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[1975]

By The Associated Press

A Vietcong soldier decorated this photograph of himself with the star symbol of the National Liberation Front, the Vietcong's political organization. It was found in a notebook on his body after he was killed in a battle.

*Jim  
M  
J*

# Retreat

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By Robert Thompson

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Union will further strengthen the security of its base and the can-win, can't-lose strategic initiative both for

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*File* | *Vietnam*  
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NEWS CONFERENCE

#186

AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH RON NESSEN

AT 12:03 P.M. EDT

April 9, 1975

WEDNESDAY

MR. NESSEN: The President has been meeting in his office this morning with various advisers, mostly working on the foreign policy speech for tomorrow night.

As most of you know, the President decided not to go to the Kennedy Center last night with Mrs. Ford so that he could continue to work on the speech, and other matters. He worked in his office last night from 8:05 to 10:45.

Q By himself?

MR. NESSEN: Most of the time by himself.

Q Ron, have you any idea at the moment how much time the President will take tomorrow night?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know.

This afternoon, we have added to the schedule a bipartisan Congressional leaders' meeting at 1:00. He will discuss with the leaders at that time some of the foreign policy issues he is going to talk about tomorrow night. I will attend the meeting and see what we can say afterward.

Q Would you possibly bring some of the leaders out here?

MR. NESSEN: I will check on that.

Q Who are the leaders?

MR. NESSEN: I have not gotten a list of attendees. I know Rhodes and Albert are in China, so they obviously won't come. I will get a list of who is participating and I will see what we can do afterward in the way of a briefing by them or me.

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Q Is Senator Jackson among them?

MR. NESSEN: If you want to take pictures or film that at the beginning, you can do that.

This morning at 10:30, the President also had another meeting that did not appear on the schedule. That was with Max Fisher. Max Fisher is a retired businessman from Michigan and a friend of the President's.

He has been on a visit to Israel, a private and personal visit, and he came in to talk to the President.

Q Did he bring any letters?

MR. NESSEN: He did not either take or bring any letters.

Q Does that mean he was not on a job for the President?

MR. NESSEN: That is right.

Q But he is bringing him his views?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know what they talked about, Helen.

Q Did he combine both a job for the President and personal and private business?

MR. NESSEN: He did not go as an emissary of the President.

Q He was on his own?

MR. NESSEN: That is right.

Q Did he discuss with the President what he discussed with the Israeli leaders?

MR. NESSEN: Dick, I didn't attend the meeting.

Q Is that why the NSC meeting was delayed?

MR. NESSEN: No, there were several other things to do before the NSC meeting.

Q Ron, you said yesterday you would ask --

MR. NESSEN: I didn't get an answer for you, Les.

Q There is no answer to this?

MR. NESSEN: I said I didn't get an answer.

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Q Oh, you raised the question, but didn't get an answer?

MR. NESSEN: At 2:00 this afternoon, the President is going to greet 2,000 youth delegates to the National Explorer President's Congress, who are in Washington for their annual meeting. That may be delayed a shade past 2:00, incidentally. It is scheduled for 2:00, but the Congressional leaders' meeting may run a little late.

It will be on the South Lawn, and there will be open coverage, and the President will speak briefly.

Before going out on the lawn, the President is going to meet in his office with the outgoing president of the Explorers, whose name is Miss Mary Wright, and the newly elected president who was chosen by the delegates this morning, and whose name I don't have, because he or she was just chosen.

Q What is this?

MR. NESSEN: This is the Explorer President's Congress that is going on.

Q What is the hometown of Miss Wright?

MR. NESSEN: We will check.

Q Who is doing the briefing today -- Ford, Kissinger and Schlesinger.

MR. NESSEN: Where is that, Helen?

Q At the bipartisan leaders' meeting.

MR. NESSEN: It has not been held yet, but I would assume that the President will speak for his own foreign policy.

I am sorry, I don't have a hometown on her, but we can get that for you.

Q Ron, is the NSC Meeting underway yet?

MR. NESSEN: Yes. It began at about 11:25.

Q What delayed it?

MR. NESSEN: Some other business the President was doing.

Q You can't tell us what?

MR. NESSEN: It was just other business, Fran.



Q Who was there?

MR. NESSEN: The regular attendees at the NSC meetings.

Q Any NSC staff in there?

MR. NESSEN: I don't think we normally give the list of participants of the NSC meetings.

Q Just generally, without listing the staff people, who is going over these options?

MR. NESSEN: Let me check and see. I don't know who is in there. I know the major participants.

The Prime Minister of Tunisia, His Excellency Hedi Nouria, has accepted the President's invitation to make an official visit to the United States. He will meet with the President on May 1st.

The President will host a working dinner at the White House in honor of the Prime Minister on the evening of May 1. During his visit, Prime Minister Nouria will meet with other high level officials of the Administration and Members of Congress.

This visit reflects the traditionally close and friendly relations which exist between the United States and Tunisia.

Q Doesn't that pretty well preclude any possibility of the President attending the April 29th meeting?

MR. NESSEN: I had not heard of any --

We have a couple of personnel announcements.

I think you have already been given the announcement that the President intends to nominate Alfred D. Starbird, of Alexandria, Virginia, to be Assistant Administrator of the Energy Research and Development Agency.

Q Is that General Starbird or is that another Starbird?

MR. NESSEN: Yes, it is General Starbird.

The President is announcing his intention to nominate James G. Watt, of Wheatland, Wyoming, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission. You have biographies of both of them.

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You should also have the text of a letter from the President to the Speaker of the House and the President Pro Tem of the Senate requesting a 4-year extension to the Reorganization Act of 1949.

You should have a Presidential proclamation designating May 1 as Law Day, U.S.A.

For those who are interested, we have copies you can pick up in the Press Office of the second quarterly report of the Council on Wage and Price Stability.

Q Ron, apropos of your statement to the Press Club the other night that all questions are tracked down, I was wondering if you tracked down Fran's question when she asked, what is the President's reaction to the FBI exoneration of the agents that knocked down the door in Alexandria?

MR. NESSEN: I didn't know they had been exonerated, Les.

Q That certainly is the thrust of the report of Clarence Kelley. Now, what is the President's reaction to this report of Clarence Kelley?

MR. NESSEN: I don't have any reaction to give you, Les.

Q You said you were going to check on that yesterday, Ron.

MR. NESSEN: I have not had time to do it.

Q I see.

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Q Do you have any reaction to the charge of Senator Jackson?

MR. NESSEN: "Assurances to the Republic of Vietnam as to both U.S. assistance and U.S. enforcement of the Paris agreement were stated clearly and publicly by President Nixon.

"The publicly stated policy and intention of the United States government to continue to provide adequate economic and military assistance and to react vigorously to major violations of the Paris agreement reflected confidential exchanges between the Nixon administration and President Thieu at the time.

"In substance, the private exchanges do not differ from what was stated publicly. The law of 1973, of course, ruled out the possibility of American military reaction to violations of the agreement."

Now, I can give you, if you would like to see it, the publicly stated assurances at the time.

Q Whose statement is this, the President's statement?

MR. NESSEN: It is my statement.

Q What is the time that is referred to in the statement? When were the confidential agreements made?

MR. NESSEN: What confidential agreements?

Q Private, whatever you call them.

Q Confidential exchanges you said between the Nixon administration and President Thieu at the time?

MR. NESSEN: That was during the period of the negotiation of the Paris agreement.

Q Before the signing?

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q Can we see them?

MR. NESSEN: No, I don't think so.

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Q If they do not differ in substance from what was stated publicly, why can't the private communications be made public at this time?

MR. NESSEN: I think you know, Mort, that normally private communications between the heads of state are not made public.

Q Are you saying, in effect, that we did give assurances which were nullified by Congress? Is that a proper sum-up?

MR. NESSEN: The assurances that were given are on this sheet of paper that you are being handed now.

Q I mean, is that a fair statement?

MR. NESSEN: I think the statement does not need very much elaboration, Helen. It was pretty fairly stated.

Q Were these exchanges written between the two governments?

MR. NESSEN: There were a whole range of exchanges at the Embassy here, the Embassy in Saigon, various communications.

Q But were they verbal or written? Were any of them written?

MR. NESSEN: I said there were exchanges, and I think it would be fair to say both verbal and written.

Q Was Congress informed?

