The original documents are located in Box 23, folder "FO 3-2/CO 50 - CO 77: Mutual Security/India" of the White House Central Files Subject File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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SALOROLL SURVEY
VENE
12/8/75 Dat e

Name Carl Glbest

Organization fm/ The President

rei Economic and Military

Grustance to Greece F03-2/6055 12/2/25

Py 76

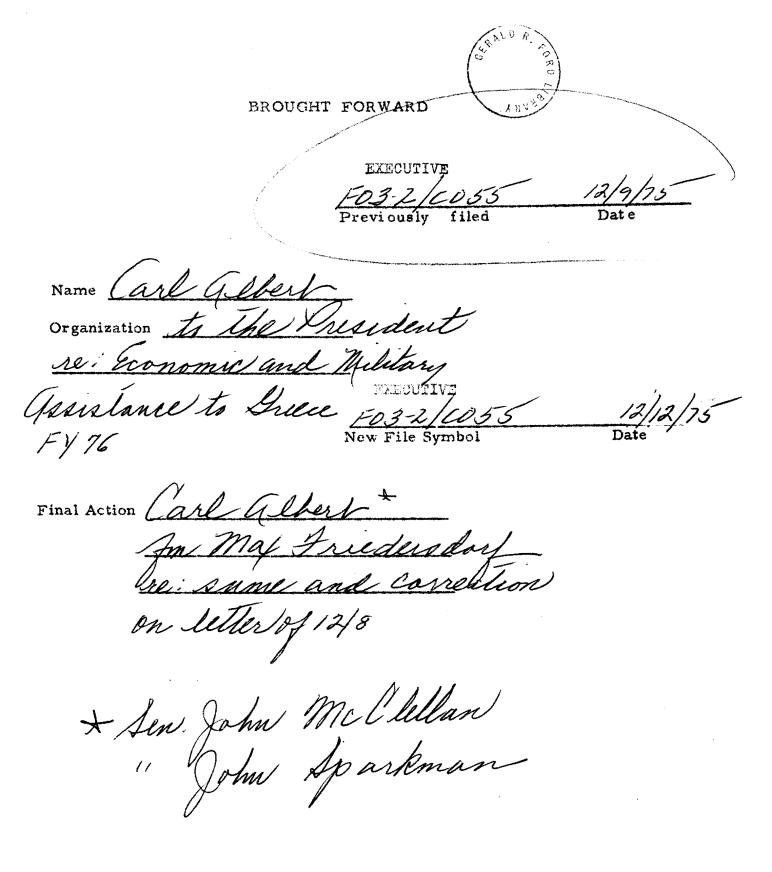
New File Symbol Date

Final Action Carl Glbert

for May Friedersdorf

re: Correction on 1th 912/8

* Sen John McChellan
" John Sparkman



别



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1975

FO3-2 | CO55 HE5-1 CO56 ND18 | CO40 FG31 RS FG34 FG-11-11 Buchen

Dear Mr. Speaker:

Pursuant to Sections 2 (b)(2) and 2 (c)(2) of P.L. 94-104, the President shall on Monday, December 8, 1975, formally transmit reports to you dealing with the following subjects:

- (1) the needs of Greece for economic and military assistance: filed same 12/8
- (2) discussions with the Government of Turkey concerning means of preventing the diversion of opium poppy into illicit channels; and

(3) progress made during the last sixty days toward the conclusion of a negotiated solution of the Cyprus conflict. filed EN: ND18/1040

Under the terms of the statute, these reports are due today. However given the President's absence from the country, the formal transmittal, a non-delegable function, will be delayed until his return. In the interim, I am providing you with advance copies of these documents which have received his personal approval.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen

Counsel to the President

The Honorable Carl Albert
The Speaker
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Enclosures

BB



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1975

F03-2 /C053 C055 HE5-1 C0156 F636-3 F636-10 R5 F631

EXECUTIVE

Dear Mr. Chairman:

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(2) discussions with the Government of Turkey concerning means of preventing the diversion of opium poppy into illicit channels.

HE5

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Sincerely,

Philip (7. Buchen

Counsel to the President

The Honorable John L. McClellan Chairman Appropriations Committee United States Senate Washington, D. C. Sparkman, John

Enclosures

BB

December 12, 1975

F636-10 F636-3 F634

Dear Mr. Speaker: Carl albert



In keeping with the provisions of P.L. 94-104, the President wrote you on December 8 concerning assistance for Greece.

The figure in line 10, page 2, of that letter regarding FMS credits requested for Greece in FY 1976, \$90 million, is in error and should be changed to \$110 million. The amount of \$110 million is the figure contained in the recommended security assistance program for FY 1976 submitted by the President to the Congress on October 50. The President has asked me respectfully to request that his letter of December 8 to you concerning assistance for Greece be changed accordingly.

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf Assistant to the President

> McClellan, John L. Sparkman, John

The Honorable
The Speaker
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 2051S

bce: NSC Log #8113 - FYI

bcc: Bob Linder

MLF:NSC:kir

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In keeping with the provisions of P.L. 94-104, the President wrote you on December 8 concerning assistance for Greece. The figure in line 10, page 2, of that letter regarding FMS credits requested for Greece in FY 1976, \$90 million, is in error and should be changed to \$110 million. The amount of \$110 million is the figure contained in the recommended security assistance program for FY 1976 submitted by the President to the Congress on October 30. The President has asked me respectfully to request that his letter of December 8 to you concerning assistance for Greece be changed accordingly.

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President



The Honorable John Sparkman Chairman Committee of Foreign Relations United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

bec: NSC Log #8113 - FYI

/bcc: Bob Linder

MLF:NSC:kir

DEC 1 5 1975

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Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf Assistant to the President



The Honorable John L. McClellan Chairman Committee on Appropriations United States Semate Washington, D.C. 20510

Mce: NSC Log #8113 - FYI

/bcc: Bob Linder

MLF:NSC:kir

Hand delivered 12/12 p.m.

V. Olson

14 may GRAID



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

8113

December 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

Brent Scowcroft

SUBJECT:

Presidential Report to Congress

on Assistance to Greece

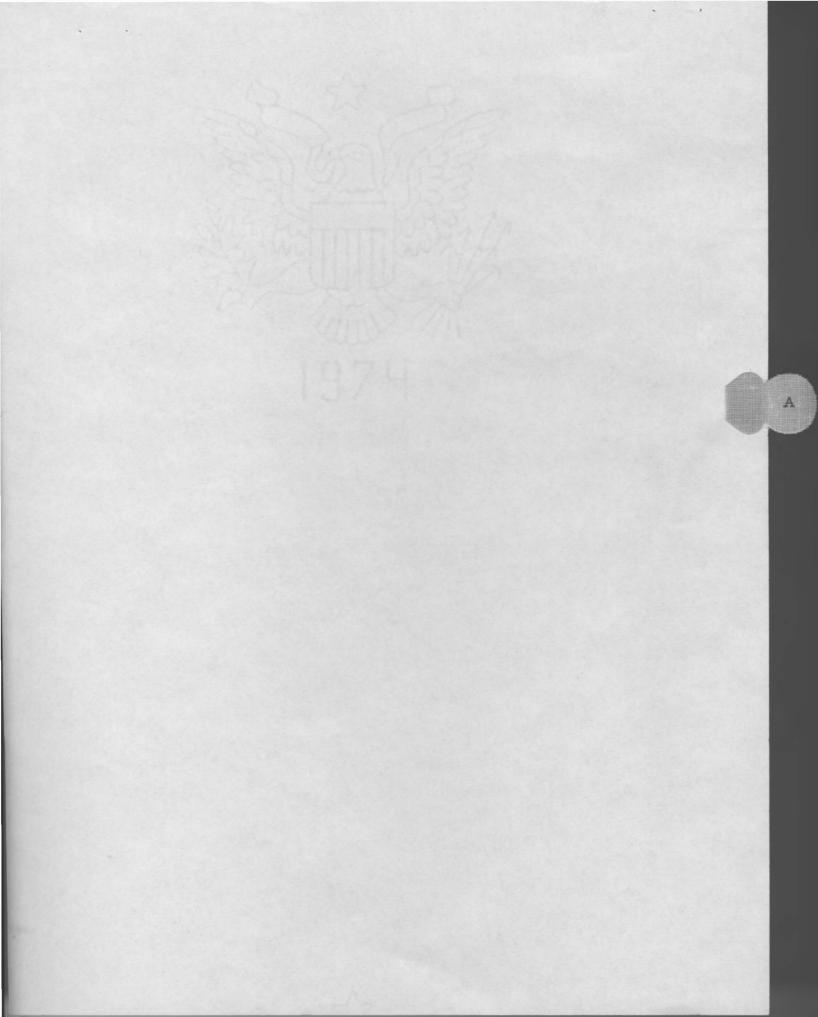


We have discovered an error in the President's December 8 letter report to the Speaker and Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees concerning assistance for Greece (copy at Tab B). Specifically, the figure on line 10, page 2, of that letter regarding FMS credits requested for Greece in FY 1976, \$90 million, is incorrect and should be changed to \$110 million. The \$110 million amount is the figure contained in the recommended security assistance program submitted by the President to the Congress on October 30.

At Tab A for your signature to the Speaker and the appropriate committee chairmen is a proposed letter outlining the problem and requesting, in the President's name, that the error be corrected.

Robert Linder concurs.

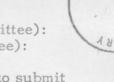
0. K. - may



Dear Mr. Speaker (of the House):

Dear Mr. Chairman (of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee):

Dear Mr. Chairman (of the Senate Appropriations Committee):



Pursuant to Section 2(b) (2) of P.L. 94-104, I am pleased to submit to the Congress my recommendations for economic and military assistance to Greece for fiscal year 1976.

The bonds between the United States and Greece have historically been close and deep. Both countries were linked together as allies in World War II. They later cooperated in defeating the communist guerrilla movement in Greece in the late 1940's. Subsequently, Greece sent a military force to Korea to assist the United Nations' effort against the communist aggression. In 1952, Greece joined NATO. The bonds between our two nations are not only political, but ethical and cultural as well. The peoples of Greece and the United States cherish a common heritage and a common belief in freedom and human dignity.

My Administration has worked with the new Greek Government in this spirit of friendship and alliance to identify areas in which we might be of assistance and, thereby, advance our common interests. Following consultations with the Greek Government, we began consideration of a program aimed at assisting Greece economically. We supported increased financial assistance for Greece at the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. For fiscal year 1975, we also raised the level of military credit assistance to Greece from \$71 million to \$86 million. In addition, to increase the amount of Export-Import Bank lending to Greece, the Bank Chairman visited Athens last spring to discuss with Greek businessmen and officials ways in which Greece could take better advantage of the Bank's programs. This visit was followed by a further Export-Import Bank mission in November.

The Greek Government itself has moved vigorously to confront its most serious problems. It has dramatically reduced the level of inflation. It has reversed the decline in its Gross National Product. In addition, it has moved to restore public confidence in the military establishment as a non-political force capable of defending Greece's security interests.

At the same time, the government in Athens has made clear to this Administration its need for increased levels of assistance for the current fiscal year. Based on that request and in keeping with the spirit of Congressional debate preceding passage of P.L. 94-104, I

sent an expert team to Athens from the Department of State and the Agency for International Development in October to consult with senior Greek officials on that Nation's most urgent needs for economic and military assistance.

The team of experts concluded that Greece, faced with continued domestic economic difficulties and a need to modernize its military establishment, merited increased U.S. support for fiscal year 1976. Based on Greek requests and the findings of our own experts, I submitted to the Congress on October 30, 1975, a request for fiscal year 1976 for \$50 million in grant military aid, \$90 million in FMS credit and \$65 million as a supporting assistance loan. This latter loan is designed specifically to ease Greece's temporary balance of payment difficulties.

