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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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| Collection Name WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAG | | | | EMENT | With | drawer | | |
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| (WHORM): SUBJECT FILE | | | | | DLB | 5/19/2023 | | |
| File Folder CO071 (IRAN) (448022) (1 OF 4) | | | | | FOIA | | | |
| | | | | | | S10-306 | | |
| Box Nu | Imber 91 | | | | | SYST | EMATIC | |
| ID | Dос Туре | Docum | ent Description | | No of Pages | Doc Date | Restrictions | |
| 249688 | NOTE | |)M GIBSON) TO D] RE: TALKING PO | | 1 | ND | P | |
| | | R | 1/15/2004 | MJD | | | | |
| 249689 | WH TALKING POINTS | | RAN ISSUE - EXEC IARY, ANNOTATE | | 1 | ND | P5 | |
| | | R | 1/15/2004 | MJD | | | | |
| 249690 | WH TALKING POINTS | | RESIDENT & IRAN ANNOTATED | N ISSUE, P.1 | 1 | ND | P5 | |
| | | R | 1/15/2004 | MJD | | | | |
| 249691 | WH TALKING POINT | | RAN ISSUE - EXEC IARY, ANNOTATE | | 1 | ND | B 5 | |
| | | R | 1/15/2004 | MJD | | | | |
| 249692 | WH TALKING POINTS | | RESIDENT & IRAN , ANNOTATED | N ISSUE, P. 1 | 1 | ND | R5 | |
| | | R | 1/15/2004 | MJD | | | | |
| 249693 | WH TALKING POINTS | | RESIDENT & IRAI R, ANNOTATED | N/CONTRA | 1 | ND | P5 | |
| | | R | 1/15/2004 | MJD | | | | |
| 249694 | PAPER | | LE Q & AS FOR PH FIONS 6-9, PARTIA | | 1 | ND | P5 B1 | |
| | | R | 5/18/2023 | P5 - MJD 1/. LIBRARY RE | - | | | |

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information complied for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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| Collection Name | | USE OFFICE OF RE | Withdrawer | | | | |
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| 249695 MEMO | GIBS | ER J. WALLISON TO ON, RE: TALKING I I/CONTRA AFFAIRS | POINTS ON | 2 | 12/8/1986 | P S | |
| | R | 9/17/2004 | MJD | | | | |

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Document No. <u>44802255</u> <u>LOOTI</u>

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM 🛛 🛬 🚩

DATE: 12/15/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: COB TODAY REVISED

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS ON IRAN

| | ACTION | FYI | | ACTION FYI | |
|----------------|--------|-----|-------------------|------------|--|
| VICE PRESIDENT | | | MILLER - ADMIN. | | |
| REGAN | | | POINDEXTER | | |
| MILLER - OMB | | | RYAN | | |
| BALL | | | SPEAKES | | |
| BARBOUR | | | SPRINKEL | | |
| BUCHANAN | | | SVAHN | | |
| CHEW | □P | | THOMAS | | |
| DANIELS | | | TUTTLE | Ξ, | |
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REMARKS: Do you have any objection to the attached talking points, which have been revised since they were staffed in draft form on December 5?

RESPONSE:

The Iran Issue -- Executive Summary

- For six years, the American people have supported the President, have welcomed his leadership and prospered by it.
- No one has challenged the President's motives in the Iran initiative. The President, as a leader, took risks commensurate with possible returns. Where implementation of the President's initiative fell short, the President acknowledges that mistakes were made.
- In six years, the President and his supporters have compiled a remarkable record of achievement. Much remains to be done. Initiatives for the next two years will require unity.

Contra Connection

- The President categorically stated that he had not been informed of this activity.
- <u>Get the facts out</u> -- The President has moved with unprecedented speed to organize an investigative effort.