MR. NESSEN: Everyone has the assurances that were given because they are on this piece of paper.

Q No, was it informed that these were in writing?

MR. NESSEN: Helen, that is before my time here.

Q Why can't you ask Kissinger?

Q Have you been able to trace any background material to supplement what President Nixon might have had in mind, what he might have done on the basis of the statement that the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern with regard to a violation?

Is there any elaboration of what he might have had in mind, what action he might have taken?



MR. NESSEN: I don't really think that I can speak for what he had in mind, Ralph.

Q Ron, how can the American people be certain that the confidential written exchanges do not go beyond the subsequent statements by the President, beyond a statement by you and not even by the President, that they are substantially the same?

MR. NESSEN: Let me say this, that this statement -- even though I am issuing it -- certainly reflects the President's views.

Q Ron, would you say that these private exchanges included letters from former President Nixon to President Thieu?

MR. NESSEN: There were all ranges of exchanges.

Q Would it include that?

Q Who were they from, Ron?

MR. NESSEN: The exchanges involved various levels and various people.

Q Did they involve the Presidents of the two countries?

MR. NESSEN: There were some letters between the two Presidents.

Q Were there verbal exchanges of which there is no recording?

MR. NESSEN: Don't forget, none of us were here in those days, but my understanding is that there were various missions that went out there--publicly known missions. Dr. Kissinger went, General Haig went several times, and I assume they talked to each other.

Q Since Senator Jackson's charge and since the preparation of your statement, did you or any other office in the White House contact former President Nixon to ask him if there was anything beyond what you have stated here?

You said it was clearly and publicly stated by President Nixon. Did he give you a personal assurance?

MR. NESSEN: I have not talked to the former President.



Q Has anyone? Is there any record?

MR. NESSEN: Not that I am aware of.

Q Ron, which law of 1973 are you talking about -- Cooper-Church, which came first, or War Powers, which came after that?

MR. NESSEN: Which was the August 15?

Q Not War Powers, because that was November.

MR. NESSEN: Cooper-Church.

Q Ron, does the President plan to show or submit to Senator Jackson these confidential exchanges, which he requested in his statement?

MR. NESSEN: I didn't know that he had requested it.

Q He requested, rather, that they be made public. I am sorry.

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q When did this come to the President's attention?

MR. NESSEN: What?

Q When did President Ford learn of these letters that were exchanged?

MR. NESSEN: The President a day or so after taking office was given a paper by the NSC in which all the assurances that had been given to South Vietnam were presented to him.

Q Ron, does the Administration have any reason to believe that Senator Jackson knew of these specific exchanges or some of them when he made the statement that he did yesterday?

MR. NESSEN: I have no way of knowing that, Lou.

Q You didn't answer my question. Does the President intend to make public these exchanges that Senator Jackson requested?

MR. NESSEN: The exchanges -- and there were various kinds of exchanges -- in the course of normal diplomacy are not normally made public.



Q Ron, this is not the normal situation where the Senator has requested what he called a secret agreement.

MR. NESSEN: I have not seen the request, Peter.

Q Has Senator Jackson communicated with the White House and asked specifically for the release?

MR. NESSEN: Not that I know of.

Q Ron, these statements refer obliquely to the possibility that we might intervene militarily, but they don't, so far as I can see, state specifically that a major violation would lead to resumed United States military intervention.

At the time of the Paris accords, various people from South Vietnam, and lately the South Vietnamese Ambassador, have said that those assurances were made explicitly.

From your information, do you know that President Nixon or some other official of the Nixon administration specifically promised the South Vietnamese that we would intervene militarily with our own military equipment in the event of a major violation?

MR. NESSEN: As far as I know, the private confidential assurances do not differ in substance from what the public assurances were.

Q Ron, to follow that up, though --

MR. NESSEN: The law has made the whole question moot.

Q That is what I was going to say, that it seems to me here in the statement that you have issued of Mr. Nixon's statement, he says, "We will not tolerate violations."

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q In effect, we are tolerating them right now. Is this because the law has changed what the President could do?

MR. NESSEN: Doesn't the statement say that, of course. The law rules out the possibility of American military reaction?



Q I am asking if that is in fact why we are tolerating them, because of the law? In other words, there was an agreement which we can't carry out.

MR. NESSEN: The former President gave the assurances, which you see on here, as well as private ones, which are in substance the same. The law of 1973 forbids the re-introduction of American military forces.

Q Ron, you are confirming then, aren't you -- it says Nixon said that in effect that he would react vigorously to major violations, so aren't you confirming that there was some sort of tacit agreement that the United States would reintervene militarily until Congress passed the law forbidding it?

Aren't you confirming that there was in fact an agreement for American military intervention in the event of a massive violation?

MR. NESSEN: I think you have to read this, Walt. These were the public assurances, the private communications are in substance the same, and the law was passed in 1973. This is a set of facts that is incontestable.

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Q Ron, what did the President mean when he said, "would not tolerate"? What did he convey to the South Vietnamese he meant by that?

MR. NESSEN: I suppose you need to ask him, Fran.

Q Ron, wait. Let's get back. I want to ask a question on this very point.

Now, you have given us a piece of paper with some language by the former President of the United States which is not specific at all. The actions of the United States government, as you know, can vary from a stern note; they can vary from public statements by a President; they could vary to sending a fleet in; they can vary to sending B-52 bombers over.

What we are asking, and I think what we need to know in light of the fact that you have now said that these communications are in substance the same as the piece of paper you gave us, were they any more specific? Did it list any particular, at any time, military option? I think we need to know that.

MR. NESSEN: They were, in substance, the same as the public statements.

Q Have you read them?

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q Ron, that is not answering the question.

Q Ron, were some of the assurances made privately by President Nixon subsequently neutralized or negated by the Congressional action?

MR. NESSEN: I think the statement says that, does it not?

Q No.

Q Not quite.

MR. NESSEN: Let me hear the question again.

Q Some of the private assurances that President Nixon, or other members of the Administration, at that time made to President Thieu or other South Vietnamese officials, were some of those assurances neutralized or negated by Congressional action?



MR. NESSEN: Well, there were two assurances given, both publicly and privately. One, continued economic and military aid; two, what he called vigorous -- whatever it is, whatever the expression is.

Q Vigorous reactions.

MR. NESSEN: -- vigorous reaction to any violations.

Now, the law of August, 1973, ruled out any American military reaction to any violation.

Q But you have not answered the question of whether the assurances included that. I mean "vigorous reaction" could be a tough Presidential statement. I think you need to be more specific here.

MR. NESSEN: The private assurances are the same in substance as the public (assurances).

Q The private assurances contain only that kind of language, "vigorous reaction," or did it spell out more specifically what the United States might do?

MR. NESSEN: The private assurances were the same in substance, Tom.

Q Ron, the transcript will tell us as soon as it is out, but I think you just said that the Congressional action did in fact negate vigorous reaction.

MR. NESSEN: As I say, it certainly -- no, I hope I didn't say that because I didn't mean to say that.

Q The statement says that, does it not?

MR. NESSEN: The law of 1973 ruled out the possibility of American military reaction to any violations of the cease-fire.

Q You are not equating vigorous reaction with military reaction?

MR. NESSEN: I mean that is a fact what the law did, Steve.

Q Ron, without going into the question of what this says right here, how do you respond simply to the simple question: Was military intervention promised?

MR. NESSEN: Whatever was promised in these public statements was in substance the same as what was promised or assured in private communications.

Q Why do you say "in substance"? I mean, you understand that the term "in substance" includes what was specifically agreed to and it is an important question, whether vigorous reaction in the public statement is the same as military intervention in the private statement. I mean, it is a very important point and I don't see why you cannot address it.

MR. NESSEN: I don't see that it is all that important a point, Mort. For one thing, the whole thing is moot. Secondly, I have read some of the communications and while the wording is different, the substance is the same.

Q In other words, Ron, what you are saying in this thing right here is, in substance, the private exchanges do not differ from what was stated publicly, and what that means is that Senator Jackson is incorrect in his charge about secret agreements? Is that what you are saying or not?

MR. NESSEN: I didn't hear myself say that.

Q Well, I mean, are we to draw this conclusion? You are making a statement. You are denying Senator Jackson, or what, Ron, because this was raised yesterday and you said you would ask.

MR. NESSEN: I would not tell you what conclusions to draw from that.