This package of assistance is justified on three grounds. First, it will help strengthen the foundation of representative democracy in Greece. Second, it will demonstrate our interest in modernizing and improving the Greek armed forces, and will be consistent with our stated desire that Greece return at an early date to a full participation within the NATO Alliance. Finally, it will assist the Greek Government and the Greek people in a moment of critical economic need.

Based on my review of Greece's need as well as our overall budgetary situation, I have concluded that my proposals of October 30 are appropriate for this fiscal year. I strongly urge the Congress to give them early and favorable consideration.

Sincerely,



The Honorable
The Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

The Honorable John Sparkman Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate Washington, D. C. 20510

The Honorable John L. McClellan Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

PROPOSED LETTER

Dear Mr. Speaker (of the House):

Dear Mr. Chairman (of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee):

Dear Mr. Chairman (of the Senate Appropriations Committee):

In keeping with the provisions of P. L. 94-104, the President wrote you on December 8 concerning assistance for Greece. The figure in line 10, page 2, of that letter regarding FMS credits requested for Greece in FY 1976, \$90 million, is in error and should be changed to \$110 million. The amount of \$110 million is the figure contained in the recommended security assistance program for FY 1976 submitted by the President to the Congress on October 30. The President has asked me respectfully to request that his letter of December 8 to you concerning assistance for Greece be changed accordingly.

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf

The Honorable
The Speaker
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

The Honorable John Sparkman Chairman Committee of Foreign Relations United States Senate Washington, D. C. 20510

The Honorable John L. McClellan Chairman Committee on Appropriations United States Senate Washington, D. C. 20510

MLF: NSC:

NSC Log # 8113 FYE Bob Linder December 12, 1975

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In keeping with the provisions of P.L. 94-104, the President wrote you on December 8 concerning assistance for Greece.

The figure in line 10, page 2, of that letter regarding PMS credits requested for Greece in PY 1976, \$90 million, is in error and should be changed to \$110 million. The amount of \$110 million is the figure contained in the recommended security assistance program for PY 1976 submitted by the President to the Congress on October 30. The President has asked me respectfully to request that his letter of December 8 to you concerning assistance for Greece be changed accordingly.

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf Assistant to the President

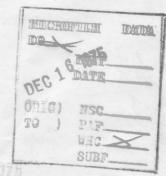


The Honorable John Sparkman Chairman Committee of Fereign Relations United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

USec: NSC Log #8113 - FYI

bcc: Bob Linder

MLF:NSC:kir



DEC 1 7 19

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WOOD

URGENT ACTION December 9, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

Mr. Clift

SUBJECT:

Presidential Report to Congress

on Assistance to Greece

TARREL SERVE

We have discovered an error in the President's December 8 letter report to the Speaker and Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees concerning assistance to Greece (copy at Tab B). Specifically, the figure on line,10, page 2, of that letter regarding FMS credits requested for Greece in FY 1976, \$90 million, is incorrect and should be changed to \$110 million. The \$110 million amount is the figure contained in the recommended security assistance program submitted by the President to the Congress on October 30. The erroneous \$90 million figure was submitted in the State drafts of the President's report. In our subsequent staffing theerror was not detected.

The memorandum for your signature to Max Friedersdorf at Tab I would outline the problem and provide a proposed letter to the Speaker and appropriate committee chairmen correcting the error.

Clint Granger concurs, as does Les Janka who has obtained clearances from both Robert Linder and Max Friedersdorf.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for Max Friedersdorf at Tab I.

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TO: PRES KISSIN SCOWO DAVIS	ROFT_	- der	KISSING COLBY SCHLES ST EX S	, W BINGER, J	8	s/s	EFERENCE:	LOU M	S APPROPRIATE OG IN/OUT TO FORN NODE EYES ONLY EXDI
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14: FO3-2/LO55 LE

The Speaker's Rooms A.S.House of Representatives Mashington, A. C. 20515 December 9, 1975

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 8, 1975 transmitting your recommendations for economic and military assistance to Greece for fiscal year 1976.

Sincerely,

The Speaker

CA/pm

rok



Mr. J.
Fyl and then one cantop

to Central Files, plo.

Thanks.

H

THE WHITE HOUSE

December II, 1975

Bob Linder:

For appropriate handling.

V. Olson



3/31

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON December 8, 1975 F

mc Chellan,

Sparkman, J

Dear Mr. Speaker: Carl albert

Pursuant to Section 2(b) (2) of P.L. 94-104, I am pleased to submit to the Congress my recommendations for economic and military assistance to Greece for fiscal year 1976.

The bonds between the United States and Greece have historically been close and deep. Both countries were linked together as allies in World War II. They later cooperated in defeating the communist guerrilla movement in Greece in the late 1940's. Subsequently, Greece sent a military force to Korea to assist the United Nations' effort against the communist aggression. In 1952, Greece joined NATO. The bonds between our two nations are not only political, but ethical and cultural as well. The peoples of Greece and the United States cherish a common heritage and a common belief in freedom and human dignity.

My Administration has worked with the new Greek Government in this spirit of friendship and alliance to identify areas in which we might be of assistance and, thereby, advance our common interests. Following consultations with the Greek Government, we began consideration of a program aimed at assisting Greece economically. We supported increased financial assistance for Greece at the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. For fiscal year 1975, we also raised the level of military credit assistance to Greece from \$71 million to \$86 million. In addition, to increase the amount of Export-Import Bank lending to Greece, the Bank Chairman visited Athens last spring to discuss with Greek businessmen and officials ways in which Greece could take better advantage of the Bank's programs. This visit was followed by a further Export-Import Bank mission in November.

The Greek Government itself has moved vigorously to confront its most serious problems. It has dramatically reduced the level of inflation. It has reversed the decline in its Gross National Product. In addition, it has moved to restore public confidence in the military establishment as a non-political force capable of defending Greece's security interests.

At the same time, the government in Athens has made clear to this Administration its need for increased levels of assistance for the current fiscal year. Based on that request and in keeping with the spirit of Congressional debate preceding passage of P.L. 94-104, I

Wered to Speaker: 12/8/25 (2:45)

(Not Stencilled)

sent an expert team to Athens from the Department of State and the Agency for International Development in October to consult with senior Greek officials on that Nation's most urgent needs for economic and military assistance.

The team of experts concluded that Greece, faced with continued domestic economic difficulties and a need to modernize its military establishment, merited increased U.S. support for fiscal year 1976. Based on Greek requests and the findings of our own experts, I submitted to the Congress on October 30, 1975, a request for fiscal year 1976 for \$50 million in grant military aid, \$90 million in FMS credit and \$65 million as a supporting assistance loan. This latter loan is designed specifically to ease Greece's temporary balance of payment difficulties.

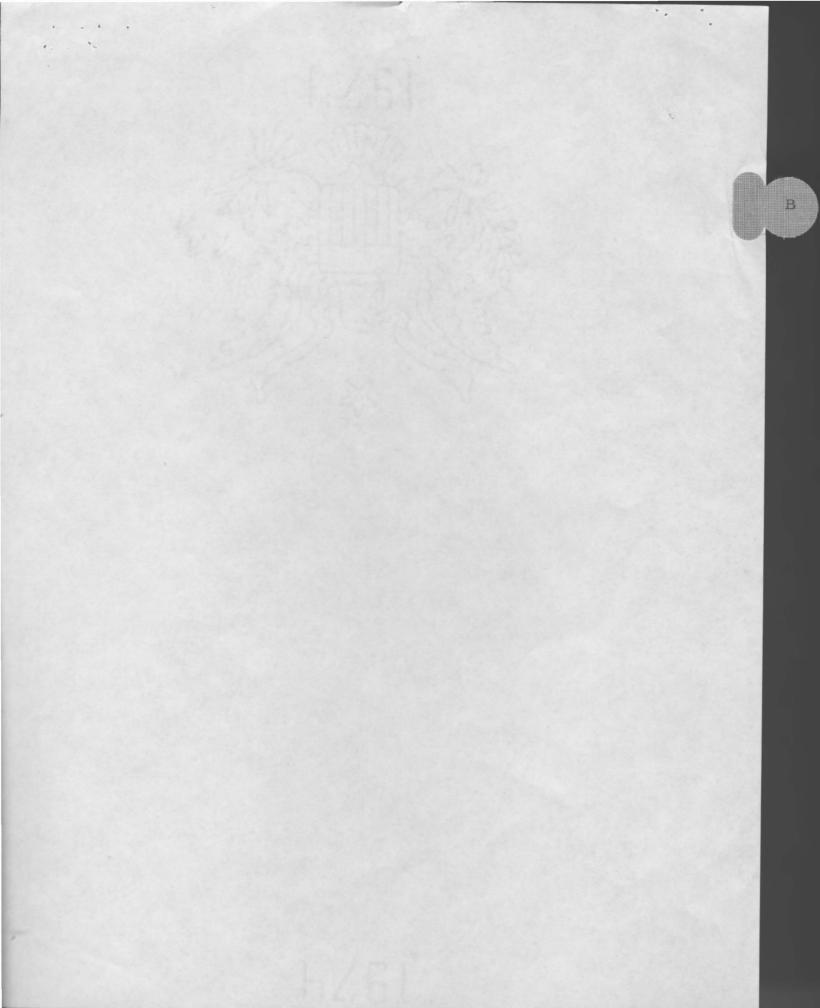
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Based on my review of Greece's need as well as our overall budgetary situation, I have concluded that my proposals of October 30 are appropriate for this fiscal year. I strongly urge the Congress to give them early and favorable consideration.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
The Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Hersel R. Fil



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1975

Dear Mr. Chairman:

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The bonds between the United States and Greece have historically been close and deep. Both countries were linked together as allies in World War II. They later cooperated in defeating the communist guerrilla movement in Greece in the late 1940's. Subsequently, Greece sent a military force to Korea to assist the United Nations' effort against the communist aggression. In 1952, Greece joined NATO. The bonds between our two nations are not only political, but ethical and cultural as well. The peoples of Greece and the United States cherish a common heritage and a common belief in freedom and human dignity.

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Delivered: 12/8/25 (4:56p)

28M

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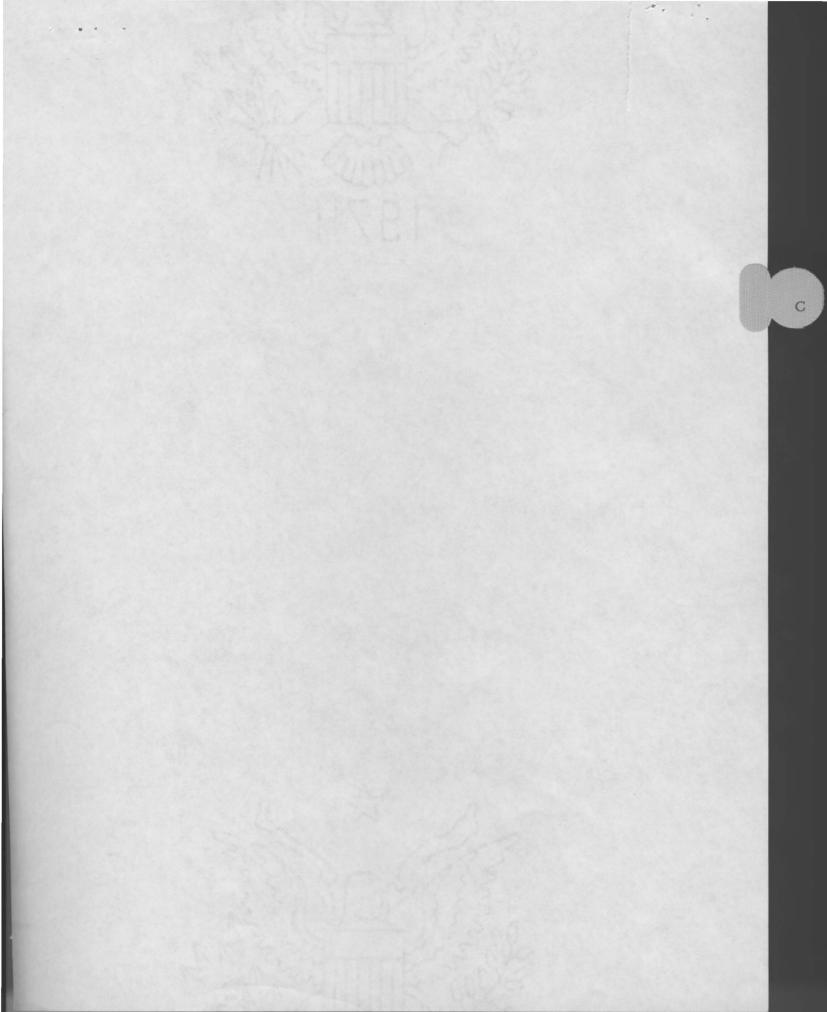
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Merall R. Il

A SVUSSI

The Honorable John Sparkman Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate Washington, D. C. 20510



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1975

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ABARBIT ORD

Delivered: 12/8/25 (5:00p)
(Not Stencilled)

28My

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Sincerely,

The Honorable John L. McClellan Chairman Committee on Appropriations United States Senate Washington, D. C. 20510

Merall R. Fol

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL FO 3 5390

INFORMATION
September 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM G. HYLAND

FROM:

Mr. Clift

SUBJECT:

Fact Sheet -- US-Turkish and US-Greek

Defense Agreements

As requested, I have put together the brief summary at Tab A covering the US-Turkish and US-Greek DCAs.

