIVED

81 MAY 19 P 8: 01

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

JANET COLSON

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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8/20/81

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR LYN NOFZIGER

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN |S|

SUBJECT: Your Address to the Jewish War Veterans
Organization on August 21

At Tab A is a draft copy of an address you may wish to use in preparation for Friday's talk.

Sensitive items to be on alert about include: 1) the American embargo of aircraft to Israel that was just lifted; 2) U.S. policy towards the Palestinians; and 3) U.S. sale of AWACS to the Saudis.

Aircraft Suspension

The delay in the shipment of sophisticated aircraft was taken after Israel's attack on Iraq's nuclear facility on June 7 and Israel's raid on Beirut July 17. The temporary hold on the aircraft was not indicative of any reevaluation of the American commitment to Israel's security, a commitment that remains as strong as ever.

U.S. Policy Towards the Palestinians

American policy towards the Palestinians coincides with that of the Government of Israel: The U.S. is seeking to encourage the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Palestinians) to take part in the Camp David peace process. The U.S. refuses to negotiate with the Beirut-based Palestine Liberation Organization until it recognizes Israel's right to exist and accepts UN Resolutions 242 and 338, resolutions that provide the framework for the Camp David peace process.

AWACS

The sale of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) to the Saudis may be the hottest item at the meeting. Thus, you may wish to study carefully the justification for selling AWACS as outlined in the draft address at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Speech

An Address to the
Jewish War Veterans Organization
on August 21

The opportunity to address the Jewish War Veterans Organization is an occasion for which I am most grateful.

Speaking before a Veteran's group is always an honor, and addressing a group of Jewish veterans is a distinct privilege.

President Reagan sends his warm regards and has asked me to congratulate your group for making such a profound contribution to America.

Standing here before a group of veterans reminds me of a story about the representatives of three professions: medicine, architecture, and the military. They were arguing about whose profession was the oldest:

Doctor: My profession is the oldest because Eve was
created from Adam, surely a task for a surgeon.

Architect: My profession is oldest because order was
created from chaos, surely a task of an
architect.

Military Man: My profession is oldest because who do you
think created the chaos!

It is obvious, however, that the American military
is not responsible for the chaos in the world. It is the
absence of U.S. power rather than its use that contributes to
chaotic conditions. In democracies, such as America and Israel,
moreover, the military plays a vital role in ensuring the
security of the state without challenging the authority of
civilian leadership.

Now let me use the theme of American leadership as a point of departure to discuss U.S. policy towards the Middle East, with particular reference to Israel. I then shall discuss the recently lifted suspension of sophisticated aircraft scheduled for delivery to Israel, the Palestinian issue, as well as the sale of AWACS and the F-15 enhancement package to Saudi Arabia.

U.S. Policy Towards the Middle East

The two chief goals of President Reagan's Middle East policy are the promotion of Persian Gulf security and the achievement of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

The President pursues Gulf security and Arab-Israel peace as parallel endeavors. It takes strong American leadership to pursue both security and peace without sacrificing either one. The President has not allowed his security strategy in the Gulf to be held hostage to the inability to effect a comprehensive settlement in the region.

The main military threat to western oil supplies in the Gulf is the Soviet Union. It would be ironic indeed if Moscow, via the PLO's unwillingness to recognize Israel's right to exist, could exercise a veto on the Persian Gulf security strategy, a strategy that is directed against the Soviets themselves!

The direct Soviet threat to the Middle East oil fields is paralleled by the Soviet threat in the Mediterranean area

via such proxies as Libya. In this respect, Israel is a vital strategic asset that helps America to meet the Soviet threat throughout the Middle East. For example, recall how Israel worked with the U.S. in 1970 to help save Jordan from an attack led by units of the PLO supported by Syria.

Israel, as a holder of the balance of power in the Middle East, can help to stabilize the entire area. Thus, a strong Israel is essential to America's quest for regional security. The U.S. commitment to Israel, though, is deeper than a strategic analysis alone would suggest. Moral and historical ties bind America and Israel into a friendship that complements strategic considerations. Furthermore, President Reagan's long-term personal feelings for Israel reinforce America's commitment to the Jewish state.

One of the ties that binds America to Israel is the common adherence to democratic values. By the way, someone asked me once what is so important about being a democracy. My response was that a democracy is like sex: When it is good, it's very good; when it is bad, it's not that bad!