Q Ron, you were saying that the law made this moot. The Vietnam War is not a normal thing. It is something which the American people have been aggitated on for a very long time.

If, in fact, whatever agreement we have made has been made moot by that law, why can't you dispel this sort of doubt that is here by telling is a little bit about those private agreements beyond saying that they are in substance the same as the public ones?

MR. NESSEN: What more can I tell you, Lou?

Q You can tell us whether military action was specifically promised in those private agreements.

MR. NESSEN: I think I am going to stay with the statement, which is that the --

Q Well, Ron, can you say that military action was definitely excluded in the private statements?

MR. NESSEN: I think I am just going to say that in substance, the private and public communications were the same.

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Q Ron, look, the South Vietnamese are now accusing us of going back on a specific commitment that we made; namely, to use military force in the event of a major violation.

Now, are the South Vietnamese correct or are they incorrect in making that charge?

MR. NESSEN: I am just going to stick to the public statements and the statement that the private communications do not differ in substance.

Q Ron, was the initial agreement between the U.S. government and the South Vietnamese government both in what was written and including what the Secretary of State has called moral obligation, narrow assurances given or inferences given that the U.S. had an open option on what it meant by vigorous reaction, but that the Congressional action of 1973 eliminated the military from this inference?

MR. NESSEN: I don't get the thrust of your question.

Q The gist of it is that the United States left its options open, what it would interpret as vigorous reaction, in case of North Vietnamese major violation and in this sense that Saigon was given to understand the United States had a wide range of options and, therefore, agreed to the Paris agreement and later Congress curtailed the power of the Administration to interpret the reaction. Is that what happened?

MR. NESSEN: I still don't understand what you are driving at, but I really do need to emphasize that -- I mean, the point of it all is that what you have here in the way of public statements and what was said in private communications do not differ in their substance.

Q Then you are saying that it was deliberately or diplomatically vague, Ron?

MR. NESSEN: Pardon?

Q You are saying that it was deliberately vague, imprecise as to what the reaction would be, because that is what this is.

MR. NESSEN: I just don't have any idea what the intention was when those statements were written.



Q Ron, has General Haig been asked to detail the verbal communications that he carried back and forth, specifically whether he gave any interpretation to what the statement of not tolerating violations means?

MR. NESSEN: Secretary Kissinger, who was here at the time, has filled in the verbal communications that he recalls being given.

Q Ron, was Saigon given to understand that to react vigorously could conceivably include U.S. military action? There must be some records in the U.S. government of the power of conversation between the government people here and the people in Saigon and the State Department negotiators in Paris and so on.

This, "to react vigorously," at the time that it was given, did this include the possibility of military action by the United States?

MR. NESSEN: Dick, I think we just have to stick with the words as they were given.

Q Ron, right here in this public statement, isn't this diplomatic language which would suggest military action? He says, "I would only suggest that based on my actions over the past four years that the North Vietnamese should not" --

MR. NESSEN: That is why I say there is no difference in substance between what is stated here and what is said in the private communications, and that is why I cannot understand the --

Q Ron, why did you say private communications if it is all the same?

MR. NESSEN: They go on all the time, as you know, Peter. In the normal course of things, there are private communications I suppose virtually every day between nations.

Q Are you saying to us, Ron, that the reason that the private communications were not held to add something to this, that the purpose of the private exchanges were not to add some other dimension or some additional material to these things we have here? Is that correct?

MR. NESSEN: I would say that the words of the private communication are different.



Q Are different?

MR. NESSEN: Are different, yes. I mean, they use different words.

Q Are they more specific?

MR. NESSEN: I don't think I can characterize them that way. The words are different in the private communications, but the end result is that the two assurances were given privately that were given publicly -- economic and military assistance, one; and two, a vigorous reaction to any violation of the agreement.

Q Ron, since the North Vietnamese began this year's spring offensive, have we lived up to that part of the agreement, and if so, what have we done?

MR. NESSEN: I am sorry. I didn't hear the first part of your question.

Q What has been our "vigorous reaction" since the North Vietnamese moved two more divisions down to the South, put 3,500 men on the border, increased their infiltration and attacked Bon Me Thuot and all those good things? What has been our vigorous reaction?

MR. NESSEN: I think I know what you are driving at, and I think you know the answer, Steve. The law of 1973 forbids the reintroduction of any American military forces.

Q Will you describe the January note that we referred to here a couple of weeks ago as a vigorous reaction?

MR. NESSEN: Again, I don't know what you are driving at, Steve, but that certainly was an effort by the United States to urge the other nations of the Paris peace accords, to persuade North Vietnam --

Q That is a very serious thing. A government that is a friend of ours has accused us of renegeing on a very serious commitment, and you are not denying it?

You are neither confirming nor denying in the State Department parlance, and that is kind of a serious situation. I wonder if you can clarify that.

MR. NESSEN: I can't, beyond what I have said, Steve.



Q Since you, yourself, have again emphasized that the possibility of military force is barred, would he want to use military force if he still had the authority to do it?

MR. NESSEN: I think that is probably the same question we got in Palm Springs. I think you were there, weren't you?

Q Yes.

MR. NESSEN: I thought I said the President had neither the inclination nor the authority to do it. I thought that was brought up out there.

Helen?

Q Aside from the fact that President Thieu can read newspapers, were there any exchanges after the law was passed which would say that all bets were off? I mean, was Thieu then told that previous promises were no longer on the books even though he knows Congressional action would nullify it?

MR. NESSEN: I am not familiar with all the communications that went on over the years. I did take a look at the ones that involved this particular period.

Q Ron, your statement says that the United States government promised to continue to provide adequate economic and military assistance. Do either the public statements or the private assurances say this is anything beyond military aid? Do either of them imply use of United States military force, manpower, planes or ships in that area?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I think you have mixed up the two assurances, Ted. One was for economic and military aid and the other was for a vigorous American reaction to any violation of the Paris accords by the other side.

Q Ron, when you say "assistance," this President's statement referring to assistance --

MR. NESSEN: In this particular instance --

Q -- means arms, not men? Is that right?

MR. NESSEN: "To continue to provide adequate economic and military assistance" refers not to any American military intervention.

Q Ron, could you please give me some guidance, just a yes or no answer. Would we be wrong to conclude, judging by the language of the Nixon promises, that vigorous reactions in the private conversations meant American military force? Would we be wrong to conclude that the private actions meant that, that the private communications -- referring to vigorous reactions -- mean American military force?



MR. NESSEN: I don't want to tell you what conclusions to reach.

Q Ron, on the other part of the agreement, were there any specific levels of military and economic aid provided for in the private communications?

MR. NESSEN: No.

You mean numbers?

Q Yes.

MR. NESSEN: No.

Q Now, the agreement provides for one-for-one replacement of used up or worn out military supplies.

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q Did the commitment on the part of the United States go beyond that at all?

MR. NESSEN: In the private communications?

Q Yes.

MR. NESSEN: The commitment for aid?

Q Yes.

MR. NESSEN: No.

Q Ron, is President Ford confident that he was shown all there was to see when he was shown these private assurances?

MR. NESSEN: So far as he knows.

Q Ron, you said you have read some of the communications. Can you tell us, did you select these? Were they given to you? You are indicating that you have not read all of them.

MR. NESSEN: I said I did not read all of the communications that went back and forth over the years. I read the ones that I thought were pertinent.

Q Ron, are you specifically denying that we promised the South Vietnamese military aid?

MR. NESSEN: What do you mean, military aid? Do you mean supplies?

Q You said "vigorous reaction" covered military aid. Are you denying this?

MR. NESSEN: All I am saying is that --



Q Military intervention as part of vigorous reaction in case of massive violations of the Paris agreement. Are you specifically denying that this did not exist --

MR. NESSEN: I am saying that the wording in the private communications was different, but that in substance, it added up to the same thing, that there were two assurances given -- one for economic and military supplies; and secondly, a vigorous reaction to any violation.

Q Are you denying that "vigorous reaction" included military intervention and help, if needed?

MR. NESSEN: I think I will stay with what I said.

Q Ron, can you tell us why the President does not have the inclination to use any military force in this situation?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know that I can answer that, Phil. You probably ought to ask him at the next news conference.

Q Ron, I want to get back to the statement that you have issued and answered later. You said that the whole question of nuances here is really moot because of the action that Congress took. The fact is that the President who gave the assurances signed that bill, he did not veto it, number one.