RECEIVED

OCT 1 5 1976

CENTRAL FILES

33

February 19, 1976

5P2-3-86 DI2/1058 C058 F03-2/1058

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

On February 4th a devastating earthquake struck Guatemala. That earthquake, together with its aftershocks, has left over 22,000 dead, more than 75,000 injured, and one million homeless.



The United States has a special responsibility to help meet the urgent needs in Guatemala. Immediate aid has already been extended by U.S. agencies, both public and private, including:

- Emergency shelters, medical supplies and food provided by the Agency for International Development.
- Transportation and medical facilities provided by the Department of Defense.
- Food distribution, medical services, and other disaster relief activities provided by numerous private voluntary agencies.

Last week I dispatched my Special Coordinator for International Disaster Assistance -- AID Administrator Daniel Parker -- to Guatemala for a firsthand review of the situation. He has now reported to me and to Congressional Committees on the extent of damage and need. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives have passed resolutions expressing sympathy for the people of Guatemala in their hour of distress and urging development of a comprehensive U.S. response. The Secretary of State will visit the Republic of Guatemala on February 24 to express further our support for the people of Guatemala.

Delived to Sont: 2/19/26 (2:30p)
Delived to House: 2/19/26 (3:30p)

No.

I am now proposing urgent and specific action to turn these expressions of sympathy into tangible assistance. The proposed \$25 million "Guatemala Disaster Relief Act of 1976" which I am sending herewith represents an immediate humanitarian response of the United States to the victims of this tragedy who have been injured or have lost their relatives, their homes and possessions, and in many cases their very means of existence.

This legislation, and the ensuing appropriation, will enable us to respond to the human tragedy in Guatemala.

Our response will reflect America's concern for the people of Guatemala.



Burst R. 7ml

THE WHITE HOUSE,

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STATES OF BARE

Department of State

TELEGRAM

7/14/75

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EXECUTIVE

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DRAFTED BY AF/W:MGWYGANT:MN
APPROVED BY AF/W:JKBISHOP
AF: JJBLAKE
S/S:PSHANKLE
FFP: JDURNAN (INFO)
AFR/CHR: DSHEAR (INFO)

HARROP, William C.

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TAGS: EAID, GV US

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT TOURE

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING LETTER DATED JULY 10 FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE. TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE READ WITH INTEREST YOUR
LETTERS OF APRIL 21 AND MAY 10 DESCRIBING THE EFFORTS YOU NOTE
AND YOUR COUNTRY ARE MAKING TO IMPROVE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. HE WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS AS GUINEA STRIVES TO
ACHIEVE SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN THE PRODUCTION OF FOOD.

WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE PRESENT FOOD SHORTAGES YOU ARE EXPERIENCING AND ARE PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO ASSIST YOU WHERE WE CAN. WE WILL CAREFULLY EXAMINE YOUR REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE UNDER THE 1976 FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM AND WILL

RECEIVED

JUL221975

CENTRAL FILES

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FORM ----



Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 STATE 165586

TRY TO BE AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE TO YOUR NEEDS.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS HONORED TO RECEIVE DELEGATIONS FROM GUINEA AS WE SEEK TO IMPROVE FURTHER THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS THAT EXIST BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. WE APPRECIATE THE KIND WORDS WITH WHICH MINISTER DRAME RECENTLY DESCRIBED OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

MAY I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO COMMEND TO YOU OUR NEW AMBASSADOR TO THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA, WILLIAM C. HARROP, WHO HAS JUST ARRIVED IN CONAKRY TO ASSUME HIS NEW DUTIES. MR. HARROP IS A DISTINGUISHED CAREER DIPLOMAT IN WHOM I PLACE THE HIGHEST PERSONAL CONFIDENCE. SINCERELY, GERALD R. FORD.

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INCLAS STATE 198667

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TAGS: EAID, PROR, GX

SUBJECT! PRESIDENT FORD & LETTER OF AUGUST 6 TO GUINEAN PRESIDENT SEKON TOURF

REF: STATE 103437

THE PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURS AT EARLIEST ORPORTUNITY. DUDGE, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT.

TO WASHINGTON BY MINISTER DRAME.

THE RECENT VISIT OF THE USS CAPODANIO TO CONAKRY AS A PART OF OUR BICENTENNIAL ACTIVITIES PROVIDED A SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE THE U.S. DESIRE TO IMPROVE OUP RECEIVED. MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS. SINCERELY, GERALD R. FORD.

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Department of State

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TAGS: EAID, PFOR, GV

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER OF AUGUST 6 TO GUINEAN PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE.

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1. DEPARTMENT CONCURS THAT LETTER IN STATE 198667 NOT RPT

B. REQUEST EMBASSY SEND ORIGINAL TO DEPARTMENT AF/W TO RETURN TO NSC FOR DESTRUCTION. ROBINSON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Limited Official USE

MEETING WITH HERMAN KLEINE AND RUSSELL MCCLURE
AID DISASTER RELIEF OFFICIALS RETURNING FROM HONDURAS

Monday, October 7, 1974 9:55 A.M. (5 minutes) The Oval Office

From: Henry A. Kissinger

A SARBOLD WAS A SARBOLD A

I. PURPOSE

To receive the report of the AID mission which you sent to Honduras to survey the damage from Hurricane Fifi.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. Background: The two AID officials returned Wednesday from Honduras, to which you had sent them to survey the damage caused by Hurricane Fifi. The report which they will present you concludes that the devastation was great and the country's economic capacity severely set back as a result of the storm and subsequent flooding. A substantial portion of the banana trees, on which the country depends for its major export, have been destroyed and will take eighteen months to two years to replace. Damage estimates are \$500 million in a nation with an annual GNP of \$1 billion. U.S. emergency relief efforts were significant but are now phasing out, and AID is planning a \$5 million grant and \$10-15 million concessional loan rehabilitation program.

The meeting will give you an opportunity to receive the report of the AID survey team; demonstrate your personal interest in the humanitarian relief effort being made in Honduras following Hurricane Fifi; and pledge continued U.S. assistance.

- B. <u>Participants</u>: Deputy AID Administrator John Murphy (AID Administrator Parker is ill and in Florida); Assistant Administrator Herman Kleine; Foreign Disaster Relief Coordinator Russell McClure; Secretary Kissinger.
- C. Press Arrangements: Press photo session. Meeting to be announced.

F03-2/C062 F0150

August 19, 1974

Dear Mr. Oswald:

The President asked me to reply to your letter of July 24, 1974, in which you transmitted a letter from Dr. Stephen Youngberg telling of his voluntary assistance project in Honduras and inquired about possible United States Government assistance to him.

As you are probably aware, the United States and Honduras are jointly involved in extensive development assistance programs through such U.S. agencies as the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development (A. I. D.) and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank. The aim of these programs is to assist Honduras with solutions to the kinds of problems mentioned in Dr. Youngberg's and your letters. You may wish to suggest to Dr. Youngberg that he inquire at the United States Embassy or the A. I. D. Missien in Tegucigalpa to see what possible sources of assistance there might be within Honduras with which he could work.

Sincerely,



Roland L. Elliott Special Assistant to the President

The Honorable Robert Oswald Secretary Interstate Commerce Commission Washington, D. C.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

August 16, 1974

TO: Mr. Roland Elliott

FROM: NSC/S

The attached revised suggested reply is sent to you for your appropriate handling.





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

7414507 3 4 6 9

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 15, 1974



MEMORANDUM FOR MAJOR GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Malnutrition and Food Assistance in Honduras

Transmitted herein is a draft reply for signature by Mr. Ronald L. Elliott to Mr. Robert Oswald, Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, concerning Dr. Stephen Youngberg's voluntary assistance project in Honduras. The reply suggests that Mr. Oswald have Dr. Youngberg contact the U.S. Embassy or the A.I.D. Mission in Honduras to explore possible sources of assistance for his project.

Samuel R. Gammon
Acting Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Suggested reply

2. Mr. Oswald's letter with enclosure

Vellat

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

To: The Secretary of State

Date: August 5, 1974

ACTION R	EQUESTED
X Draft reply for:	
President's signature.	
X Undersigned's signature.	
	NOTE
Memorandum for use as enclosure to	
reply.	The surks and an in a count of
	Prompt action is essential.
Direct reply.	If more than 72 hours' delay is encountered,
Furnish information copy.	please telephone the undersigned immediately, Code 1450.
Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling.	
Furnish copy of reply, if any.	Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.
For your information.	
For comment.	
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To: The President From: Robert L. Oswald, Secretary Date: July 24, 1974	, Interstate Commerce Commission, Was
Subject: Malnutrition and food assis	tance in Honduras.
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i thy is	
RLE:JHH:pb	Roland L. Elliott Special Assistant to the President

(White House File Copy)

For Your Information: For Appropriate Handling: Robert D. Linder

SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Mr. Oswald:

The President asked me to reply to your letter of July 24, 1974, in which you transmitted a letter from Dr. Stephen Youngberg telling of his voluntary assistance project in Honduras and inquired about possible United States Government assistance to him.

As you are probably aware, the United States and Honduras are jointly involved in extensive development assistance programs through such U.S. agencies as the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank. The aim of these programs is to assist Honduras with solutions to the kinds of problems mentioned in Dr. Youngberg's and your letters. You may wish to suggest to Dr. Youngberg that he inquire at the United States Embassy or the A.I.D. Mission in Tegucigalpa to see what possible sources of assistance there might be within Honduras with which he could work.

Sincerely,

Roland L. Elliott Special Assistant to the President

CERNLD P. FORD

Mr. Robert Oswald

Secretary

Interstate Commerce Commission Washington, D.C.

R

Interstate Commerce Commission Washington, D.C. 20423

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

July 24, 1974



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

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have received from my cousin, a physician in Honduras. In that letter he makes mention of his efforts to furnish food to the starving children of that sister country. He states that there are 300,000 malnourished children and that within his 850 acre complex, he is rendering medical care to fifty children and maintaining seventy-five orphans. In addition, he states that fifty die in the third stage of malnutrition daily.

I am at a loss as to where to engender help for his efforts to feed these children.

I am writing to you as a private citizen concerned about such conditions in our neighboring sister countries. My family has been involved in such efforts for three generations and so I have some knowledge of what they face in assisting such people in the underprivileged countries around the world. Any assistance the government can give from a public or private sector will be most appreciated by my relatives and the hungry children of Honduras.