Besides sex, let me turn to three specific issues that may be on your mind -- the temporary suspension of sophisticated American-built aircraft scheduled to be delivered to Israel; U.S. policy towards the Palestinians; and the proposed sale of AWACS and the F-15 enhancement items to Saudi Arabia.

Aircraft Suspension

After Israel's June attack on Iraq's nuclear facility and the July raid on Beirut, President Reagan ordered a delay on the shipment of sophisticated aircraft destined for Israel. As you know, the President lifted that suspension on Monday. Israel's security has not been weakened by the suspension. In any event, the delay is over. The planes are on the way. The strong American commitment to Israel's security remains. The President acted decisively to impose the delay and just as decisively in lifting it.

U.S Policy Towards the Palestinians

American policy towards the Palestinians converges with Israel's approach. Egypt, Israel, and the United States agreed at Camp David to encourage the Palestinians to join the peace process. U.S. policy towards the PLO is distinct from U.S. policy towards the Palestinians. The PLO is not an acceptable partner in the peace process. America will not negotiate with the PLO until it renounces terrorism and accepts UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and accepts Israel's right to exist as a state. America and Israel also oppose creation of a new Palestinian state.

The U.S. has not recognized any country's sovereignty over the West Bank since Britain controlled the area under the old Palestine Mandate. Since the issue of sovereignty is an open question, there is no law that bars Jews from settling on the West Bank. Finally, no one should be excluded from an area simply on account of nationality or religion.

AWACS

The proposed sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia is another issue that may interest you. Although the sale is fraught with political danger, the President studied the issue and acted boldly in deciding to make the sale.

The Administration is firmly committed to the sale of AWACS and F-15 enhancement items, e.g., extra fuel tanks, missiles, and aerial refuelling tankers, to Saudi Arabia.

It is in the U.S. interest to make the sale for several reasons:

- o The security situation in the region has deteriorated over the past several years.

- o Saudi Arabia must have the capability to defend its oil fields from hostile air attack. Only an airborne radar platform, which is all AWACS really is, can provide sufficient early warning to allow successful defense of the oil fields.

- o The F-15 enhancement items improve the air defense capability of the Saudi F-15, another requirement for successful defense of the oil fields.

The sale to the Saudis only marginally affects the balance of forces in the region. The U.S. is committed to ensuring that Israel retains the capability to defeat any coalition of Arab states which might make war against it.

The current and future capabilities of Israel's air force are more than enough to deal effectively with Saudi air force, whether or not it is equipped with the items in the proposed package.

There are certain myths about AWACS which need to be dispelled.

- o AWACS cannot be used to control other Arab air forces without extensive and prior U.S. knowledge and approval;

- o AWACS cannot see targets other than airplanes;

- o Saudi Arabia could not maintain 24-hour coverage of its border with Israel for longer than a few days.

The U.S. is not proposing to sell these items to Saudi Arabia in order to do the Saudis a favor; rather it is crucial to American national interests that Saudi Arabia be able to help protect its oil assets in the most effective manner possible.

If Congress rejects the sale, the Saudis can purchase comparable equipment from other sources, and America's ability to influence Saudi use of this equipment would decrease.

Israel's friends should not perceive this proposed sale as any lessening of America's commitment to Israel's security. That commitment remains one of the pillars of the U.S. regional security strategy.

Conclusion

President Reagan's policy towards the Middle East is to pursue Persian Gulf security and Arab-Israel peace as parallel endeavors. In the quest for regional security and peace, Israel is a strategic asset and a reliable friend.

The President faced difficult problems posed by Israel's bombing of Baghdad and the fighting in Lebanon.

The temporary suspension of sophisticated aircraft to Israel served to maintain America's image as a credible mediator without weakening Israel's security.

The President continues the policy of denying the PLO recognition as long as it fails to recognize Israel's right to exist. He also acknowledges the right of Jewish settlers to live on the West Bank alongside the Palestinians.

Finally, the President has bitten the bullet on the sale of AWACS and the F-15 enhancement package to the Saudis. Given the critical role of Saudi Arabia in the Persian Gulf security strategy, the sale is in America's interests.

The chance to speak before the Jewish War Veterans

Organization has been a good experience for me personally.

It has helped to clarify some very complex issues concerning

America's Middle East policy. Of course, since I am now the

leading expert in the Administration on the Middle East,

I shall be happy to clarify all the complex issues of the

region for you!

Seriously speaking, my field is politics, not diplomacy,

and thus I am reluctant to elaborate on my remarks but am

willing to try a few friendly questions!!