Secondly, during the debate on the floor in the Congress, do you recall at any time that the Secretary of State or the President of the United States said that this legislation, if enacted, would cause the U.S. to renege on a commitment made privately?

MR. NESSEN: I am not familiar with the entire debate, Jim, but I believe if I recall the debate correctly, there was some indication from the White House that -- I tell you, it is on the record, Jim, because I have the record here in front of me. I just don't think it is proper for me to explain what the motives or actions of the previous administration might have been.

Q Where should we look for the record?

MR. NESSEN: You cannot find it in the record?

Q The point is, here in connection with what you are saying today; the point is that the action of the Congress did not make moot what private assurances may have been made in the way of military action because it was the action of the President which made this the law.



MR. NESSEN: Well --

Q Is that not true? I mean, answer the question.

MR. NESSEN: I am not sure that I said anything about Congress doing anything. I say the point is moot, which you would have to agree with.

Q Ron, can you tell us, from your study of these private exchanges, whether the South Vietnamese interpreted those exchanges to mean that vigorous reaction would mean the use of military force, intervention?

MR. NESSEN: I have no way of knowing what the South Vietnamese concluded.

Q Well, would you read both sides?

MR. NESSEN: I read one side.

Q Just one side?

Q Are you surprised that the South Vietnamese take the position that they are taking?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know what position they took.

MORE



Q How about the wire report? I seem to recall this morning that General Brown had been discussing bombing as an option. Is this included in the vigorous business or what? Does the President have any reaction to this report?

MR. NESSEN: I say that the President has no inclination or authority to reintroduce American military force.

Q And that applies?

MR. NESSEN: I have something here that I can give you.

Is anybody filing?

Q We are happy to listen to anything you have to say.

MR. NESSEN: The President is gratified that the House Budget Committee has taken the initiative to set a ceiling on government spending for fiscal year 1976, even though it is not required by law until next year.

He is gratified by what they have done so far, although he thinks the ceiling figure they have picked is too high. He also feels that he would like the Budget Committee to go further, rather than setting an overall budget ceiling, to go beyond that and set recommended amounts for major program categories -- farm, HEW, defense and so forth.

The President hopes that the establishment of the Budget Committee would instill a new sense of responsibility for the total Federal spending, and the President sees this hope as having a chance of fulfillment by the fact that the Budget Committee has adopted his proposal for a 5 percent ceiling on Federal pay increases and a ceiling somewhat higher than his of, 7 percent on the increases in other programs tied to the cost of living.

As we have mentioned before, if the spending proposals that are already underway in Congress were all passed, the budget deficit would go to possibly \$100 billion and the total spending would be \$380 billion to \$400 billion.

The House Budget Committee resolution goes to the floor of the House for final action, and the President hopes that at that time the full membership would modify the figure and lower it to his upper limit, which he believes is \$60 billion on the deficit.



Q Ron, one very quick question on that. You make it sound like they did this in reaction to the President's request, but they had been planning to set the ceiling for weeks.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END (AT 12:45 P.M. EDT)

#186



[Roll No. 581]

YEAS—237

Abdnor	Grassley	Nowak
Alexander	Guyer	Obey
Anderson, Ill.	Hagedorn	O'Brien
Andrews, N.C.	Hamilton	Ottinger
Andrews, N. Dak.	Hammer-	Passman
Archer	schmidt	Patman, Tex.
Armstrong	Hansen	Pattison, N.Y.
Ashley	Hastings	Pettis
Aspin	Hays, Ohio	Pickle
Bafalis	Heckler, Mass.	Poage
Baldus	Henderson	Pressler
Baucus	Hicks	Preyer
Beard, Tenn.	Hightower	Price
Bell	Hillis	Pritchard
Bergland	Hinshaw	Quie
Bevill	Holland	Quillen
Blester	Horton	Railsback
Bingham	Hubbard	Randall
Bowen	Hungate	Rangel
Breaux	Hutchinson	Rees
Breckinridge	Hyde	Regula
Brinkley	Ichord	Rhodes
Brooks	Jarman	Rinaldo
Broomfield	Jeffords	Risenhoover
Brown, Mich.	Johnson, Colo.	Roberts
Broyhill	Johnson, Pa.	Robinson
Buchanan	Jones, Ala.	Rogers
Burgener	Jones, Okla.	Ryan
Burleson, Tex.	Jones, Tenn.	Sarasin
Burison, Mo.	Jordan	Satterfield
Butler	Karth	Scheuer
Carter	Kasten	Schneebell
Casey	Kazen	Schulze
Cederberg	Kelly	Sebelius
Chappell	Kemp	Seiberling
Chisholm	Ketchum	Shipley
Clancy	Keys	Shriver
Clausen	Kindness	Shuster
Don E.	Krueger	Sikes
Cleveland	LaFalce	Simon
Cochran	Lagomarsino	Skubitz
Cohen	Landrum	Slack
Collins, Tex.	Latta	Smith, Nebr.
Conable	Leggett	Snyder
Conte	Litton	Solars
Coughlin	Lloyd, Calif.	Stanton
Crane	Lloyd, Tenn.	J. William
Daniel, Dan.	Long, La.	Steelman
Daniel, R. W.	Lott	Steiger, Wis.
de la Garza	McClory	Stevens
Dent	McCloskey	Stratton
Derwinski	McCollister	Stuckey
Deyne	McCormack	Symington
Dickinson	McDade	Symms
Downing, Va.	McDonald	Talcott
Duncan, Oreg.	McEwen	Taylor, Mo.
Eckhardt	McFall	Taylor, N.C.
Edwards, Ala.	McKay	Teague
English	Madigan	Thone
Erlenborn	Mahon	Thornton
Eshleman	Mann	Ullman
Evans, Colo.	Matsunaga	Vander Jagt
Fenwick	Mazzoli	Waggonner
Findley	Meeds	Walsh
Fish	Melcher	Wampler
Flowers	Meyner	Whalen
Flynt	Michel	White
Foley	Milford	Whitten
Forsythe	Mills	Wiggins
Fountain	Mitchell, N.Y.	Wilson, Bob
Fraser	Montgomery	Wilson, C. H.
Frenzel	Moore	Wilson, Tex.
Frey	Moorhead,	Winn
Fuqua	Calif.	Wirth
Gibbons	Moorhead, Pa.	Wright
Gilman	Morgan	Wyllie
Goldwater	Mosher	Young, Alaska
Gonzales	Murtha	Young, Fla.
Goodling	Myers, Ind.	Young, Tex.
Gradison	Myers, Pa.	Zablocki
	Nichols	

NAYS—176

Abzug	Bonker	Cornell
Adams	Brademas	Cotter
Addabbo	Brodhead	D'Amours
Ambro	Brown, Calif.	Daniels, N.J.
Anderson, Calif.	Burke, Calif.	Danielson
Annunzio	Burke, Fla.	Davis
Ashbrook	Burke, Mass.	Deaney
Badillo	Burton, John	Dehums
Barrett	Burton, Phillip	Derrick
Bauman	Byron	Diggs
Beard, R.I.	Carney	Dodd
Bedell	Carr	Downey, N.Y.
Bennett	Clawson, Del.	Drinan
Blanchard	Clay	Duncan, Tenn.
Blouin	Collins, Ill.	du Pont
Boggs	Conlan	Early
Boland	Conyers	Edgar
	Corman	Edwards, Calif.