Respectfully

Robert L. Oswald Secretary

Enclosure

July 14, 1974



Dear Cousin Robert:

Just a note to pass on our bestwishes and to renew old aquaintance.

inis war against hunger is getting more serious every day and perhaps you can think up some new doors to knock on or scare up a few new friends for us around Washington.

bill Paddock of 1323 28th St. N.W. has helped us. He wrote HUNGRY NATIONS and FAMINE 1974 and used to live in Honduras.

we need a packaging machine to package powders soy beverage and also a machine to make and fill 2 mil poly enthelen bags with siquid milk. The one we need is distributed by Gaulin, inEveret, Mass and is made in France and costs \$15,000.

We also need English and Spanish literature on every phase of food processing and production and gardening etc.

we are developing a 850 acre farm next to the Government Extension service center for the country and desperately need capital for that.

We are a US and Henduras non-prefit Corp. listed in the IRS Red Book.

Thanks foranything you might be able to think up to help.

Recently the RYDER WORLD magazine March-April Issue had a cover story about the project. If there is a RYDER TRUCK RENTAL outfit near you you might pick up a copy. This could serve to aquaint any one you might talk to about the project. Also the South Bend Tribune for June 16 had a Sunday magazine article as well as the Toledo Blade for about a month previous.

We would appreciate having you join ourlittle team and do what you can for my clients——the 300,000 malnourished children in Honduras. We have 50 in the hospital right now and 75 orphans over on the farm. rifty die in the 3rd stage of malnutrition every day down here.

Congressman Purcell (Graham) and Senater McGovern have helped us.

Cordially and hopefully your pariente,

SECEIVED

Stephen & Verlene & the children

LT HA 35 A BI JUL

DEFICE OF SECRETARY

YOUR PAN AMERICAN HEALTH SERVICE REPORT from

The Children's Nutrition Hospital and Food Factory, Peña Blanca

The Orphanage & Protein Products Farm at Palo Verde

Dear Friend:

"He that goeth forth with weeping, bearing precious seed shall doubtless came again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

Box 191, San Pedro Sula, Honduras May 30, 1974

Spring rains have come at last, moistening the earth parched by 6 months of dry season. While one tractor plants the other is discing or harrowing or picking up rocks. Two crews of children spend several hours a day piling up and hauling rocks from the fields. We were able to buy tropical varieties of Soybeans and Sunflowers in Mexico City and High Lysine Corn and Rice seed here in Honduras this year.

Veriene and the Bramas are in Brownsville getting the trucks ready to cross the barder. Arrangments have been made to get the convoy through Mexico without the usual costly Bonding or Gaurding proceedures. There are six motor vehicles and six trailers—three semi-trailers, two two-wheeled trailers and one implement trailer with a combine.

The 42 passenger school bus denated by Don Hensel's friends in the Butte, N. Dak. Church is pulling the John Deere # 45 combine. The flat bed trailer with its lead of pumps, quenset huts, Buttler Bin, etc. from PUC and Rio Lindo Academy and the water well drilling rig trailer are both being pulled by a turbocharged diesel truck from San Bernardino, Calif. The 250 Diesel tractor from Boston is pulling a 40 ft. Van from Strick in Chicago as well as a 21/2 ton army trailer from Keene, Texas. Two diesel milk vans are loaded with tents and other equipment and supplies and one is pulling a trailer. Ken Sharman's pick-up is the sixth vehicle.

Ocean freight has nearly tripled in price during the past year. Shipping a 40 ft. 20 ton van now costs \$2,000 instead of \$800. New Orleans to Honduras used to be only 1,000 nautical miles but now it is 2,500 highway miles. We drive via Brownsville and Matamoros. (Get your map out and study this route and then begin to make plans to drive down and see us some time soon.) We reach Tampico by the new Soto La Marina highway. Next are Tuxpan, Posa Rica and Vera Cruz (last few miles via a new tell road). At Alvarado one begins to go inland after following the Gulf, beaches all the way from Tampico. At Acayucan we cross the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to Matias Romero and reach Tapachula via Arriaga. Crossing Guatemala we go to Guatemala City via Esquintla and reach the Honduras border via capa and Esquipuias. We enter Honduras friendly border at Agua Caliente and Ocotepeque and get to Lake Yojoa via Santa Rosa and San Pedro Sula. There is good pavement all the way except the last 15 miles which are graveled mountain roads.

Thanks to each of you who have helped by giving equipment, supplies or money for the convoy and for the project as a whole. This load includes things for the farm irrigation, the training institute, and the food factory as well as clothes and medicines for the children and the outpatients.

Please pray for each of us down here and for the many little children living on tortillas and salt and very few beans. These children need 1/3 beans and 2/3 tortillas to survive and thrive on these two staples alone. The future is as bright as the promises of God who has told us "Give ye them to eat". However, to the unaided human vision things look dark down here right now. We are calling on God day and night to deliver us and our large family of 150 here on the two campuses. In my Bible I have a prayer list that includes twelve crises facing us right now. One is a large payment due on our diesel tractor and another is the money needed to get more land planted.

We know you will continue to share with hungry children and to help spread the Good News that God laves the poor and the destitute as well as the affluent and the well fed.

Thankfully and Hopefully,

Stephen & Aileen & Al and the rest of Your Crew in the mountains of Honduras

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DATE 8/19/54 (SPALD P. 40)

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LETTER, MEMO, ETC. agenda

The President

FROM:

William Timmons

SUBJECT:

Meeting with Sen. Charles Percy, 8/18/74

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World Population Conference Diego Garcia

CORRESPONDENCE FILED CENTRAL FILES - CONFIDENCIAL FILE

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

F636-10 W

INFORMATION COIDS

May 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

THOMAS J. BARNES

LES JANKA

SUBJECT:

Senate Foreign Relations Committee View on Suspending

Military Assistance to Indonesia Because of Its Use of

U.S. Arms in Portuguese Timor

Senators Humphrey and Case of the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wrote to Secretary Kissinger (Tab A) on April 28 expressing concern over Indonesia's use of U.S. - supplied arms in Portuguese Timor. The Senators add, that in considering the FY 77 security assistance bill, they will oppose any further commitments of aid to Indonesia until "we are satisfied that we have had an opportunity to consider all facts relevant to Indonesia's use of American-supplied arms and equipment in East Timor. . . " The letter also indicates that the Committee will invite Philip Habib to meet with its Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance to provide detailed information on the extent of use.

This letter is the latest in a series of exchanges over the past several months. In an April 14 letter to the Secretary (Tab B), the Committee had previously requested the State Department to provide a list of the equipment the Indonesians used in Timor and a chronology of events there including the dates in which the USG first learned of this utilization. Bob McCloskey answered that first request April 26. His reply (Tab C) stated that while we did ensure that the Indonesian Government was aware of the provisions of U.S. law regarding the use of American equipment in Timor, nevertheless, information available indicates that the Indonesian forces in Timor did use some U.S.-supplied equipment anyway. McCloskey added that having considered all factors involved in this case, it was the Administration's judgment that U.S. national interests require our continuing security assistance to Indonesia.

We will advise you of additional developments in this case as they occur.

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CLIFFORD P. CASE

7 508664 COMMITTEES APPROPRIATIONS FOREIGN RELATIONS TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT BOARD, VICE CHAIRMAN JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

Miled States Benate WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 14, 1976

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger Secretary of State Washington, D. C. 20520



Deaf Mr. Secretary:

As you know, in response to our letter to you dated March 9, Mr. Carlyle Maw met with members of the staff of the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance to discuss reports that the Government of Indonesia used American supplied equipment in its invasion and occupation of East Timor. During the meeting, Mr. Maw acknowledged that the Indonesians have, in fact, used U. S. equipment and that they may be in violation of the law and agreements under which the equipment was supplied to them.

We recognize the importance of U. S. relations with Indonesia and are deeply concerned that the violation of the law in this respect could cause serious problems in those relations. We understand from Mr. Maw that the U. S. Government has made representations to the Government of Indonesia in which the U. S. explained the potential consequences of violation of law and agreements. Apparently, these representation have been ignored.

The attitude of the Indonesian Government is of particular concern to us because we fear that the example of Timor may prompt other U. S. aid recipient governments to believe that they, too, may misuse U. S. supplied equipment with impunity.

In order that the Subcommittee may assess Indonesian actions and U. S. Government responses, we would appreciate receiving a chronology governing Indonesia's actions, including an identification of equipment used, and the U. S. Government's responses.

This chronology should specify when the U. S. Government first became aware of the possibility of Indonesian intervention in East Timor. In addition, since our representations apparently had no effect, we would like to know what you plan to do next in order to secure compliance with the law and agreements.

We are aware of the complexities of the situation in East Timor and the inherent difficulties involved in assuring that the use of U. S. supplied equipment complies with our laws and the agreements under which it was furnished. However, as Chairman and Ranking Member of the Subcommittee delegated the responsibility to oversee the implementation of the Foreign Assistance and Foreign Military Sales Acts, we believe strongly that the U. S. Government must adhere to all provisions of the laws governing the transfer of military equipment. Prompt receipt of the information which we have requested will help the Subcommittee to discharge its oversight responsibilities and to cooperate with your efforts to resolve this scrious issue.

1 1111 1.

Hubert H. Humplwage

Chairman

CPC:kc

Sincerely

Clifford Case

Ranking Member

Dear Senator Humphrey:

Thank you for the letter of April 14 from you and Senator Case regarding the possible use of US-supplied equipment by the Indonesians in Timor. (This same letter is being repeated to Senator Case.) As Under Secretary Naw observed in his discussion with staff members of the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance regarding the recent events in Fast Timor, the situation is both complex and ambiguous in character. In response to your request for a chronology of Indonesia's actions, the following describes the situation as we understand it and as Under Secretary Maw conveyed it to your staff.

Indonesian actions in Fast Timor came in the wake of a complex series of events extending back to the change of regimes in Portugal in early 1974. The situation that developed from the initial Portuguese decision to withdraw from its colony in Fast Timor has been described in detail in the March 12, 1976 report of the United Mations Secretary General to the Security Council, based on the fact-finding mission of his special representative to the area earlier this year. (A copy of the report is enclosed.)

In the spring of 1974 the Government of Portugal determined to initiate a process of decolonization for all its overseas colonies. At Indonesia's initiative, discussions were held between Indonesia and Portugal to ensure that the Portuguese withdrawal would be orderly and that the political views of various Timorese political groups would be considered.

The Honorable
Hubert H. Humphrey. Chairman,
Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate.

A plan for phased decolonization of the territory was drawn up as a result of the fighting. This left a political vacuum in last Timor, a situation which Indonesia considered a threat to stability and security in the area.

One of the warring Timorese factions, a party known as Fretilia, gained the support of the Timorese soldiers left behind when the Portuguese garrison was evacuated and obtained possession of the stocks of weapons abandoned by the departing Portuguese. Controlling the only trained and fully armed military force remaining in the colony, Fretilin subsequently occupied much of the territory. To escape the conflict, approximately 40,000 refugees (roughly seven percent of the total population) fled to the Indonesian side of the island. Although the fighting continued, Fretilin in late November 1975 unilaterally acclared the territory independent under its rule. Within days the Fretilin regime, which had been designated "the Pornocratic Republic of "ast Timor", was recognized by Gninea, Guinea-Rissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde and the MPLA faction in Angola. The four main Timerese parties opposed to Fretilin theroupon sought help from Indonesia.

With Indonesia's support, the four anti-Fretilin parties were able to turn the tide and evict the Fretilin forces from Dili, the capital, and most of the other towns and villages in the territory.

These parties then joined to form a coalition government which they termed "the Provisional Government of Past Timox" and which now appears to be in control of most of the territory. Fighting still continues in some of the remote hill areas, however, and we understand that there have also been incursions by Fretilin forces into Indonesian territory.

