
Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

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Washington, D.C. 20230MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

FROM: RONALD H. BROWN *RH Brown*

SUBJECT: Draft Memorandum to the President on Iran Policy
and Export Controls

Thank you for the opportunity to review the May 21, 1993, draft memorandum to the President on Iran Policy and Export Controls. With the exception noted below, I agree with sending the memorandum to the President and recommend that he approve the policy of Active Containment of Iran and Decontrol of Civilian Aircraft and Trucks.

My concern with the paper as drafted is the depiction of the issue before the President as one that "boils down to a hard choice between jobs at home and the credibility of a serious containment policy." I believe that presenting the option to the President in this fashion tends to tilt the outcome towards retaining these unilateral controls on commercial aircraft and trucks.

In fact, the discussion at the Principles Meeting and as reflected elsewhere in the decision memorandum clearly demonstrates that continuing a policy of embargoing commercial items (such as trucks and aircraft) with little or no military significance to Iran actually undermines our credibility with allies. The paper repeats in several places how there is no possibility of getting allied support for this broad based approach.

Rather, obtaining multilateral support requires the development of a credible, realistic policy for Iran that is more narrowly focused on items of proliferation and military concern. If we are looking for the support of other nations in our policy of Active Containment, the elements of that policy must be sensible in order to be effective.

The President was elected foremost to deal with the domestic economic problems facing the nation. A policy that would turn its back on thousands of American jobs and billions of dollars in exports without the remote possibility of obtaining allied support in denying comparable sales is hardly credible. In fact, it is likely to send a strong message to American workers and our European and Japanese trading partners that jobs and economic concerns will continue to be secondary to foreign policy considerations.

Accordingly, I believe that the paper needs to be recast to remove this false trade-off between "jobs and policy credibility". I strongly support a serious policy of Active Containment towards Iran, but do not believe that continuing to deny the sales of commercial aircraft and trucks on symbolic grounds serves that policy well.

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THE JOINT STAFF
WASHINGTON, DC

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COL Ward

Reply ZIP Code:
20318-0300

DJSM-515-93
24 May 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

Subject: US-Iran Policy and Exports of Civilian
Aircraft and Trucks (S)

1. (S) General Powell recommends approval of the policy of active containment of Iran.
2. (S) General Powell strongly opposes the sale of aircraft and recommends the US Government retain export controls on both aircraft and trucks (Option II.C). While there is no fundamental military technology transfer issue involved, our sales, especially of aircraft, could result in increased third world sales of arms to Iran.

R. C. MACKE
Vice Admiral, USN
Director, Joint Staff

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