Handwritten scribbles

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL



ACTION

August 13, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: DOUGLAS J. FEITH *DF*

SUBJECT: Briefing Lyn Nofziger for his Meeting
with Jewish War Veterans Organization

Nofziger requested help in preparing for his address to this organization. You suggested he "come get briefed" (Tab B). If you wish, Geoff, Ray, or I, along with Schweitzer or Shoemaker, would be happy to brief him.

If you wish to brief him yourself, I recommend you leave him with the paper attached at Tab A.

GEK
Geoff Kemp and Chris Shoemaker concur.

RECOMMENDATION:

That your Middle East and Military staff brief Nofziger.

APPROVE ✓

DISAPPROVE _____

That you brief Nofziger yourself and hand him the briefing paper attached at Tab A.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

Attachments

Tab A Briefing paper for Nofziger

Tab B Memo to RVA from Nofziger

August 13, 1981

Briefing Points for Lyn Nofziger - In Preparation for Address
to Jewish War Veterans

- o If your meeting is before the Begin visit, you should stall on all questions relating to Begin and the peace process. You should, however, reaffirm our commitment to Camp David.
- o The F-16/F-15 suspension will probably be resolved before your meeting.
- o No change in the USG's commitment to Israel's security.
- o No change in U.S. policy toward the PLO. PLO must renounce terrorism and recognize Israel's right to exist before USG will negotiate with it.
- o Administration is intent on getting AWACS deal through.
- o We view Israel as a U.S. strategic asset which can be very helpful in our efforts to arrest the deterioration in the Middle Eastern strategic picture. Thus strategic, in addition to moral and historical, ties bind us to Israel.
- o Our two main aims in the Middle East: Promote our Southwest Asian security strategy and promote Arab-Israeli peace. We are pursuing both at the same time. We do not believe that our strategy must wait upon progress toward Arab-Israeli peace.

-D-

81 AUG 6 P 2: 23

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*To Staffing
ASAP*

*Answers to
Fred
rem. pg*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1981

TO: Dick Allen
FROM: Lyn Nofziger



Help. I have been asked to address the Jewish War Veterans later this month. I need help in three areas:

1. What have we done for Israel?
2. How do I explain AWACs and the F-16's?
3. What is our general policy toward Israel and then the Middle East?

Any papers or anything you might have in this area will be appreciated.

lyn
Come get some fed.
Dick

RECEIVED 07 AUG 81 12

TO ALLEN

FROM NOFZIGER, L

DDDATE 05 AUG 81

038271

KEYWORDS: ISRAEL MIDDLE EAST

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

SUBJECT: NOFZIGER REQUESTS BRIEFING ON MIDDLE EAST PRIOR TO ADDRESS BEFORE JEWISH WAR VETERANS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ALLEN DUE: 10 AUG 81 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

KEMP

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COMMENTS

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ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Allen & E-13 (action) RTK
C 8/20 Pence and memo to Nofziger RT, SE, DF

DISPATCH et 8/20 by JW Pence / hand carried WATCH FILE W/D (C) A

June 15, 1981

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: CARNES LORD

SUBJECT: Meese Speech at Naval War College

Attached is a rough outline and some themes for the Meese speech.

Attachment: As stated

NSC# 8103508

I. Introductory Remarks

-- it is both an honor and an opportunity to address the Naval War College, particularly at a time when its attention is focused on questions of global strategy;

-- too often in the recent past, the leadership of this country has been overly preoccupied with managing its vast defense establishment and attempting to keep abreast of the scientific and technical developments which have so revolutionized warfare in our day, and has neglected the crucial, large questions concerning the character of our military strategy and the relationship of that strategy to national objectives;

-- if there is a single message I want to convey to you today, it is that times have changed; there is a new spirit abroad in the country of pride in our military and determination to strengthen our military capabilities; there is also a sense that old ways of looking at military power and its role in the world are outmoded or discredited, that we need to do some fresh and imaginative thinking in this area;

-- there is general recognition -- not only in the newspapers but in the White House, the Pentagon and I am sure among you -- that we cannot solve our military problems simply by spending more money; we need to give careful thought to what we want that money to do -- hence the need for a thorough review of the basic assumptions underpinning our military and national security policies and strategies;

-- in the first place, and above all, we need to look at our foreign and military policy not in isolation from each

other and from domestic policy, but as part of a larger national and global strategy;

-- I want to suggest today the outlines of the approach we need to take, and how this approach can provide a sound basis for understanding the naval problems facing the country and the strategy we should adopt to address them.