11/21 -- Ordered an Attorney General review;

- 12/2 -- Urged the appointment of an <u>Independent Counsel</u> to look into possible violations of law; encouraged <u>Congress</u> to work efficiently and expeditiously in conducting their own inquiries.
- The President has made past and present personnel of his Administration available to the Congress to provide testimony.
- Prevent Future Problems -- The President is determined to ensure that mistakes will not happen again.
 - 11/26 -- By Executive Order, created a distinguished bipartisan panel (Tower Commission) to review the future management and conduct of the NSC staff, and make recommendations for reforms;
 - 12/2 -- He named Frank Carlucci to head the NSC with authority to make necessary changes.

Ongoing Concerns

- o In the event that additional information comes to light, such information will be weighed by the various investigating groups which will determine what is fact and render findings.
- If persons have violated laws, they should be subject to prosecution and actions of the courts. No one is above the law, and no one should be deprived of individual rights under the law -- including the right to protect oneself against self-incrimination.

THE PRESIDENT & IRAN ISSUE

Leadership, Motives, and Risks

The Iran issue began with an assessment by the President that compelling reasons -- ending a bloody war, freeing American hostages, finding a long-term end to terrorism -- warranted the undertaking of a secret diplomatic initiative. The pros and cons of the initiative were fully discussed by the President's senior national security advisors.

- There were great risks. The President, considering hte advice, decided that the risks were commensurate with possible returns. History will judge the correctness of the President's decision.
- Americans elect Presidents to lead. That is what the President has done since January 1981. There is a broad list of 6 years of accomplishments that reflect the benefit of a President willing to take risks. Examples:
 - -- <u>The Economy</u> -- Risk bold tax cutting initiatives to restart a stalled American economic engine. Result: Four years of economic growth and 12.3 million new jobs.
 - -- <u>Achille Lauro</u> -- Risk strained relations with friends to intercept terrorists. Result: International murderers brought to justice.
 - -- Grenada -- Risk the lives of American servicemen to liberate a country from Communist tyranny. Result: A people are set free and Soviets are denied another staging area in the Caribbean.

The President will Continue to Lead and Serve the American People

- o The leadership of President Reagan has fundamentally restored the stature of the Presidency in the American political system.
- President Reagan's accomplishments since 1981 are manifold: Four years of ecomomic growth; a government that works better; restored international stature for America; implemented a vigorous domestic agenda to fight crime, fight drug abuse, improve education, and salvage the Social Security System; promoted freedom and democracy in the world; and worked for peace and provide America's security.
- The President has many key programs and issues remaining on his agenda. Initiatives for continued prosperity, responsible spending, and greater personal and national security for the American people lie ahead in 1987 and 1988.

Contra Connection

Staff of the National Security Council, acting without the knowledge or consent of the President, undertook to provide financial assistance to freedom fighters in Nicaragua -- a policy that the President and a bipartisan majority in Congress have supported, but where implementation (use of U.S. funds) is defined by Congress.

- The President upon learning of this matter, moved immediately to get all of the facts on the matter beginning with the offices of the Attorney General.
- A swift investigation by the Attorney General revealed the need for additional review by independent parties.
- At this point in time, and until the Independent Counsel is appointed, conducts an investigation, and renders its findings, discussion of any violation of U.S. law is premature.

The President Wants the Facts Out -- Quickly and Forthrightly

- The President was first advised of the "funds to the Contras" scheme on November 24, by the Attorney General.
 On November 25 the Congress and the media were briefed on the matter.
- o A week after learning of the Contra connection and upon the disclosure of additional information by the Attorney General, the President urged the Attorney General to seek the appointment of an <u>Independent Counsel</u> to investigate the possibility of illegal activity.
- The President has met frequently with leaders of <u>Congress</u>, urged an orderly investigation, and pledged his support.
- o The purpose of the investigations is to get the facts out on the table on the Iran/Contra transactions.

