Pres, VP, GS, Cap, Ed, Bill, Alk, DTR

11:30AM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nov 10, 1985

(1)

Pres. as result of media, etc must have statement coming out of here
We have not dealt directly w/ terrorists, no bargaining, no ransom, some things we can't discuss because of long term consideration of people w/ whom we have been talking about the future of Iran. Likened inability to talk to Church Comm or CIA.

John P - reviewed what has transpired, major objective - long term - Iran policy; contact more moderate elements looking to future. Anti-Soviet
2. stop Iran export of terrorism
3. hostage release

Jan '86 finding received. not to report to Congress, authorized CIA to cooperate in above 3 activities

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Initial channel - Israel - stumbled on this tracking down its shipments to Iran - Confronted

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139114

PW 0020379

③

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Begin, Peres, Shamir. They said selling arms to get Jews out of Iran. Also long range relations key & keep Iran / Iraq war going as long as possible.

Need Israel arms contact. Gobanifar inside, Kangaloui(?) intermediate level -

Bud to Tehran in May '86 not productive. So turned to Allie, nephew of Rasanjali (?) speaker of Majlis.

[redacted]

Demand-release of 17 Dawa prisoners in Kuwait. Pres said no. No dealing, will not put any request to Emir of K -.

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Bud in Tehran in May '86 - only trip. Sold to Iranians by Israel for cash 100 TOW missiles, 240 Hawk missiles

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139115
PW 0020380

battery spare parts (small shipment)

1st 500 TOW shipped by Israelis to Iran. We told after the fact. Pres did agree to replenish them for Israel. We were paid by Israelis who we

Battery parts shipped to Israel than to Iran. Iran pd Is. who paid us

500 more TOWs sent last week from Israel; we okd in advance — will replenish

all are defensive weapons, no minimum amts. Good faith shown by us

one meeting in U.S. by Rafsanjani nephew to show legitimacy of operation

Results:

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Buckley, Weir, Adams, Sutherland, Jacobsen, & Jenko.

after these 6, no more hostages a year at mid term,

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139116

PW 002 0381

solid contact with Rafs —
made case on Soviet threat to Iran,
made case Soviets will not
permit Iran to win war. They
made point hostages must be
returned. In fact 3 have been
Weir, Jenko, and Jacobsen.

In Tehran, there are factions
today. Need to sort out. Three groups

1. conservative group —
2. middle - Rafsanjani leader
(he a survivor, & politicians
interested in some relation-
ship with U.S.
Revolutionary guard with
him. Keeping most down
3. Radicals, supporting war,
terrorism, internal strife
led by Musavi
and ~~Hashfi~~ Hashemi !?,
Montazeri. heir to Khomeini
is another

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

player - may be with radicals.
Hashemi contact w/ Libya,
and faction that took last 3
hostages. Rees. Cirpio, &

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139117
PW 0020382

The Radical group leaked info
2 Bud's visit in a pamphlet
in Beirut.

Rafsanjani made speech -
factually incorrect, as a signal
we think, he wishes to keep contact,
said Bud was prisoner. etc.
over weekend Allen Korth met
with Raf's nephew in Geneva.
May get more hostages. Indicated
Iranians happy with our no
comment. Raf will have to
speak out due to world press comments
Relations with others.
Moderate Arabs - no change in
our policy on Iran / Iraq war -
no winners from our point of view
Have been told. Iraq wants our
help, Saudis want good relations
with Iran long range - oil
pr also a factor.
Egypt generally ok.

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Jordan + Hussein a problem
allies - accuse us of duplicity
and treachery. But they

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139118
PW 0020383

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

have been dealing with Iran in arms.
Where do we go from here?
Will work in operational channels
Giving wider dist to our info.
after CIA sanitizes.
DOD looking at hostage rescue.

In Washington
Too much talk in Exec branch of Govt. Too much speculation
JP has talked to 10 or more.
Most are OK, only Byrd has problems.
Nunn seems to be going public

Can continue to work in Iran
Can continue to get hostage on

Shultz. How did 500 TOWs get to Iran last week. Are Iranians sent by Israelis
as result of meeting in Frankfurt around Oct 20/25
between North + CIA, with Iranian.