From the outbreak of civil war in August to Fretilin's unilateral declaration, the Indonesian Government continued to press Portugal to resume responsibility for restoring order in Timor and to encourage negotiations among all Timorese political factions. The Indonesians and Portuguese foreign ministers not in Home in October to discuss measures to restore peace to the island, but follow-up action was not forthcoming. During this period the Indonesians also tried unsuccessfully to develop support for the

formation of an international peacekceping force made up of several Southeast Asian countries plus Portugal.

Throughout this period, U.S. officials in Jakarta were reporting to us the apprehension exhibited by the Indonesian Government as to the potential adverse impact these developments might have on the regime's security. The options being examined by the Indonesians were not completely revealed to us, but the probability of direct military intervention became increasingly clear. Fract plans were closely held by the Indonesians but we did become aware of impending military operations just before the actual landings took place in December 1975.

Prior to Fretilin's action and the subsequent Indonesian reaction, we had taken the position that the Timor problem was one for resolution by those directly concerned. Fortugal, Indonesia, such close neighbors as Australia, and the people of Fast Timor. We did, however, take steps to ensure that the Indonesian Covernment was aware of the provisions of Section 505(D) of the Foreign Assistance Act and Section 3(c) of the Foreign Military Sales Act and of our concern in this regard.

Timor is a remete area and our information on events there is inadequate in many respects. Nevertheless, our information indicates that the Indonesian forces in Timor used some US-supplied equipment in their operations. We do not have a complete list of the equipment used.

We have kept the Timor problem under careful scrutiny while the UT Security Council has been saized with the matter. We have supported that effort, and have not wanted to take any measure which could have been construed as projudicing UT action and judgments. This would not have been in our interest either with respect to our bilateral relations with Indonesia or with respect to our UT responsibilities.

At the present time we are continuing to support these efforts by the Fecretary Ceneral and the Security Council to seek a peaceful solution. The Secretary General's report of March 12 points to the need for further consultation among the various parties to resolve the Firer issue and suggests that,



as a first step, the people of Tast Timor be consulted on the future status of the territory. Various proposals for doing this have been advanced by Indonesia and other parties.

Given the importance of our interests in Indonesia, we have been anxious that the Timor problem not unnecessarily disturb our friendly relations with this key country. In weighing all factors including the legal issues, we have taken into account the complex and ambiguous nature of the problem itself, the views of the Congress as expressed in its debates and its action on relevant legislation, the fact that the fighting in Timor has dwindled, and the continuing role of the United Mations — including the most recent Security Council resolution of April 22. Under these circumstances, it is the Administration's judgment that it is in the U.S. national interest to continue security assistance to Indonesia.

I hope that the above information may be of help to you, and we would be happy to meet with you informally or in executive session to expand on any aspect of it.

Sincerely,

V RAHOO V YOUR ON THE WAY

Robert J. HcCloskey Assistant Secretary for Congressional Eclations

Enclosure:

UN Secretary General's report.

Drafted by: FA/IMS: FCIngraham: DTKcnney: 10r 4-23-76 ext 21236 147608064

Clearances: FA - Mr. HabibCiff PM - Mr. Slott?r
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CLIFFORD P. CASE, M.J.
JACOB R. JANTB, M.V.
IRKIN SCOTT, FA.
JANGE W. FARASON, KANS.
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Minited States Benate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 28, 1976

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ERALD

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger Secretary of State Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Thank you for your letter of April 26 responding to our inquiries concerning the possibility that Indonesia's use of American-supplied equipment in Timor may be in violation of the law and agreements under which the equipment was provided. We understand and share your concern about the sensitivity and importance of U.S. relations with the Government of Indonesia. However, after careful consideration of your letter we remain concerned about the Department's response to the Indonesians' actions and about the precedent which this response may establish.

At the first opportunity, we will invite Assistant Secretary Philip Habib to meet with the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance to provide the detailed information which was requested in our letter of April 14, but was not forthcoming in your response. We believe that the Subcommittee must have all the relevant facts about the situation before it takes a position regarding the provision of further assistance to Indonesia. The Subcommittee will pursue this information through private communications with the Executive Branch and possibly through hearings or a staff investigation.

For the moment, the Subcommittee plans to continue with its consideration of assistance for Indonesia in the FY 1977 security assistance bill. Until we are satisfied that we have had an opportunity to consider all facts relevant to Indonesia's use of American supplied arms and equipment in East Timor, however, it is our view that no further commitments of arms or other items supplied under the authorities of the Foreign Assistance Act or the Foreign Military Sales Act should be made to the Government of Indonesia.

We recognize the complexities and difficulties involved in the achievement of a satisfactory resolution of this issue, particularly in a public forum. The Subcommittee has and plans to continue to discharge its responsibilities to ensure full compliance with the applicable laws and agreements in the most effective possible way and stands ready to continue to cooperate with you in this regard.

Hubert H. Humphrey

Chairman

Sincerely,

Clifford Case Ranking Member

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

FO3-2/CO68

June 11,1975

A BARBI

Dear Mr. Long: Clasence S.

This is in further response to your concern about US policy on arms sales to Iran, including your letter of December 20, 1974.

We believe that the specific documents which contain the information you are seeking should not be distributed beyond the offices which have responsibility for implementing the terms of the President's directive. We appreciate your needs and those of your colleagues to be aware of factors and conditions underlying US policy in this area, however, and would like to suggest an alternative to distributing the subject documents outside of the Executive Branch.

You will recall that in the March 7 response to your inquiry, Mr. Vernon Loen of the White House Staff indicated that he would be pleased to arrange meetings for you with members of the State Department to discuss the particular concerns you may have about our arms policy decisions. I would now like to add that, if you desire, members of the National Security Council Staff are also prepared to brief you on US arms sales to Iran and specifically discuss with you in detail the contents of the Presidential directive governing policy in this area.

The particular documents you seek deal with only certain aspects of complex matters which are best understood if placed in a broader context which can be provided by an oral briefing. We sincerely believe this suggested alternative will meet your need for full access to information while at the same time protecting the sensitivity of these internal Executive Branch instructions of the President.

I hope that you will find these arrangements suitable and that we can arrange a meeting for you in the near future with the most knowledgeable staff officers in the Executive Branch.

Sincerely,

Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

18ARBIL

Honorable Clarence D. Long House of Representatives Washington, D. C. 20515 Dear Ge

Dear Gengressman Long:

This is in further response to your lotter of December 20, 1974

This version cleared by Oakley

and to the more recent request from Gengress woman Chroeder concerning

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Sincerely,



Honorable Clarence D. Long House of Representatives Washington, D. C. 20515 Dear Congressman Long:

I am writing in further response to your letter of December 20, 1974 and to the more recent request from Congressman Shroeder concerning U.S. policy on arms sales to Iran.

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A Society Bonds

Sincerely,

Max Friedersdorf

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 7, 1975

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Sincerely,

Jeanne W. Davis Staff Secretary 184887

Honorable Clarence D. Long House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen

Executive Secretary Department of State

SUBJECT:

Congressional Request for Information

on U.S. Arms Sales to Iran

For your information I am enclosing a copy of my letters to Representatives Long and Schroeder in which I offer to arrange a State Department briefing for these two members of Congress.

In addition to the regular internal distribution of these letters we ask that you forward a copy of the correspondence to Monroe Leigh.

Jeanne W. Davis Staff becretary

Attachments

June 11, 1975

NSC/S:

Please sethat a copy of the signed letters is sent to Janka, Oakley, Buchen and Friedersdorf.

A copy of Schroeder's letter of March should also be sent with the letters to State.

Thanks.

Steve Skancke



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 11, 1975

JWD:

REVIEW AND SIGNATU

-- Letters to Long and Schroeder

-- memorandum to Springsteen



Buchen has responded that he concurs in the proposed replies. He asks that we send him a copy of signed letters and that we have one sent to the State Legal Adkviser.

Steve

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 11, 1975

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REVIEW AND SIGNATU

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Legal Adixiser.

Steve

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 6-10

Buchen's office called (Eva) regarding the attached package says he has nothing more to add to what Casselman said other than info copies should be sent to Monroe Lee--Legal Adviser at State and himself of the signed letters.



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Jeanne Davis

FROM:

Phil Buchen P.W.B.

In response to your memorandum of June 9, I see no problem with the attached letters, but suggest you send me an information copy, as well as one to Monroe Leigh at State.

Your letters are returned herewith for your signature.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 9, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHILIP W. BUCHEN

FROM:

Jeanne W. Davi

SUBJECT:

Response to Congressional Requests for

Information on U.S. Arms Sales to Iran

Last December Congressman Clarence Long wrote to the President seeking information on U.S. arms sales to Iran. We furnished Max Friedersdorf with a draft which we understand was signed by Vern Loen giving a general description of our policy toward Iran and indicating that, because some of the detailed questions Long raised could not be handled adequately in a letter, we would arrange a meeting with State Department officials to discuss his concerns.

Mr. Long found the response unacceptable and has indicated that if he is unable to get answers to his questions, his subcommittee may subpoena the desired information or hold special hearings. (Mr. Long also sits on the Appropriations Subcommittee having jurisdiction over the NSC Staff and raised this question in our budget hearings.) Evidentally he is not interested in another letter from the White House Congressional Relations office and Vern Loen has asked that the NSC write directly to Long.

The documents he is seeking are two 1972 memoranda from Mr. Kissinger to the Secretaries of State and Defense regarding "Follow-up on the President's talk with the Shah of Iran." In response to a request last year from Senator Fulbright and two more recent requests from Congressman Long and Senator Sparkman the matter of releasing or showing these documents was raised with Secretary Kissinger. He decided that we should neither give nor allow congressional staff members to read these documents and that instead we should offer an oral briefing to the interested parties, informing them of the content of the documents and placing them in the context of overall US policy. Accordingly, we have prepared a draft response to Congressman Long renewing the offer of the State Department briefing and adding that the NSC Staff is also prepared to discuss the content of the memorandum containing the President's decisions on US policy toward Iran.

In a recent letter Congresswoman Schroeder has joined Mr. Long in his request for information on U.S - Iran relations and, following consultation with Vernon Loen, we propose to offer her a State briefing as well.

May we please have your clearance and/or comments on the two letters. Because Long was told a further response would be forthcoming very soon, I would appreciate your earliest consideration and if possible an indication of your position by Tuesday, June 10.

Attachments



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 4/6 pm Jeanne -Both Boso Cakley and has Janka have beviewed and cleared these betters to Long and Schroeder. Are we all Set to move them? Kosunary

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LT. GEN. BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

VERN LOEN V

SUBJECT:

M.C. Clarence Long (D-Md)

Mr. Long was dissatisfied with my March 7 response to his letter of December 20, 1974 (see attached).

Mr. Long is a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee having jurisdiction over NSC. He is determined to get answers to the questions raised in his letter concerning U.S. arms sales policy toward Iran. He says that if the answers are not provided, his subcommittee may subpoena the desired information or hold special hearings.

In addition, he indicates that other members of Congress are watching the Administration's response to this request. Presumably, these are members of the liberal Democratic Study Group who have been introducing privileged resolutions of inquiry on a regular basis.

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FO3-2/068

March 7, 1975



Dear Mr. Long: Clarence 1.

This is in further reply to your thoughtful letter to the President regarding U.S. arms sales policy to Iran.

It has been and remains our policy to encourage moderate states in the Gulf area to develop the capability to maintain regional stability as well as to meet their legitimate national security needs. Iran, which has pursued a policy of moderation and responsibility in this regard over the years, has a constructive role to play. Our policy toward Iran and the Gulf states was undertaken to further the parallel objectives of regional cooperation and strength in this important area in a time when many of the states in that area are newly independent. We feel that this policy has been constructive in that Iran is working with several of the Gulf states, including in response to the radical-supported insurgency in Oman, in a cooperative way to help achieve regional security, which is also important to peace and stability in the broader Middle East area.