Ellberg	Lehman	Richmond
Emery	Lent	Ridge
Esch	Levitas	Rodino
Evans, Ind.	Long, Md.	Roe
Fascell	Lujan	Roncalio
Fisher	McHugh	Rooney
Fithian	McKinney	Rose
Flood	Madden	Rosenthal
Florio	Maguire	Rostenkowski
Ford, Mich.	Martin	Roush
Ford, Tenn.	Mathis	Roybal
Gaydos	Mezvinsky	Runnels
Gialmo	Mikva	Russo
Ginn	Miller, Calif.	St Germain
Green	Miller, Ohio	Santini
Gude	Mineta	Sarbanes
Haley	Minish	Schroeder
Hall	Mink	Sharp
Hanley	Mitchell, Md.	Smith, Iowa
Hannafoord	Moakley	Spellman
Harkin	Moffett	Stanton
Harrington	Mollohan	James V.
Harris	Moss	Stark
Harsha	Motti	Steiger, Ariz.
Hawkins	Murphy, Ill.	Stokes
Hayes, Ind.	Murphy, N.Y.	Studds
Hechler, W. Va.	Natcher	Thompson
Hefner	Neal	Traxler
Heinz	Nedzi	Tsongas
Helstoski	Nix	Vander Veer
Holt	Nolan	Vanik
Holtzman	Oberstar	Vigorito
Howard	O'Hara	Waxman
Howe	O'Neill	Weaver
Hughes	Patten, N.J.	Whitehurst
Jacobs	Patterson,	Wolf
Jenrette	Calif.	Wyder
Johnson, Calif.	Pepper	Yates
Jones, N.C.	Perkins	Yatron
Kastenmeier	Peyster	Young, Ga.
Koch	Pike	Zeftertti
Krebs	Reuss	

NOT VOTING—20

AuCoin	Hébert	Staggers
Biaggi	Macdonald	Steed
Bolling	Metcalfe	Sullivan
Brown, Ohio	Rousselot	Treen
Dingell	Ruppe	Udall
Evins, Tenn.	Sisk	Van Deerin
Fary	Spence	

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Hébert for, with Mr. AuCoin against.  
 Mr. Treen for, with Mr. Biaggi against.  
 Mr. Sisk for, with Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts against.  
 Mr. Steed for, with Mr. Metcalfe against.  
 Mr. Staggers for, with Mr. Fary against.  
 Mr. Evins of Tennessee for, with Mrs. Sullivan against.  
 Mr. Van Deerin for, with Mr. Dingell against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Udall with Mr. Rousselot.  
 Mr. Brown of Ohio with Mr. Spence.

Mrs. SCHROEDER and Messrs. BENNETT and TRAXLER changed their vote from "yea" to "nay"

Messrs. TEAGUE and CHARLES WILSON of Texas changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the Senate bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the Senate bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION TO MEET ANY TIME NEXT WEEK DURING THE 5-MINUTE RULE

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation be permitted to meet any time next week, while the House is in session, under the 5-minute rule.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

Mr. BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, perhaps the gentleman from Wyoming could confine his request to a request for tomorrow, and then he can make a new one on Monday.

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I have made the request for next week since we have already canceled two meetings this week. We are not scheduled to meet tomorrow.

Mr. BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the absence of my colleague, the gentleman from California, I would be constrained to object to granting permission for the entire week; and I do object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION TO MEET TOMORROW DURING THE 5-MINUTE RULE

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Public Works and Transportation be permitted to meet tomorrow for the purpose of conducting business during the 5-minute rule.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR TOMORROW

(Mr. RHODES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to ask the distinguished acting majority leader what the program is for tomorrow, if he has it available.

Mr. McFALL. Will the distinguished minority leader yield?

Mr. RHODES. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. McFALL. The proposed program for tomorrow is, first, consideration of H.R. 8070, the HUD appropriations conference report.

Second on the calendar will be H.R. 3841, Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act Amendments, commonly known as FIFRA.

No. 3 will be S. 584, retirement credit for National Guard technician service.

No. 4 will be H.R. 7223, Federal employees' group life insurance.

[1976]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: German Proposal to Sell Aircraft to the Coast Guard

In your meeting with Chancellor Schmidt, you should be aware of an instance involving a German-Dutch company, VFW Fokker, which is one of five bidders offering jet aircraft to the Coast Guard. The German-Dutch aircraft manufacturer has submitted a bid to the Coast Guard offering to sell the "VFW 614" in response to a Coast Guard procurement for 41 medium range surveillance (MRS) aircraft. The other four bidders are a French aircraft manufacturer and three American manufacturers. The proposals are presently in the final stages concerning their evaluation.

BACKGROUND:

The initial plan for procurement of 41 MRS aircraft was to obtain the Rockwell Sabre 75A on a sole source basis by initiating a Military Inter-Departmental Procurement Request (MIPR) to the Naval Air Systems Command. Due to Congressional and industry concern over sole source method of procurement, in May 1974 Coast Guard modified procurement to a "Two-step" formal advertising procedure. A January 1975 solicitation resulted in more than one proposal being received. During the evaluation of step 1 proposals, however, all but one of the proposals dropped out leaving only the VFW 614. In order to obtain additional competition, the procurement was reopened in January 1976. This resulted in the current competition from five companies.

NATO STANDARDIZATION/BUY AMERICAN ACT:

Some Members of Congress attempted to put a rider on the DOT Appropriation which would have required the Coast Guard to buy American. Through strenuous efforts of DOT and State this attempt was defeated. There still remains the normal Buy American provisions which apply to all U. S. procurements. German-Dutch government and aircraft industry representatives have made personal presentation to ask for waiver of the normal Buy American Act provisions. Numerous diplomatic messages referring to this procurement and the applicability of NATO standardization have been received. Our review has so far indicated that NATO standardization is not applicable to this procurement. The Department of Defense is actively working to ease various restrictions on foreign procurements which could affect NATO standardization. This effort includes their waiving of the

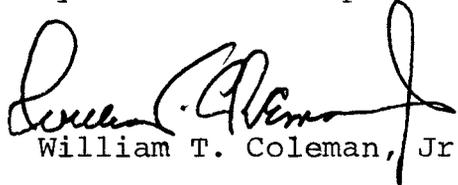


Subj: German Proposal to Sell Aircraft to the Coast Guard

cost differential normally applied under Buy American legislation. Similarly, they are encouraging non-DOD agencies, including the Department of Transportation, also to consider such waivers.

There are indications from some representatives of the American aircraft industry that they likewise support the waiving of these restrictions in furtherance of international trade. Any waiver action must carefully be weighed, however, due to the possible impact it may have on American competition in any procurement, including this procurement for Coast Guard MRS aircraft.

The Coast Guard is still evaluating the proposals. At the appropriate time the Secretary of Transportation, in consultation with the Commandant of the Coast Guard, will determine whether there are facts or circumstances which justify waiving the normal Buy American Act provisions.

  
William T. Coleman, Jr.

NOT FOR RELEASE

Industry proposals currently being evaluated by the U. S. Coast Guard  
for MRS procurement.

GRUMMAN

ROCKWELL

LOCKHEED

FALCON (FRENCH)

VFW FOKKER (GERMAN)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

X

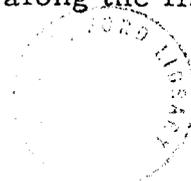
ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK MARSH  
 FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *Signed 3/24/76*  
 SUBJECT: Idaho Governor Andrus' Request for a  
 Presidential Letter to the Shah of Iran

This is in reference to the letter to the President at Tab B from Idaho Governor Andrus who requested a Presidential letter of introduction to the Shah of Iran in connection with the Governor's visit there, now planned for late April/early May.

The President considered the options outlined in the memo which was sent to you for clearance prior to forwarding to the President and which recommended against a letter to the Shah, but suggested the option of a letter to Ambassador Helms. The President has decided against a letter to the Shah but has signed the letter to Ambassador Helms at Tab A. The original Presidential letter is being sent to the Department of State for appropriate transmission to the Ambassador. The Departments of State and Commerce are also rendering appropriate assistance in connection with the Governor's travels to Iran, and we understand that the Governor's office has also been in touch with the Iranian Embassy in Washington to assist in the visit, including seeking a meeting with the Shah.

The remaining action is to inform the Governor of the response to his request to the President and of the efforts being made to assist in his visit. I suggest that the Governor's office be contacted to explain that, as a matter of standing practice, Presidential letters of introduction are not sent to foreign leaders but that the President has sent a letter to Ambassador Helms (the copy at Tab A could be forwarded to the Governor). It could also be pointed out that, in line with our policy to encourage expanded trade opportunities and increasing United States-Iranian understanding, we are ensuring that the Departments of State and Commerce render all appropriate assistance in connection with the Governor's visit. Alternatively, you may wish to send a written reply to the Governor, along the lines of the attached proposed text.



Dear Governor Andrus:

The President has asked me to thank you for your very thoughtful letter informing him of your forthcoming visit to Iran with a delegation of business executives from your State. It has long been our policy to encourage expanded trade opportunities and increasing mutual understanding between the United States and Iran.