II. National Resources and National Policy

-- fundamental task of our national policy: to safeguard and enhance our national resources -- material, economic technological, military and moral or spiritual -- and apply them in a more coordinated and effective manner to the pursuit of our foreign policy goals; this requires

-- rational management of domestic resources of energy and other materials, and assurance of access to necessary foreign supplies;

-- restoration and improvement of the economic position of the country through revitalization of the market and encouragement of individual incentive, and through promotion of international economic policies in support of this;

-- restoration of the nation's position as world leader in science and technology;

-- restoration of the nation's military position through increased defense spending and the development of innovative strategies;

-- restoration of the nation's moral and spiritual health,

and effective communication of American ideals and achievements to foreign audiences;

-- coordination of all national resources in a coherent global strategy designed to enlarge our capacity to influence events and diminish that of our adversaries.

III. Naval Themes

-- This Administration believes that the erosion of our superiority in naval power has been one of the most serious trends of the past decade.

-- The facts of geography are such that if we are to be a world power, we must be a world sea power.

-- Alfred Thayer Mahan, distinguished faculty member of this War College, developed and articulated the crucial importance of sea power to Britain's world position in the 18th century.

-- I do not want to make facile comparisons between Britain's position then and ours now. There are great differences: England's dependence on overseas trade then was far greater than that of the United States today. Britain's geographic position, blocking the sea accesses of the European continental states, is different from ours. Most important, the weapons of war have developed in ways that have fundamentally affected some of the basic relationships between geography, politics and war.

-- Like Great Britain, however, the United States in the last half of the 20th century has vital interests beyond her shores, and they must be supported by maritime power.

-- Several of our most important interests overseas are enshrined in alliances, alliances formed because of military threats to nations whose independence is in our national interest.

-- Our most important alliance, NATO, spans an ocean. If NATO loses its ability to use the surface of the Atlantic Ocean for transportation communication, then it will have failed in its purpose as surely as if it lost a land battle in Central Europe. A fundamental component of NATO's deterrence is naval superiority in the waters linking the member states.

-- Similarly, our allies in East Asia are separated from us by water, and we must be able to reach them and be seen to be able to reach them, to support our interests.

-- The growth in size, capability, and operating range of the Soviet Navy has raised the costs to us of maintaining the naval superiority which is fundamental to our interests. The growth in the Soviet Navy has come not only in number of ships, and aircraft, but has come in the individual capabilities of those ships and aircraft, and in the operating ranges at which they can challenge us.

-- This growth in Soviet naval capability we must not only match, but we must overmatch. The facts of our overseas interests are that a tie on the oceans goes to the Soviets. We must be able to use the surface of the oceans; they win if no one can use them.

-- It is for these reasons that this Administration has embarked on a building program to remedy the erosion in our margin

of naval superiority. We will put to sea the battlegroups necessary to ensure that the United States can use for its purpose the areas of the world's oceans vital to its interests.

-- Our naval power is also important in support of our interests in other areas, and not specifically involving the Soviet Union.

-- Recent events in SW Asia have dramatized the threat to US interests including the safety of US citizens, by other countries.

-- Naval power vital in security resources for national policy -- oil from Persian Gulf. Strategic minerals, etc. (expand);

-- It was not that long ago that the Mayaguez incident reminded us that simple piracy can still occur in some regions of the world.

-- For these reasons, involving unpredictable and potentially widespread contingencies, it is important to increase the size of the Navy. One important initiative in this regard is the reactivation of four IOWA class battleships, which are old chronologically, but young in steaming years. These ships will extend the area in which we can use out naval power, operating in conjunction with our carrier battlegroups.

RECEIVED 15 JUN 81 19

TO ALLEN

FROM LORD

DOCDATE 15 JUN 81

038273

KEYWORDS: SPEECHES

MEESE, E

SUBJECT: MEESE SPEECH AT THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE: 15 JUN 81 STATUS IX FILES

FOR ACTION

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SCHWEITZER ✓

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

038349

1110
FY: FG 006-01

TO: JIM BAKER
FROM: LYN NOFZIGER
SUBJECT: VACATION
DATE: AUGUST 4, 1981



I will be on vacation beginning this Friday, August 7 into next week. You can find me in Hawaii. My office will have the hotel and phone number. You are welcome to call me anytime. My staff will alternate having someone in California while the President is there. Ed Rollins will be there the first week, Morgan Mason the second, and Paul Russo the third week. After the first week, I will be available to come out if there is any need.

cc: Mike Deaver
Ed Meese

Dg

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 27, 1981

Dear Wendell:

X

Just a note to thank you for having Frank do the "Personality" story on me. I enjoyed the interview and I have received many nice comments on the story.