Regarding the question you raise about the secrecy of the U.S. decision-making process, decisions on sales of military equipment to Iran and other countries have been and are taken by authorized officials at times and through established processes appropriate to the issue, with due consideration being given to the ramifications for our foreign policy as a whole and to the U.S. national interest. This is the case with respect to the specific points you raised concerning Iran.

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CENTRAL FILES

Because you have raised a number of issues in some detail, I believe your particular concerns would be best met by arranging for a full discussion with members of the Department of State and I would be prepared to arrange such a meeting at your request.

Sincerely,

Van

Vernon C. Loen Deputy Assistant to the President



The Honorable Clarence D. Long House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: to General Scowcroft - FYI (0067)

VCL:NSC:EF:ki

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Sincerely,

Vermon C. Leen Seputy Assistant to the President



The Homorable Clarence D. Long House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

bec: to General Scoweroft - FYX (0067)

VCL: MSC: EF: ki

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

February 27, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JEANNE W. DAVIS

SUBJECT:

Reply to Congressman Long on U.S. Arms

Sales Policy to Iran

The attached correspondence from Congressman Long had been sent to State for consideration. We believe that the best approach for a further reply is a short letter outlining the basic framework of our policy and recommending a full briefing at the State Department. We would coordinate in arranging such a meeting if Mr. Long requests one. He raises a number of issues in detail which would go beyond the space of a letter and could more appropriately be handled in an oral briefing. Attached is a suggested further reply for your signature.

Les Janea and Col. Granger concur.

Max of h

Dear Congressman Long:

In further reply to your thoughtful letter to the President regarding
on U.S. arms sales policy to Iran. I want to say that the oppor-

tunity to review your thoughts was approciated.

It has been and remains our policy to encourage moderate states in the Gulf area to develop the capability to maintain regional stability as well as to meet their legitimate national security needs. Iran, which has pursued a policy of moderation and responsibility in this regard over the years, has a constructive role to play. Our policy toward Iran and the Gulf states was undertaken to further the parallel objectives of regional cooperation and strength in this important area in a time when many of the states in that area are newly independent. We feel that this policy has been constructive in that Iran is working with several of the Gulf states, including in response to the radical-supported insurgency in Oman, in a cooperative way to help achieve regional security, which is also important to peace and stability in the broader Middle East area.

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PAGE 2

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Sincerely,

Vernen C. Loen Reg ant to the P

bec to Meneral Scoweroft - FyI (0067)

VC L: NSC/of:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Wes und sign? Combat readings is ust affected by skulled personnel in las DOD cleared Section 3 ("Secrecy... 15 exceedingly mentightening Sales are public. Our policy is consistent with over interests, as described

SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Mr. Long:

I have been asked to reply to your letter of December 20 to President Ford concerning United States arms sales policy toward Iran, which Mr. Verne Loen acknowledged on January 2.

Since World War II the United States has had an interest in Iran's becoming a strong entity in the Middle East. During the past three decades we have had a steadily evolving relationship with Iran, passing through periods of assistance against Soviet attempts at territorial aggrandizement and of cooperation in developing Iran's economy to a point where Iran no longer needs our assistance through grant aid or concessional loans. Iran has become a noteworthy example of countries that have used an initial input of foreign assistance to help create a self-sustaining level of development. Economic growth in Iran has been accompanied by the development of stable political institutions and conditions.

Honorable Clarence D. Long, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.



It is the policy of this Administration, as it was the policy of previous U.S. Administrations, to encourage regional countries to develop the capability to maintain stability in the Persian Gulf region and to assure that the vital oil resources of the region remain in friendly hands and available to the Western world. The importance of these objectives has become ever clearer with the passage of time. Iran's size and geographic position, its determination to modernize, the progress it has achieved, its history of responsible conduct in the region since World War II, and its interest in promoting regional cooperation for stability, all give it a key role in the achievement of our policy toward the Persian Gulf region.

As Iran has developed its economic and security capabilities, it has sought to play an expanded role in the Indian Ocean area and in the world beyond. Its aspirations in this regard appear a natural development that need not conflict with United States interests and should, indeed, complement them.

As for Iran's desire to purchase defense equipment from the United States, the following factors have been included in our consideration: 1) Iran has the funds to



purchase equipment; 2) for most types of equipment, other sources than the United States are available; and 3) our attitudes on sales of equipment are an integral part of our broader relationship, with an effect on Iranian willingness to cooperate with us in other fields including its willingness to continue as a reliable source of oil to us and our allies in the face of an Arab oil embargo. We have seen our overall interests as being well served by a generally positive attitude on Iranian requests, subject to consonance with our broader foreign policy aims and our commitments elsewhere.

Your letter addresses three specific major points:

1. Depletion of U.S. Technical Skills. I am assured that the Department of Defense gives U.S. technical skill shortages careful consideration when evaluating requests to provide these skills to other countries. When skills in the U.S. armed forces cannot be spared, it may be recommended to the purchasing country that it obtain the needed skills commercially.

I fully agree with you, in any event, that the effect on U.S. readiness of exporting military technical skills is important, not only in the case of Iran



but also in the case of sales to other countries.
We shall be paying close attention to this problem.

2. Depletion of U.S. Hardware. U.S. Government decisions on timing of deliveries of military equipment to foreign buyers take into consideration the needs of the U.S. services, U.S. production capabilities and procurement levels authorized for the U.S. services by the Congress. Journalistic reporting on foreign procurement usually describes the content but not the time of first delivery to the buyer and the relationship to the purchasing timetable of U.S. services. To cite several examples from your letter: F-14 deliveries to Iran will not start until scheduled production levels for the U.S. Navy provide spare capacity for production for Iran; construction of Spruance-class destroyers for Iran is scheduled after construction of those currently authorized for the U.S. Navy; Huey helicopters for Iran are designed to meet special Iranian needs (high/altitude-hot climate) and are not U.S.-forces standard; production of neither Huey nor Cobra aircraft deprives U.S. forces of equipment, since our forces are authorized to procure only limited numbers of helicopters. Iranian orders for these and other systems provide jobs

and profits for U.S. industry and foreign exchange earnings for the United States, while keeping production lines in operation in case of need by the United States or its allies.

3. Secrecy of Decision-making There is no single, fixed procedure for making decisions on security-related issues. Decisions on sales of military equipment to Iran and other countries have been and are taken by authorized officials at times and through processes appropriate to the issue, with due consideration being given to the ramifications for our foreign policy as a whole and to the U.S. national interest. That is the case with respect to the specific points you raised concerning Iran.

In response to your question on how we can be sure that Iran will not use its military might to take over the oil reserves of the other Persian Gulf states, one must concede that it is impossible to be completely certain of anything in international affairs. But a look at the record may be instructive: Iran renounced its claim to Bahrain; Iran has tried to get the other Gulf states to join in a cooperative security agreement; Iran is supporting the legitimate government of Oman

por

against foreign-inspired guerillas; moreover, Iran has
for some years been militarily far stronger than any
combination of its Gulf neighbors (excluding Iraq),
but it has not taken aggressive action against them.
This suggests that Iran's desire to develop its economy
and society in a secure environment far outweighs any
latent imperialistic intent that some foreign observers
may claim to detect.

Finally I should note, on one point you mentioned, that the Iranian Government has publicly stated that the Shah was misquoted in the interview with the Lebanese publisher on Iran's intentions in any future Middle East war As a matter of fact, the Shah has recently made clear that he has no intention to send his military forces to assist the Arab side in a future crisis with Israel. In addition, Iran is continuing to maintain cordial, although informal, relations with Israel, as it has done for many years.

Sincerely,

JPGE VELASSIFIED,

JOINT NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL/STATE SECRETARIAT REFERRAL/RESPONSE FORM

	MEMORANDUM FOR: George S. Springsteen Date: Jan. 4, 1974 Executive Secretary . Department of State NSC Log No. 67					
SECURITY COUNCIL	The attached document(s) are forwarded for staffing as indicated below:					
	XXX DRAFT REPLY FOR: PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE TRANSLATION WHITE HOUSE STAFF SIGNATURE RECOMMENDATIONS OTHER INFO ONLY					
	DIRECT REPLYfurnish info copy SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS:					
NATIONAL S	URGENT XXXX PRIORITY ROUTINE for JEANNE W. DAVIS DUE DATE: 1/10/75 Staff Secretary					
DA COMMENTER MAN	MEMORANDUM FOR: Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft National Security Council The White House Date: January 25, 1975 S/S Log No. 7500170					
DEPARTMENT OF STATE	Pursuant to the above referral we are transmitting with this memorandum: Draft reply for: President's signature X Other signature Information copy of direct reply Translation REMARKS The attached item was received by the Department of State: We believe no response is necessary A draft response is attached A draft response will be forwarded					
THE PARTY HOUSE AND THE	Executive Secretary					
IPTION	To: Pres Gerald R. Ford From: Clarence D. Long Date: Dec. 20, 1974 Subject: Rep. Long writes Pres re his request for info re US commitments to Iran & urges review of US arms sales to Iran & other Persian Gulf					

UNCLASSIFIED (Classification)

DOCUMENT ESCRIPTION

states.

EXECUTIVE F03-2/C068 C068

Dear Mr. Long:

Thank you for your December 20 letter to the President requesting information regarding United States' commitments to Iran and urging a review of our Nation's arms cales to Iran and other Persian Gulf states.

I have carefully noted your concern about the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, and will see that the President and his fereign policy advisors receive your letter as seen as possible.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,



Vernen C. Lean Special Assistant to the President

The Honorable Clarence II. Long House of Representatives Washington, D. C. 20515

bcc w/inc to General Scowcroft - for further DRAFT reply, please

VCL EF: jlc

10

MECEIVED
JAN 31975
CENTRAL FILES

CLARENGE D. LONG 2D-DISTRICT, MARYLAND

> COMMITTEE ON **APPROPRIATIONS**

SUBCOMMITTEES: FOREIGN OPERATIONS MILITARY CONSTRUCTION INTERIOR

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

20 December 1974

2421 RAYBURN BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

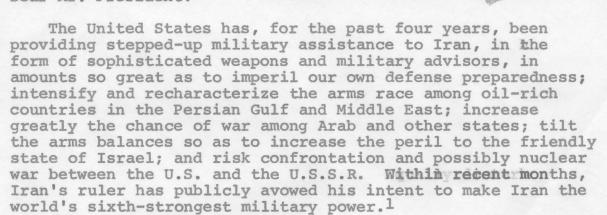
DISTRICT OFFICES: 200 Post Office Building TOWSON, MARYLAND 21204

GOVERNMENT HOUSE 8136 LIBERTY ROAD BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 20217

"OFFICE ON WHEELS"

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:



Equally disturbing as this stepped-up military buildup of Iran is the fact that it was decided in secrecy, without opportunity for prior debate and discussion. I have twice asked for details on our policy commitments to Iran, and have twice received, from Secretary Kissinger, evasive and incomplete answers.

I request that Congress be provided with full facts on all U.S. commitments to Iran during the past five years, and especially those made at the May, 1972 Teheran meeting between President Nixon and the Shah. Moreover, I urge an immediate and thorough review of U.S. arms sales to Iran and other Persian Gulf states. I hope that you, Mr. President, will give that review and its results your closest personal attention.

It may be that the sales we have pledged to Iran are indeed in our national interest. It may, on the other hand, be advisable to modify our arms sales policy to avert dangers to U.S. security and to the stability of the Persian Gulf. Whatever our course in this crucial area of the world, that course is so fraught with danger and so important that it should be adopted only after the most careful debate and study.



The Honorable Gerald R. Ford 20 December 1974 Page Two

Three major facts stand out from my investigation into our policies toward Iran.

Depletion of U.S. technical skills: The General Accounting Office noted a Presidential promise in May, 1972 to provide "the number of technical personnel necessary to assist Iranian military advancement." Under the terms of that promise, 500-600 U.S. military with scarce skills are at this moment instructing Iranian military personnel in the operation and maintenance of highly advanced U.S. weaponry and in various logistics, communications and electronic projects. How extensive U.S. training in Iran has been, I saw at first hand on my visit to that country for the Appropriations Committee in August, 1973.