In line with our policy and in response to your request, the President has asked me to inform you that he has written to Ambassador Helms about your visit so that all appropriate assistance may be provided in connection with your travel. I am pleased to enclose a copy of the President's letter. As a matter of standing policy, such messages are not sent to foreign leaders but we believe that the President's letter to Ambassador Helms will help ensure that your visit is a constructive one in view of the strong interest of our Government in expanded trade relations between the U.S. and the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf.

We are also requesting that the Departments of State and Commerce be of assistance and trust that you and your colleagues will have an enjoyable and successful visit.

The President has asked me to extend his best wishes and hopes that you have a fruitful visit to Iran. Please let me know if I may be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,

The Honorable  
Cecil D. Andrus  
Governor of the State of Idaho  
Boise



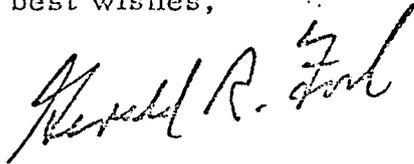
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1976

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

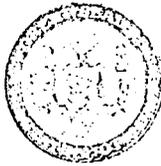
Governor Cecil Andrus of Idaho has indicated that he will lead a delegation of businessmen from his State to Iran in the near future. The Departments of State and Commerce are rendering the appropriate assistance in line with our policy of encouraging expanded trade opportunities and increasing mutual United States-Iranian understanding. I want you to know in advance that I appreciate the effort which will be made to ensure that they have a constructive visit.

With best wishes,



The Honorable Richard Helms  
American Ambassador  
Tehran





STATE OF IDAHO

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

BOISE

CECIL D. ANDRUS  
GOVERNOR

March 2, 1976

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

In the near future, it will be my pleasure, as Governor of Idaho, to lead a delegation of prominent Idaho business executives to Iran to exchange ideas and viewpoints related to energy, mining, agriculture and recreation with Iranian government officials and business leaders of Iran. Senator James McClure will also be accompanying the mission.

I believe it would be of great assistance to the success of the mission and also a matter of courtesy if you would be so kind as to write a letter of introduction to His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran for my personal presentation to him upon our arrival. We will also extend an invitation to the Iranian government and business officials to visit the United States and Idaho this summer.

At a recent luncheon at the Iranian Embassy, His Excellency Ardeshir Zahedi, Ambassador of Iran, was most complimentary to our country and to you personally in a toast. Ambassador Zahedi is most anxious for the success of this mission and has been very helpful to Senator McClure and myself in making the necessary arrangements. We will also be accompanied by one of your former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Ralph Harding, who is also assisting us.

Your favorable consideration to furnish us with a letter of introduction will be greatly appreciated; and I shall look forward to your reply at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

  
CECIL D. ANDRUS  
GOVERNOR

wmb



IRAN - IDAHO SYNERGISTIC  
P. O. Box 1559  
Boise, Idaho 83701  
Telephone Number: (208) 343-5454

ATTENTION: Blaine F. Evans

PARTICIPATING IDAHO COMPANIES

OFFICIAL AND COMPANY

BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

James (Jim) McClary  
Chairman of the Board  
Morrison-Knudsen Company, Inc.  
400 Broadway Avenue  
Boise, Idaho 83729  
(208) 345-5000

Construction

William (Bill) Bridenbaugh  
Senior Vice President  
Boise Cascade Corporation  
One Jefferson Square  
Boise, Idaho 83702  
(208) 384-6527

Lumber, Housing,  
Building materials,  
Paper products and  
packaging

J. R. (Jack) Simplot  
Chairman of the Board  
J. R. Simplot Company  
One Capitol Center  
Boise, Idaho 83701  
(208) 336-2110

Agriculture,  
Livestock, Produc-  
tion, Food processing,  
Fertilizer production,  
Mining

William C. (Bill) Janss  
President  
Sun Valley Company  
Sun Valley, Idaho 83353  
(208) 622-4111

Recreation and resort  
operations, Condominium  
construction, sales and  
rentals.

Charles (Chuck) Rice  
President  
Energy, Incorporated  
381 Shoup Avenue  
Idaho Falls, Idaho 83401  
(208) 524-1000

Nuclear Energy  
technology and  
alternative energy  
sources

Sam Bennion  
President  
V 1 Oil Company  
1800 North Holmes Avenue  
Idaho Falls, Idaho 83401  
(208) 522-1210

Oil Refining, Petro-  
leum Products distri-  
bution. Member of  
Federal Reserve Board



OFFICIAL AND COMPANY

J. H. (Jack) Hume  
Chairman of the Board  
American Potato Company  
4600 Bank of America Center  
San Francisco, California 9404  
(415) 981-5590

G. T. (Bud) Newcomb  
President  
G. T. Newcomb, Inc.  
P. O. Box 246  
Ketchum, Idaho 83340  
(208) 726-5641  
(602) 991-1899

Robert (Bob) Rebholtz  
President  
Snake River Cattle Company  
P. O. Box 549  
American Falls, Idaho 83221  
(208) 226-5126

BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

Potato and Onion and  
Garlic Processing

Sprinkler Irrigation  
Systems, Land develop-  
ment, Potato production

Cattle ranching and  
Cattle feeding



IRAN - IDAHO SYNERGISTIC  
P. O. Box 1559  
Boise, Idaho 83701  
Telephone Number: (208) 343-5454

ATTENTION: Blaine F. Evans  
ELECTED OFFICIALS, DELEGATION LEADERS AND STAFF

Honorable Cecil D. Andrus  
Governor  
State of Idaho  
State Capitol  
Boise, Idaho 83221  
(208) 382-2100

Honorable James McClure  
United States Senator  
Room 460 Russell Building  
Washington, D. C. 20510  
(202) 224-2752

Ralph R. Harding  
General Manager - Iran-Idaho Synergistic  
Route 4, Box 164  
Blackfoot, Idaho 83221  
(208) 785-1248

Blaine F. Evans  
General Counsel - Iran-Idaho Synergistic  
Elam, Burke, Jeppesen, Evans & Boyd  
1010 Bank of Idaho Building  
P. O. Box 1559  
Boise, Idaho 83701  
(208) 343-5454

Wayne Mittleider  
Assistant to Governor Andrus  
State Capitol  
Boise, Idaho 83720  
(208) 382-2100

Mike Hathaway  
Assistant to Senator McClure  
Room 460, Russell Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20510  
(202) 224-2752

James A. Goller (NOT GOING TO IRAN)  
Assistant to Senator McClure  
8th and Bannock Streets  
Boise, Idaho 83702  
(208) 343-1421



Allen Suderman (NOT GOING TO IRAN)  
Treasurer & Controller  
Iran-Idaho Synergistic  
Elmer Fox, Westheimer and Co.  
515 Bank of Idaho Building  
Boise, Idaho 83702  
(208) 344-2527

Claude J. Greene (NOT GOING TO IRAN)  
Travel Agent  
Travel, Inc.  
217 N. 10th Street  
P. O. Box 420  
Boise, Idaho 83701  
(208) 343-4667



IRAN - IDAHO SYNERGISTIC  
P. O. Box 1559  
Boise, Idaho 83701  
Telephone Number: (208) 343-5454

ATTENTION: Blaine F. Evans

AUXILIARY

Mrs. Cecil D. Andrus (Carol)  
1805 North 21st Street  
Boise, Idaho 83702  
(208) 345-5570

Mrs. James McClure (Louise)  
3467 North Venice Street  
Arlington, Virginia 22207  
(703) 536-8562

Mrs. James McClary (Mary Jane)  
4903 Roberts Road  
Boise, Idaho 83705  
(208) 343-9535

Mrs. J. R. Simplot (Esther)  
1500 Harrison Blvd.  
Boise, Idaho 83702  
(208) 343-2457

Mrs. William C. Janss (Glen)  
Sun Valley, Idaho 83353  
(208) 622-5975

Mrs. Ralph R. Harding (Willa)  
Route 4, Box 164  
Blackfoot, Idaho 83221  
(208) 785-1248

Mrs. Blaine F. Evans (Lucille)  
6700 Randolph Drive  
Boise, Idaho 83705  
(208) 375-6896

Mrs. Sam Bennion (Faye)  
635 11th Street  
Idaho Falls, Idaho 83401  
(208) 523-1950



Mrs. G. T. Newcomb (Debbie)  
Box 325  
Sun Valley, Idaho 83353  
(208) 726-3287

Mrs. J. H. Hume (Betty)  
3355 Pacific Avenue  
San Francisco, California 94118  
(415) 929-2345

Mrs. Robert Reboltz (Dorothy)  
Route 1  
American Falls, Idaho 83221  
(208) 226-5615



THE WHITE HOUSE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

March 23, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

SUBJECT: Request from Governor Andrus of Idaho for a Letter to the Shah of Iran

At Tab B is a letter from Idaho Governor Andrus expressing the hope that you would write a letter of introduction to the Shah of Iran for personal presentation by him and a group of Idaho businessmen. The Governor notes that Senator McClure and former Representative Harding will accompany this mission.