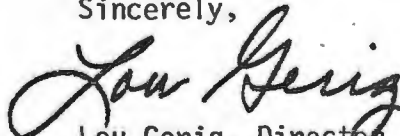
Enclosed you will find a letter to Frank, and I would appreciate it if you would see that he gets it.

I trust that all is going well with you this summer. August in Washington has been very enjoyable. With the President gone for most of the month, my life has reached normal levels again. But, come September, that will all end and it will be "off to the races."

I count many of the people at the Indianapolis News as my close personal friends, and look forward to seeing you and them when I return to Indianapolis in early September. And, I also will look forward to again hearing the now familiar words of Wendell Trogdon whenever I come back, "Once a flak, always a flak."

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,



Lou Gerig, Director
Office of Media Liaison

X

Mr. Wendell Phillippi
X Indianapolis News
307 No. Pennsylvania
Indianapolis, Indiana 46206

Dg

PY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Frank,

Thank you very much for the story you did on me. I have received many copies along with several letters saying that people had seen it and how well that it was done.

It was my honor to visit with you and I appreciate the way you were able to capture the spirit of the people who work at the White House.

I hope that things are going well for you and that you are enjoying a good summer. Our family is enjoying August with the non-traditional Washington weather. Again thank you again.

Sincerely,
Lou Gehrig

[Handwritten signature]

CONFERENCE REPORT

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MEETING: Treasury Issues
DATE: June 26, 1981
PARTICIPANTS: Ed Meese, Don Regan, Ken Cribb,
Ed Thomas
cc: E. Meese
D. Regan
C. Fuller
K. Cribb

ITEM

ACTION

1. Assassination Report. D. Regan presented E. Meese with the official evaluation of the performance of the Secret Service during the assassination attempt. The important procedures worked well, although there were minor glitches. The agents themselves performed well. D. Regan emphasized the sensitive nature of the report. Treasury will prepare a one- or two-page executive summary for review by E. Meese.

DR

2. Presidential Involvement in Cabinet Councils. E. Meese indicated that he has asked M. Deaver to set aside five to nine hours a week for Presidential participation in the Cabinet/Cabinet Council system. E. Meese indicated that D. Regan could count on two hours a month of the President's time, divided between meetings as necessary. Presidential participation in the Economic Affairs meeting should involve three elements:

I. BRIEFINGS

- A. State of the Economy: regular briefings on basic economic information keying on inflation, interest rates, and jobs.
- B. Key Economic Decisions: a report on economic decisions and recommendations of which the President should be aware.
- C. Early Warning: a report on events of economic significance likely to occur in 30 to 90 days.

II. CONSENT CALENDAR

A presentation of issues on which consensus has been reached by all appropriate entities wishing to comment, where the only issue is whether the President concurs.

III. DECISION ITEMS

A presentation of views on issues on which differences remain and which the President must decide.

DR;KC

3. Cabinet Council Procedures. E. Meese emphasized that issues should be fed into the Office of Cabinet Administration as soon as they arise. E. Meese is discussing with O.C.A. a new computerized Cabinet Matter tracking system (see attached sample).
DR;KC
4. International Economic Issues: D. Regan pointed out that several international issues with major economic components have escaped his scrutiny (e.g. Caribbean economic arrangements). E. Meese indicated that C. Fuller and D. Darman should advise D. Regan when such issues come to their attention.
5. Duplication of Work on Cross-cutting Issues. D. Regan pointed out that Bill Brock had designated a new assistant for the World Bank and I.D.A. Since D. Regan has been designated as U.S. Governor of the World Bank, he believes that Brock's action is duplicative and confusing. E. Meese indicated that before officials with new duties are appointed, there should be a central clearing mechanism to guard against duplication.
EM
6. Mississippi Tax-exempt Private Schools: E. Meese asked that the Administration's legal position be evaluated vis a vis the court order to deny tax-exempt status to private schools in Mississippi found to practice discrimination. In the meantime, Treasury should take no action which would prejudge the outcome of such an evaluation. Ken Cribb will coordinate with Treasury, Justice, White House Counsel, and O.P.D.
DR;KC