The GAO study also cautioned that supplying Iran with advisors on the present scale could "adversely affect the readiness status of U.S. forces." 4 GAO points out:

An Army document, dated October 2, 1973, listing specialty shortages showed 34 of these (69) skills supplied to Iran were in short supply to worldwide Army requirements. The listing did not specify the degree of shortage. A review of the U.S. Army in Europe manpower requirements, however, showed, as of February 28, 1974, that nine of these were in critical short supply to that command's needs.⁵

Depletion of U.S. hardware: The U.S. is providing critically needed and very sophisticated military hardware to Iran, at the expense of our own military's needs for modernization. Sales to Iran total just in Fiscal 1973-74 between \$5.8 and \$6.8 billion, depending on whose estimates one accepts. Included are very new weapons—such as the Phoenix, Maverick and TOW Anti-tank Missiles, Spruance—class destroyers, F-14 aircraft and the most advanced Huey and Cobra helicopter models.

Despite these massive supplies, the Shah still asks for other U.S. weapons. I have been advised that the Shah in May, 1972 indicated an interest in laser-guided bombs. The Shah is now trying to persuade, the Defense Department to re-open production of the C-5A. He has accepted an offer from us to sell him 80 F-14s, though U.S. forces still do not have all they require. The Shah has also expressed an interest in acquiring hundreds of the newest generation of U.S. fighters, YF 16s and YF 17s, still under development. In 1973, the Shah made overtures to buy about 70 Fairchild A-10A close support fighters. Perhaps most alarming, I have learned from non-official sources that the Shah has asked the U.S. to sell him a missile which is worth having only if armed with a nuclear warhead.

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford 20 December 1974 Page Three

In addition to trying to buy our weapons and weapons systems outright, the Shah has taken steps to become a weapons producer. He has been negotiating with Bell Helicopter to establish a military helicopter plant in Iran, in which Iran would have co-production rights. 13 Press reports recently have indicated that the Defense Department is prepared to give a green light to the deal.

Secrecy: As I indicated at the beginning of my letter, I am most distressed by the secrecy with which major commitments to Iran have been clothed. There is evidence which entitles us to believe that in May, 1972, President Nixon made a direct promise to the Shah that the U.S. would sell Iran F-14 aircraft, though the actual sale was not made until January, 1974. The specific document central to this issue is a White House Memorandum, dated June 15, 1972. This memorandum, various sources tell me, contains all the pledges made by President Nixon to the Shah at Teheran.

Normally, a decision of this magnitude (to increase substantially U.S. arms sales to a country like Iran) would be made via a National Security Decision Memorandum, based on a National Security Study Memorandum of the pros and cons of the proposed action. No such Decision Memorandum was prepared as a result of the Teheran meeting in May, 1972. 16

The use of a White House Memorandum would strongly indicate that there was, at the time of the Teheran meeting, no current National Security Study Memorandum available on arms sales to Iran. The White House Memorandum, which I have requested, was classified by Dr. Kissinger 17 and contains, I believe, much of the key information regarding our sharply increased arms exports to Iran. Some of the information was most certainly provided to Congress in bits and pieces, but there is no evidence that any Committee of Congress was told that the President had promised to sell Iran F-14s as early as May, 1972. Secretary Kissinger has refused to provide the White House Memorandum which would confirm or deny this premise of an offer. Certainly, there is no evidence that any Committee is aware of study and evaluation current at the May, 1972 time which would have justified our sharply increased commitment to Iran--a commitment involving sales of highly advanced weapons systems.

These three concerns—the diminution of U.S. personnel skills, the depletion of U.S. arms supplies, and the covertness of the broadening of U.S. military help to Iran, without study, debate or evaluation—lead to questions vital to our national defense, foreign policy, and world peace.

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford 20 December 1974 Page Four

How can the U.S. justify drawing down its own manpower and materiel in aiding Iran, already widely recognized as the major power in the Persian Gulf, to become an even greater power?

How can the U.S. be sure that Iran's growing military power will not be aimed, by the Shah or his successors, at grabbing the huge oil reserves (2/3 of the world's proved supply) in weaker Persian Gulf states like Kuwait, the Emirates, Iraq and Saudi Arabia?

Prior to now, it has been believed that Iran was friendly to the United States, and understanding of the U.S. policy in the Middle East.

A sudden shift of policy was signaled in the Shah's interview with a Lebanese newspaper publisher on December 5, 1974. The Shah made it plain that Iran's military might will be used on the side of Arab states in any future war, or to force Israel to comply with resolutions voted by the United Nations.19

I urge you, Mr. President, to re-examine our policies of secretly arming Iran at the expense of our own national defense and at the expense of upsetting the military balance in an area so important as a source of petroleum energy and as a threat to peace.

Sincerely

CLARENCE D. LONG. M.C

CDL:jfo

FOOTNOTES

- Press conference given by the Shah of Iran in Washington, D.C., July, 1973; interview with the Lebanese weekly, "Al-Hawadith," December 5, 1974. Also see New York Times, December 7, 1974, "Shah's Iran: Moving Unevenly Toward a Persian Reniassance."
- Question for the record to Secretary Kissinger from Congressman Long submitted during June, 1974 hearings before the House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, page 106, Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1975. Letter from Congressman Long to Secretary Kissinger, October 16, 1974; response on November 8, 1974 signed by Assistant Secretary of State Linwood Holton did not mention the document in question.
- 3. <u>Issues Related to U.S. Military Sales and Assistance To Iran</u>, General Accounting Office, October 21, 1974, page 13. All references to GAO findings are taken from unclassified pages, or parts of pages. The report does contain classified information which this letter has not used.
- 4. Ibid, page 17.
- 5. Ibid, page 17. The GAO adds: "According to Air Force projections for March 1974, there will be worldwide U.S. Air Force shortages--15 percent or more short of authorized strength--in 24 of the Specialty Codes associated with the TAFT agreement, 20 of which were identified as mission essential skills." These projections do not include other possible shortages in backup units in the United States who perform much work on Iran-related sales.
- 6. The official military sales to Iran for fiscal 1973 are listed at \$2.054 billion. The official Defense Department figure on fiscal 1974 sales is \$3.7 billion, although the Congress was told in April, 1974 via the Congressional Presentation document of an estimated \$4.8 billion in military sales to Iran in fiscal 1974. That estimate became unclassified on June 30, 1974, but the fiscal 1975 figure is still classified.
- 7. All weapons systems mentioned in this letter have been mentioned in the public media. Of note is Arms in the Persian Gulf, Dale R. Tahtinen, with a foreword by Melvin R. Laird, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C., 1974.



- 8. Laser-guided bombs are mentioned in "Colossus of the Oil Lanes," Arnaud De Borchgrave, Newsweek, May 21, 1973.
- 9. The New York Times, "Iran Offers to Fully Back Resumed Output of C-5A's," December 2, 1974, broke the story. See also "Lockheed Moves to Open C-5 Line," Aviation Week, December 9, 1974.
- 10. Foreign Assistance Act of 1974, Report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, November 29, 1974, page 62:

"The recent sale of 80 F-14 fighter aircraft to Iran could considerably reduce combat capability of the U.S. Armed Forces. These aircraft, the most sophisticated fighter aircraft available, will be delivered to Iran prior to the planned U.S. Navy F-14 Force being fully equipped."

For other examples, see "Iran to Get Better Helicopters Than U.S. Army," Armed Forces Journal, February, 1973.

- 11. "Iran Reported Leaning Toward Purchase of Northrop YF-17," Aerospace Daily, July 10, 1974.
- 12. "Iran will buy A-10s---3 squadrons of them, if USAF A-7/A-10 flyoff now underway, vindicates Fairchild Industries new close support plane," Armed Forces Journal, May, 1974. Fairchild sources first reported to Congressman Long's office the Shah was interested in the A-10 in 1973.
- 13. Telephone conversation between Greg Rushford, of Congressman Long's staff, and Mr. Rockwell, of Bell Helicopter's Washington, D.C. office, November 19, 1974.
- 14. Letter to Congressman Long from H.M. Fish, Major General, USAF, Defense Security Assistance Agency, 19 August, 1974.
- 15. The best explanation of how the Administration's national security apparatus is supposed to work is contained in Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT, John Newhouse, Holt, Rinhart And Winston, 1973, pp. 146-148. Mr. Newhouse should know, because his work draws extensively upon NSDMs, NSSMs, and back channel communications. For contrast, see Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1975, House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, page 100. The record reads:

Mr. LONG. Please provide for the record a list of all national security decision memoranda issued by this Administration since its inception in 1969

through the present: (1) the number of each national security decision memorandum, (2) the date issued, (3) the subject, and (4) a brief, but specific description of the policy set forth in that document.

Secretary KISSINGER. National security decision memorandums reflect guidance regarding the entire spectrum of national security issues. These memorandums invariably deal with highly sensitive subjects and by their very nature are not capable of being publicly disclosed without substantial risk to the policy of objectives they are intended to achieve. For these reasons, we have never compiled a list of these memorandums for dissemination outside the executive branch and have engaged in the congressional and public affairs aspects of decisionmaking without specific reference to particular NSDM's. We would, of course, be pleased to discuss fully any aspect of U.S. foreign policy which is of concern to the committee, whether or not the particular also happens to be the subject of a national security decision memorandum.

- 16. Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations
 For 1975, House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee,
 page 106.
- Letter to Congressman Long from H.M. Fish, Major General, USAF, Defense Security Assistance Agency, 19 August, 1974.
- 18. My conclusion is based on questions by my staff to staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Senate Armed Services Committee, plus extensive readings from published Congressional hearings and available press reports from 1972-1974. It is possible, of course, that selected Members of Congress were told of some May, 1972 Presidential commitments, but I have found no evidence that Congress has ever been notified on an official basis. Secretary Schlesinger did mention in a press conference of September 25, 1974 that both the F-14 and F-15 aircraft had been offered to Iran during 1972. That is the closest available public source for any 1972 U.S. commitments, whether by the White House or elsewhere in the U.S. government.



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PAT DE DATE, CHIEF OF STAFF

Minisco States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 12, 1974

I de la constante de la consta

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger Secretary of State Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

As you know, Norvill Jones and George W. Ashworth of the Committee staff were in Iran recently in connection with the Committee's study of U. S. arms sales policies.

While there, they attempted to obtain from the Embassy staff information concerning the assurances given to the Shah by the then-President Hixon during his 1972 visit to Iran relative to U. S. arms sales policy and the U. S. interpretation of the meaning of the 1959 Agreement of Cooperation between the United States and Iran. They were advised to ask the Department in Washington for documentation on both of these matters.

In view of this, will you please furnish the Committee with (1) copies of any memoranda or other documents describing President Nixon's statements to the Shah in 1972 relative to U. S. arms sales policy; (2) information as to whether those statements still represent U. S. policy; and (3) any interpretations by the Department of the meaning and scope of the U. S.-Iran Agreement of Cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

S. V. Sulberry

EXECUTIVE .

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 11, 1975



Dear Mrs. Schroeder:

I am writing in further response to your March 20 letter to the President in which you ask for an explanation of our policy toward Iran, specifically concerning our military obligations and sales policy in this area.

The United States has for some years followed a policy designed to assist moderate states in the Gulf area to develop the capability to maintain regional stability as well as to meet their own national security needs. Over the years Iran has pursued a policy of moderation and responsibility in the region and has an important role to play in the future. Iran is working with the Gulf states in a cooperative way to achieve the regional security and stability which is also important to peace and stability in the broader Middle East area and to the economic relationships between the Gulf area and the West. We therefore believe that our policy toward Iran and the Gulf states has served US interests well.