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139119

PW 0020384

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(7)

Tried this one sure time even
tho we said no sure because
of hostage release imminent.
Various questions about hostages, who
holds, where, etc. Cap, Ed, George
John answering. Bill occasionally.
Iranians are not holding hostages
can influence those holding at
times, and not quickly.

Shultz - be careful of linkage
between hostages and defense
equipment.

Meese - we have not dealt dir-
ectly with terrorists

Poles - Terrorists have not prof-
ited. We let Iranians by suffer
& they influenced. No benefits
to terrorists. We working with

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

moderates hoping in future to be
able to influence Iran after the
Khomeini dies.

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139120
PW0020385

Shultz. It is unusual. But we have made more good contacts in Iran than he was aware of. Should pursue. But must not gild lily. Some undesirable effects of these actions. We are paying a high price.

Afraid of technically correct statements that are not fully descriptive - could get us into trouble.

Cap - Q. on reliability of Rafsanjani. His statements blew us out of water in one way.

Ans we are not relying on him as being "our man". But our CIA experts have been participating, recording all meetings. His nephew a Rev. Guard commander on Iraq front.

It is clear they are trying to find a way out

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Bell all of people are concerned there are best to work with - but don't

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139121

PW 0020386

(8)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

go all out to rely on Raf — We are feeling him out.

Bill - we have a good public position if we put it out in a simple way.
He read a prepared statement putting emphasis on long range relationships with Iran as reason for contacts. De-emphasize hostage. deny arms sales that tip balance between Iran / Iraq.

Pres We should put out statement show we do want to get hostages back, but Iranian contacts were for long range, won't deal with terrorists, nor ransom
But cannot get into q & a re hostages so as not to endanger them.

Shultz - agree on responsibility to look after citizens
DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF
won't deal with hostage so as not to expose others to kidnapping

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139122

PW 0020387

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(10)

jafta position of hostages and arms shipments must not be shown. Don't know exact linkage.

Caution on our assertion that arms shipments were small and inconsequential. Can't keep others in line if we OK. sale. Think Israelis suckered us into this ~~at~~ so we can't complain of their sales.

Think statement should be issued, + is a good one.

Use Daniloff as an example of non linkage.

Meese - each of these is a set of complex incidents, not related in no reason. Sis Nancy to Highballed trying to help moderate in Iran who also tried to help us.

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Pres We must say something but not much

John If we go with this we end up

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139123

PW 020388

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(11)

Iranian contacts

DTR Must get a statement out now, we are being attacked, and we are being hurt. Losing credibility.

JP - No statement needed, news has peaked, no hearing until Jan, so should not say anything

Pres. - Must say something because I'm being held out to dry. Have not dealt with terrorists, don't know who they are. This is long range Iranian policy.

No further speculation or answers so as not to endanger hostages. We won't pay any money, or give anything to terrorists

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

JP Say less about what we are doing, more about what we are not doing

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139124
PW 0020389

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Cap. Be coupled of Rep. & Israel & blackmail.
What we say will be repudiated.

Ed - We are saying only what we did and know has happened.
No violation of laws & policy

VP - Is my case a private or public endeavor to sell arms to Iran.

ans probably private with govt knowledge.

VP Israel may try to squeeze us.

Shultz - Finding was not known to me from Jan to Nov - amazing

JP. Came as result of meeting in Quarters in Jan. Everyone gave his opinion. Drawn up by NSC, CIA, DOJ then John, Bill, + Ed & their lawyers.

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Sent to Pres & signed in Jan.
(DGR found out last week in conv. w/ JP.

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139125
PW 0020390

(13)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Geo - as all question about what if they ask for more than what they have received.

JP - Cannot tie hands that way.

NGL - Should answer Geo's question later in week.

Geo - no debriefing - what to say.

Pres Support Pres' policy but say nothing else due to danger to hostage

Geo Support Iran long range policy of contact
Know support for weapons for hostages

Pres Side with evil superiority will win. We want to have things even. This helps Iran which was weaker.

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139126
PW 0020391

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(14)

Geo. Keep things in these channels that are more or less official + keep secret.

DTR Lets face it - we kept secret. Iranians released info.

All Try to get statement to face as many facts as possible.

adjourned 1:05 P.M.

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Classified Information Redacted
After Review in Accordance
With Executive Order 12356

ALU0139127

PW 0020392