This travel is in line with our policy of encouraging expanded trade opportunities between the US and nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf. The Departments of State and Commerce are providing assistance and we also understand that Ambassador Zahedi is recommending to his Government that the Shah meet with the Governor and his colleagues.

However, I do not believe that it would be appropriate for you to write a letter of introduction to His Majesty. For some time it has been Administration policy not to provide letters to foreign government officials for Americans who are not travelling abroad on official Federal Government missions. There are a number of reasons for such a policy:

1. Presidential letters of this kind might suggest official endorsement by the USG of the activities and statements of American citizens who are visiting foreign countries in unofficial capacities. Though the Governor's trip should be helpful to the United States, he is not travelling to Iran as a representative of the United States Government.
2. Such letters might also suggest official USG preference for one group of US businessmen over another in private business dealings with foreign governments, even though this may not be intended.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

3. Such letters might be seen by foreign governments as an attempt to gain special access or courtesies which private citizens would not be accorded with only normal assistance by the United States Government. Also, we want to avoid any potential embarrassment should foreign government officials not wish to meet with private Americans carrying Presidential letters.

This policy is especially relevant against the backdrop of recent problems arising from improper activities of US firms seeking contracts with foreign governments. Under this policy a wide range of similar requests from prominent Americans travelling abroad privately on business and other special interests have been declined. Making an exception in this instance would create a precedent in dealing with others seeking similar treatment and be an affront for those who have not received it in the past.

If you wish to make some special gesture to Governor Andrus, however, there is a procedure which has been employed in the past. You or an appropriate member of the Administration could send a letter to Ambassador Helms indicating that the Governor plans a trip to Iran and requesting appropriate courtesies. A copy would be given to Governor Andrus. This would indicate an interest in being helpful but restrict our efforts to official USG channels.

I suggest, therefore, that an appropriate member of the White House staff be in touch with the Governor's office to explain that, as a matter of policy, such letters are not provided to foreign leaders. Should you wish a letter to Ambassador Helms (a proposed letter is at Tab A), the Governor would also be informed of this and a copy would be provided him.

Staff Views: Messrs. Marsh, Buchen, McConahey, Mr. Hartmann's office and I all concur that you should not write a letter of introduction to the Shah and that our policy on this should be explained to the Governor's office. Mr. Marsh and Mr. Hartmann's office concur in providing a letter from you to Ambassador Helms (Tab A). Mr. Buchen recommends, and Mr. McConahey (for Domestic Council) and I concur, that such a letter be signed instead by an appropriate Administration official. Just as a matter of principle, I believe it would be better to avoid the precedent of Presidential letters in support of non-official trips abroad.



RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That no letter of introduction to the Shah from you be provided to the Governor and that our policy on this be explained to his office.

APPROVE AR 9 DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

2. That you indicate your preference for the following with regard to the option of a letter to Ambassador Helms:

I will sign letter to Ambassador Helms at Tab A AR 9

Prefer you (General Scowcroft) communicate with the Ambassador \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove; no letter to the Ambassador required \_\_\_\_\_



OK  
K

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

4/8

Brent,

Late message further to the attached. Helms, in reporting on other aspects of the Andrus visited, has noted (according to NEA) that the Shah has not received other visiting State trade delegations such as that by Governor Waller of Mississippi. This may well explain why Zahedi is not pushing, probably to avoid precedent for others. With Andrus pressing, I still believe we could take the normal step of asking Helms to follow up, as contained in the attached recommendation. [The other steps would be optional, although obviously more forthcoming in helping Andrus.]

*Bob*  
Bob Oakley



## MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

1395 Add-on

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

ACTION

April 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: ROBERT B. OAKLEY *RO*

SUBJECT: Governor Andrus' Dissatisfaction--Request  
for Guidance from Jack Marsh

Jack Marsh has sent for your guidance a letter from Democratic Governor Andrus [Tab D] expressing dissatisfaction at not being provided a letter from the President to the Shah of Iran in order to obtain a meeting with the Shah during his forthcoming visit. He urges that the President reconsider and provide him with the letter. He indicates that Ambassador Zahedi has said this is essential to seeking a meeting with the Shah. We understand that the Governor may even be contemplating cancelling his trip if he cannot have a meeting with the Shah.

As you know, the President decided against a letter from himself to the Shah for reasons of established policy on such requests, but he did send a letter to Ambassador Helms as a way of being of assistance but through official USG channels. Mr. McConahey has told us that Governor Andrus (as a Democrat) has been very supportive of the President, particularly on human resources and block grant programs and that he may well be the next Chairman of the National Governors' Conference. The issue for us is how we can be of further assistance without violating standing policy on private American business travel abroad. Mr. McConahey favors doing what we can within this framework.

The one viable option that exists is to have Ambassador Helms play the normal facilitative role often performed by our Embassies. It is customary for US Ambassadors abroad, in receipt of requests from private Americans seeking high-level appointments, to routinely forward such requests to the foreign government. However, the Embassy of Iran--because of the enormous volume of American private travel to Tehran and the understandable desire to protect the Shah from so many requests--has developed its own policy of having all requests for meetings with the Shah channelled through Ambassador Zahedi and refusing to raise with the GOI any private request.

Subject to GDS of E. O. 11652  
Automatically Declassified on  
December 31, 1982.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)*Wtm 5/15/00*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS) -- 2

Ambassador Helms took this position with the Governor's advance party in Tehran last month, thereby stimulating the request to the President. [Helms is now in receipt of the President's letter to him and will otherwise ensure that the Governor's visit is a success, but despite that letter he has reaffirmed his position on not channelling requests for meetings with the Shah in a message to NEA.] For his part, Ambassador Zahedi -- who has received a request from the Governor's office -- is reluctant to endorse it to the Shah because he does not like to have to choose among competing Americans. This has led to the Governor's statements that both Ambassadors Helms and Zahedi feel a letter from the President would be necessary, an action which the President has decided against.

You may wish to phone Mr. Marsh on this but I concur with Mr. McConahey that we do what we properly can for the Governor -- request that Ambassador Helms follow up on the Governor's request for a meeting with the Shah (as other Embassies would do). State could be so instructed via the memo (with draft telegram) at Tab A.

If you wish to go beyond this, you could phone Ambassador Zahedi, using the talking points at Tab B. You could also send Ambassador Helms a back-channel message along the lines of Tab C. In any event, you will want to get back to Mr. Marsh recommending he be in further touch with the Governor to emphasize we are doing what we can but to explain again the standing policy on Presidential letters to foreign leaders. [Tab D] [Mr. McConahey believes the Governor, if properly informed, would be reasonable.]

RECOMMENDATION: That you take the normal step of approving an instruction to Ambassador Helms to follow up on the request for a meeting -- via approving the memo to State at Tab A.

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVE                      \_\_\_\_\_ AS AMENDED

That you indicate your preference for going further than this by

\_\_\_\_\_ Phoning Ambassador Zahedi (talking points Tab B)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Approving back-channel message to Helms, Tab C

That, if you approve of some or all of the above, you sign the memo to Jack Marsh at Tab D

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVE                      \_\_\_\_\_ AS AMENDED

Alternatively, that we go back to Jack Marsh and say that nothing further

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)



CONFIDENTIAL (GDS) -- 3

can be done for the Governor.

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVE; prepare such a memo to Marsh

\_\_\_\_\_ SEE ME

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

VIA LDX

MEMORANDUM FOR:       GEORGE SPRINGSTEEN  
                          Executive Secretary  
                          Department of State

SUBJECT:    Visit of Idaho Governor Andrus to Iran

Governor Andrus of Idaho has informed the White House that his request for a meeting with the Shah of Iran during his upcoming visit has been channelled through Ambassador Zahedi but with no positive results to date. State is requested to seek Ambassador Helms' assistance in following up on this request by sending the following telegram to him as soon as possible: [NSC should be on distribution.]