Regarding your particular questions on US military commitments and their effect on US capabilities, our policy involves a number of complex issues which are best understood if put in a broader perspective. I believe that these issues could best be dealt with in a briefing by Department of State officials and I would be most pleased to arrange such a session for you.

We are keenly appreciative of your need to be kept informed of our policy in this area and are pleased to provide assistance in these matters. I look forward to hearing from you on the possibility of a briefing.

Jeanne W. Davis Staff Secretary

Honorable Patricia Schroeder House of Representatives Washington, D. C. 20515 N

Dear Mrs. Schroeder:

I am writing in further response to your March 20 letter to the President in which you ask for an explanation of our policy toward Iran, specifically concerning our military obligations and sales policy in this area.

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We are keenly aware of your need to be kept informed of our policy in this area and are pleased to provide assistance in these matters. I look forward to hearing from you on the possibility of a briefing.

Sincerely,

Honorale Pale 5 War 3re 20515 if fruit in a broader pergrective

June 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen

Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT:

Congressional Request for Information

on U.S. Arms Sales to Iran

For your information I am enclosing a copy of my letters to Representatives Long and Schroeder in which I offer to arrange a State Department briefing for these two members of Congress.

In addition to the regular internal distribution of these letters we ask that you forward a copy of the correspondence to Monroe Leigh.

Jeanne W. Davis Staff Secretary

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Attachments

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1975

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 11, 1975

JWD:

REVIEW AND SIGNATU

-- Letters to Long and Schroeder

-- memorandum to Springsteen

Buchen has responded that he concurs in the proposed replies. He asks that we send him a copy of signed letters and that we have one sent to the State Legal Adkviser.

Steve

June 11, 1975

NSC/S:

Please see that a copy of the signed letters is sent to Janka, Oakley, Buchen and Friedersdorf.

A copy of Schroeder's letter of March 20 should also be sent with the letters to State.

Thanks.

Steve Skancke

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Jeanne Davis

FROM:

Phil Buchen P.W.B.

In response to your memorandum of June 9, I see no problem with the attached letters, but suggest you send me an information copy, as well as one to Monroe Leigh at State.

Your letters are returned herewith for your signature.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 6-10

Buchen's office called (Eva) regarding the attached package says he has nothing more to add to what Casselman said other than info copies should be sent to Monroe Lee--Legal Adviser at State and himself of the signed letters.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 9, 1975

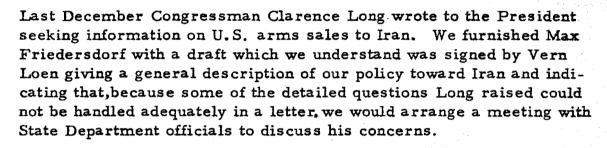
MEMORANDUM FOR: PHILIP W. BUCHEN

FROM:

Jeanne W. Davi

SUBJECT:

Response to Congressional Requests for Information on U.S. Arms Sales to Iran



Mr. Long found the response unacceptable and has indicated that if he is unable to get answers to his questions, his subcommittee may subpoena the desired information or hold special hearings. (Mr. Long also sits on the Appropriations Subcommittee having jurisdiction over the NSC Staff and raised this question in our budget hearings.) Evidentally he is not interested in another letter from the White House Congressional Relations office and Vern Loen has asked that the NSC write directly to Long.

The documents he is seeking are two 1972 memoranda from Mr. Kissinger to the Secretaries of State and Defense regarding "Follow-up on the President's talk with the Shah of Iran." In response to a request last year from Senator Fulbright and two more recent requests from Congressman Long and Senator Sparkman the matter of releasing or showing these documents was raised with Secretary Kissinger. He decided that we should neither give nor allow congressional staff members to read these documents and that instead we should offer an oral briefing to the interested parties, informing them of the content of the documents and placing them in the context of overall US policy. Accordingly, we have prepared a draft response to Congressman Long renewing the offer of the State Department briefing and adding that the NSC Staff is also prepared to discuss the content of the memorandum containing the President's decisions on US policy toward Iran.

In a recent letter Congresswoman Schroeder has joined Mr. Long in his request for information on U.S - Iran relations and, following consultation with Vernon Loen, we propose to offer her a State briefing as well.



May we please have your clearance and/or comments on the two letters. Because Long was told a further response would be forthcoming very soon, I would appreciate your earliest consideration and if possible an indication of your position by Tuesday, June 10.

Attachments



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 7, 1975

Dear Mrs. Schroeder:

I am writing in further response to your March 20 letter to the President in which you ask for an explanation of our policy toward Iran, specifically concerning our military obligations and sales policy in this area. 1003810

The United States has for some years followed a policy designed to assist moderate states in the Gulf area to develop the capability to maintain regional stability as well as to meet their own national security needs. Over the years Iran has pursued a policy of moderation and responsibility in the region and has an important role to play in the future. Iran is working with the Gulf states in a cooperative way to achieve the regional security and stability which is also important to peace and stability in the broader Middle East area and to the economic relationships between the Gulf area and the West. We therefore believe that our policy toward Iran and the Gulf states has served US interests well.

Regarding your particular questions on US military commitments and their effect on US capabilities, our policy involves a number of complex issues which are best understood if put in a broader perspective. I believe that these issues could best be dealt with in a briefing by Department of State officials and I would be most pleased to arrange such a session for you.

We are keenly appreciative of your need to be kept informed of our policy in this area and are pleased to provide assistance in these matters. I look forward to hearing from you on the possibility of a briefing.

Sincerely,

Jeanne W. Davis Staff Secretary

Honorable Patricia Schroeder House of Representatives Washington, D. C. 20515 NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Up ton Jeanne Both Bob Cakley and has Janka have keviewed and cleaved these betters to Long and Schroeder. Are we all Set to move them? Kosanary

Sg

March 25, 1975

F03-2/c068
C068

Dear Mrs. Schroeder:

Thank you for your March 20 letter to the President requesting background information concerning our commitments with respect to military sales to Iran for a period covering the past five years through the present.

I note that you have joined your request for information with that previously received from Congressman Clarence Long. Since you have expanded the specific information initially requested, we will be pleased to ask that your letter receive prompt consideration. You will hear further as soon as possible.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loca Deputy Assistant to the President



The Honorable Patricia Schroeder House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to General Scoweroft for DRAFT REPLY.
Please note Mr. Long received substantive reply on March
(NSC Log No 0067)

VCL:EF:VO:vo

RECEIVED

MAR 27 1975

CENTRAL FILES

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL
SERVICE COMMITTEE

PATRICIA SCHROEDER

1st District, Denver, Colorado

DISTRICT OFFICE:
DENVER FEDERAL BUILDING
1767 HIGH STREET
DENVER, COLORADO 80218
(303) 837-2354

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1131 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-4431

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

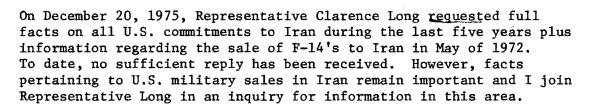
Washington, B.C. 20515

March 20, 1975



President of the United States The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:



According to accounts from the Department of Defense, U.S. military sale orders to Iran amounted to \$646,212 between FY1965-69, and during the years FY 1970-74 hhe total grew to \$6.9 million. In addition to the danger latent in an accelerated supply of arms to the Persian Gulf area, the sales evidently have a detrimental effect upon U.S. capability and resources. In 1974 it was reported before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the sale of eight F-14 fighter aircraft to Iran "prior to the planned U.S. Navy force being equipped" could "considerably reduce combat capacity of the U.S. Armed Forces". Moreover, the allegation by Representative Long and others regarding the absence of a National Security Council study on the advisability of such growth in arms proliferation remains unsolved.

Representative Long has outlined these issues in his letter of December 20, 1974 and my present purpose is to support his request, plus ask for an account of

- 1. current U.S. policy toward Iran
- 2. current U.S. commitment and military obligation to Iran
- 3. the impact of our military personnel and equipment obligation to Iran upon U.S. capability.

March 20, 1975

Without the benefit of crucial information it is impossible for Congress to be effective in performing its duties. The issue of U.S. arms sales to foreign countries is a matter of concern for many and I hope the appropriate information will be forthcoming.

hveller

Thank you.

With kind regards,

Patricia Schroeder Congresswoman

PS/lf/aw

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FOLLOWING REPEAT MADRID 7323 ACTION SECSTATE 21 OCT GUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 7323

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINR, SP

SUBJECT: FRANCD

REF: MADRID 7322

1. DESPITE THE UPSEAT GOS ANNOUNCEMENT IN REFTEL, OUR SOURCES, FOR THE MOST PART. CONTINUE TO SAY THAT FRANCO IS GRAVELY ILL. THE REPORT SUGGESTS HE SEMAINS IN GRAVE CONDITION. DAD HAS REPORTS FROM NEW SOURCES THAT FRANCO MAY HAVE DIED.

25X1

2. HE ARE AT A LOSS TO SAY WHAT STATE XRANCO IS IN AT THE MOMENT. WE SHOULD NOTE THAT IN HIS 1974 BRUSH WITH DEATH, THE GOS SOUGHT TO KEEP SECRET FROM THE PUBLIC THE GRAVITY OF HIS ILLNESS.
STABLER UNGUOTE INGERSOLL
BT

NSI State Duilline DATE 3/5/09



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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3169

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 250861 TOSEC 168162:

EXDIS E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: MEDICAL CONDITION OF GENERAL FRANCO

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HYLAND

EMBASSY MADRID HAS SENT FOLLOWING MESSAGE UPDATING EARLIER REPORTING DEATH OF FRANCO:

BEGIN TEXT

BOURCE STATES HIS SPANISH GOVERNMENT SOURCE HAS TOLD HIM FRANCO HAS RECOVERED CONSCIOUSNESS FROM DEEP COMA, IS NOT EXPECTED TO LIVE THROUGH NIGHT AND THAT FORMAL CHANGE OF POWER WILL TAKE PLACE LATER TONIGHT. THIS VERSION ABOUT SAME AS THAT NOW STATES

TURNOVER HUNG-UP UPON WHETHER IT WOULD BE TEMPORARY (IN WHICH CASE PRINCE JUAN CARLOS WOULD REFUSE TO TAKE OVER)

OR PERMANENT.

PATT COMMENT. THIS STORY MAY BE OFFICIAL LINE TO COVER PERIOD AFTER FRANCO'S DEATH UNTIL NEW GOVERNMENT READY TO EXERCISE POWER OR MAY BE TRUE. DO NOT BELIEVE PRANCO WILL BE RULER OF SPAIN TOMORROW IF HE IS NOW. END TEXT INGERSOLL ST

NSC State Suisline DATE 3/5/09

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Presidential Library Review of NSC and DOS FORMERS S BEGINERAL

TA3/CO68

Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer

Jones, Thomas V.

4 November 1976

Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.)
Assistant to the President
National Security Council
17th & Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20506



Dear Brent:

In reference to our recent discussions on the F-18L for Iran, I would like to review briefly the key elements of the program as of today, placing emphasis on the National Security and other national and international considerations. My concern is that key and significant elements are not being stressed at the expense of some generalizations and past positions that are, at best, incomplete, or at worst, incorrect.

Briefly, let me suggest these points, as follows:

- (1) The policy considerations of this current and latest Northrop National Security Program (F-18L) are virtually identical with those that were addressed in 1956-1957 that led to initial U.S. Government backing of the N-156 program, the beginning of the F-5 family of aircraft. Interestingly enough, the logic of this initial program so applicable today addressed the very questions that have been raised recently by the Humphrey Committee.
- (2) At no cost to the U.S., the F-18L provides a modern Americanmade fighter with clear economic and defense advantages, and is the only U.S. aircraft in its class acceptable to those of our allies with an absolute twin engine requirement.
- (3) Failure to permit the offering of this version of the Navy F-18 program would be a denial of competition and the resulting benefits to the defense posture of both the United States and the recipient countries.