"SUBJECT:    Visit of Governor Andrus of Idaho and  
                  Prominent Business Executives--Request  
                  for Meeting with the Shah

FOR: Ambassador

1. We know that you are informed of the forthcoming visit of Governor Andrus of Idaho and prominent business executives from his State. The Governor's office has informed White House that his request for meeting with the Shah was made through Ambassador Zahedi three weeks ago but evidently there has been no response at this time. The Governor is most interested in such a meeting. In the spirit of close US-Iranian relations and the desirability of maintaining an on-going dialogue on matters of common interest, including with leaders from all parts of our country, you should follow up by whatever means you deem best on the Governor's request for meeting with the Shah.

2. This need not affect standing Embassy policy on channelling requests of this nature through Ambassador Zahedi since this has already been done. We would appreciate an early reply on the prospects of a meeting."

Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary

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TALKING POINTS FOR TELEPHONE CALL TO AMBASSADOR ZAHEDI

1. I understand that Governor Andrus of Idaho is planning a visit to Tehran in the near future.
2. We regard this visit as in line with our policy of encouraging closer ties between our two nations and we are pleased that the Governor is able to travel to your country.
3. We understand that the Governor's office has been in touch with you to discuss arranging a meeting with the Shah. We fully appreciate the burdens on the Shah's schedule and the fact that he cannot meet with every private American who is travelling abroad for private purposes.
4. On the other hand, Cecil Andrus is a fine Governor and the Shah may find it useful to have an exchange of views with him since he comes from yet another part of our country. This would be purely in the context of broadening and deepening US-Iranian relations. We are not suggesting anything more than a general exchange of views should there be an appropriate occasion.
5. Your help in this regard would be greatly appreciated.



~~SECRET~~

BACKCHANNEL MESSAGE FOR AMBASSADOR HELMS

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Visit of Idaho Governor Andrus to Tehran

1. As you know, Governor Andrus of Idaho would like to meet with the Shah during his forthcoming visit and we have separately authorized State to have you follow up on this request. The Governor appropriately requested this meeting through Ambassador Zahedi but with no luck.

The Governor feels (and Ambassador Zahedi has indicated) that a Presidential letter of introduction to the Shah is essential to securing a meeting. We are uncertain as to what, if any, action Zahedi has taken in Tehran on this request.

2. Just to put this request in perspective, it is not our policy to provide Presidential letters to foreign leaders for Americans travelling abroad in unofficial USG capacities. However, as you know, the President is interested in seeing that Governor Andrus receives all proper assistance through official USG channels. The Governor has been provided with a copy of the President's letter to you.

3. The Governor remains keenly interested in meeting with the Shah. In line with our policy on Americans travelling abroad privately, we do not wish to force this event and we respect your policy of having all private requests for meetings with the Shah originate with Zahedi. On the other hand, your approach would be a follow-up to the request



~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines  
By W.H.M., NARA, Date 5/15/00

SECRET -- 2

through Zahedi. It should be seen in the context of our close bilateral ties with Iran and the interest of both sides (especially Iran) in exchanges of views between distinguished representatives from all segments of our society. Since Governor Andrus represents an important part of our country which is unfamiliar with Iran, I would encourage you to try to seek even a very brief meeting for him with the Shah.

4. Warm regards.

SECRET



MEMORANDUM

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USEACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: Governor Andrus' Request for a  
Presidential Letter to the Shah  
of Iran

This is in response to the attached further letter and the telephone call your office received from Governor Andrus who is obviously dissatisfied that he has not received a Presidential letter to the Shah of Iran.

The problem is a standing White House policy that the President does not send such messages in order to avoid favoritism. The President agreed with our recommendation a few weeks ago that he not make a special exception for Governor Andrus. On the other hand, he did sign a letter to Ambassador Helms, although the Governor may not appreciate the full nature of this gesture.

We can properly instruct Ambassador Helms in Tehran to follow up on the Governor's request for a meeting with the Shah (though we cannot guarantee success). State is being authorized to do this since it is customary for our Embassies to play this kind of facilitative role. Between this and the Governor's approach to Ambassador Zahedi, some result might be produced. We do not wish to try and pressure the Shah in a direction in which he may not want to go (he has not received other trade delegations, including one led by Governor Waller of Mississippi who recently visited there).

I recommend that you or Mr. McConahey personally phone the Governor and reaffirm that the policy on Presidential messages to foreign leaders is a long-established one and reflects absolutely no lack of interest in the Governor's trip or in the importance of expanded trade opportunities between the US and Iran. You could emphasize that the President has done this for no other leading American, including other Governors who have led trade delegations. At the same time, you could point

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out that the President did take the step of writing to Ambassador Helms because of his interest in the Governor's travels and that we have buttressed this with instructions that Ambassador Helms follow up on the Governor's request for a meeting with His Imperial Majesty. You could emphasize that we are doing all we can to be of assistance within the framework of a long-standing Presidential policy that official Presidential messages are confined to official Federal Government travel. High-level meetings with Americans not travelling in official Federal Government capacities is mainly a decision for the foreign government leaders involved.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 6, 1976

TO: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: JOHN O. MARSH, JR. *John*

           For Direct Reply

  X   For Draft Response

           For Your Information

           Please Advise





*Sincerely  
Cecil D. Andrus*

STATE OF IDAHO  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
BOISE

CECIL D. ANDRUS  
GOVERNOR

March 31, 1976

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

Dear Mr. President:

On March 2nd, I wrote to you informing you of a planned visit of Idahoans on a trade mission to Iran and requested a letter of introduction to His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran. The letter would be personally presented to the Shah when we arrived in Tehran with Senator McClure and the ten leading business executives from Idaho. Ambassador Ardeshir Zahedi of Iran suggested that such an introduction would assure our being received by His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

Unfortunately, my letter was misinterpreted because I received instead a letter from John O. Marsh, Jr., enclosing a copy of your letter to Ambassador Richard Helms.

Mr. President, Mr. Marsh's letter stated that as a matter of standing policy, such messages are not sent to foreign leaders. I am sure this is a State Department position; however, I am equally certain that you would not have allowed the State Department to dictate to you whether or not you could write a letter of introduction on behalf of a governor, a United States Senator and ten prominent business executives to a foreign leader.

I would appreciate your reconsideration of this matter and am most hopeful that you will find it possible to provide us with the requested letter of introduction. I am enclosing, for your information and convenience, a copy of the March 2nd letter.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature of Cecil D. Andrus in dark ink.

CECIL D. ANDRUS  
GOVERNOR

wmb  
encl.

March 26, 1976

letter drafted by  
NSC

Dear Governor Andrus:

The President has asked me to thank you for your very thoughtful letter informing him of your forthcoming visit to Iran with a delegation of business executives from your State. It has long been our policy to encourage expanded trade opportunities and increasing mutual understanding between the United States and Iran.

In line with our policy and in response to your request, the President has asked me to inform you that he has written to Ambassador Helms about your visit so that all appropriate assistance may be provided in connection with your travel. I am pleased to enclose a copy of the President's letter. As a matter of standing policy, such messages are not sent to foreign leaders but we believe that the President's letter to Ambassador Helms will help ensure that your visit is a constructive one in view of the strong interest of our Government in expanded trade relations between the United States and the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf.

We are also requesting that the Departments of State and Commerce be of assistance and trust that you and your colleagues will have an enjoyable and successful visit.

The President has asked me to extend his best wishes and hopes that you have a fruitful visit to Iran. Please let me know if I may be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr.  
Counsellor to the President

The Honorable Cecil Andrus  
Governor of Idaho  
Boise, Idaho

JOM/NSC/dl



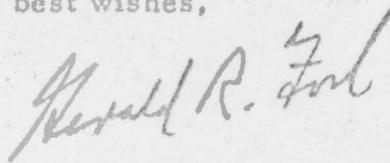
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1976

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Governor Cecil Andrus of Idaho has indicated that he will lead a delegation of businessmen from his State to Iran in the near future. The Departments of State and Commerce are rendering the appropriate assistance in line with our policy of encouraging expanded trade opportunities and increasing mutual United States-Iranian understanding. I want you to know in advance that I appreciate the effort which will be made to ensure that they have a constructive visit.

With best wishes,



The Honorable Richard Helms  
American Ambassador  
Tehran