The President Will Fix the Problem

- By Executive Order, the President empaneled a distinguised bipartisan <u>Special Review Board</u> (Tower, Muskie, Scowcroft) to investigate the procedures of the National Security Council staff that permitted them excesses and improprieties.
- Personnel actions were taken to address existing problems at the National Security Council -- Frank Carlucci was appointed to be the new National Security Advisor to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The Iran Issue -- Executive Summary

- For six years, the American people have supported the President, have welcomed his leadership and prospered by it.
- No one has challenged the President's motives in the Iran initiative. The President, as leader, took risks commensurate with possible returns. Where this calculation fell short the President acknowledges that mistakes were made.
- In six years, the President and his supporters have compiled a remarkable record of achievement. Much remains to be done. Intitiatives for 1987 will require unity.

Contra Connection

- o The President categorically stated that he had not been informed of the initiative.
- o <u>Get the facts out</u>: The President has moved with unprecedented speed to organize an investigative effort.
 - 1st -- Ordered an Attorney General review;
 - 2nd -- By Executive Order, created a distinguished bipartisan panel (Tower Commission) to review the management and administration of the NSC;
 - 3rd -- Called for the appointment of an <u>Independent Counsel</u> to look into violations of the law;
 - 4th -- Encouraged Congress to work efficiently and expeditiously in conducting their own investigation
- o Watergate? "Contragate?" The situation is best described as "Investigate."
- o <u>Fix the Problem</u>: The President took personnel steps within the NSC. Frank Carlucci was appointed as the new head of the NSC and has the authority to make necessary changes.
- Additional information on the Iran/Contra affair is likely to come to light. The purpose of the various investigating groups to determine what is fact and what is merely intrigue, and to render their findings.

THE PRESIDENT & IRAN ISSUE

Leadership, Motives, and Risks

The Iran/Contra Affair began with an assessment by the President that compelling reasons -- ending a bloody war, freeing American hostages, finding a long-term end to terrorism -- warranted the undertaking of a secret initiative to Iran.

- o There were great risks. The President decided that the risks were commensurate with possible returns. History will judge the correctness of the President's decision.
- Americans elect Presidents to lead. That is what the President has done since January 1981. There is a broad list of 6 years of accomplishments that reflect the benefit of a President willing to take risks. Examples:
 - -- <u>The Economy</u> -- Risk bold tax cutting initiatives to restart a stalled American economic engine. Result: Four years of economic growth and 12.3 million new jobs.
 - -- <u>Achille Lauro</u> -- Risk possible violation of "diplomatic procedures" to intercept terrorists. Result: International murderers to justice.
 - -- <u>Grenada</u> -- Risk the lives of American servicemen to free a country from Communist tyranny. Result: A people are set free and Soviets are denied another staging area in the Caribbean.

The President will Continue to Lead and Serve the American People

- o The leadership of President Reagan through six years has fundamentally restored the stature of the Presidency in the American political system.
- o President Reagan's Six-Year Accomplishments are manifold:
 - -- Four years of ecomomic growth with low inflation;
 - -- Better stewardship of the taxpayer's dollar by making government work better;
 - -- Restored international stature for America while getting tough on trade;
 - -- A vigorous domestic agenda to fight crime, drug abuse, improve education, and salvage Social Security;
 - -- Promote freedom and democracy in the world; and
 - -- Work for peace and provide America's security.
- The President is not finished. Initiatives for continued prosperity, responsible spending, and greater personal and national security for the American people lie ahead in 1987.

(Iran Issue, Cont.)

4 4 1 A

Contra Connection

Staff of the National Security Council, acting without the knowledge or consent of the President, undertook to provide financial assistance to freedom fighters in Nicaragua -- a policy that the President and a bipartisan majority in Congress have supported, but with implementation (using U.S. funds) through procedures defined by Congress.

- o The President upon learning of this matter moved immediately to get all of the facts on the matter beginning with the offices of the Attorney General.
- A swift investigation by the Attorney General revealed the need for additional review by independent parties.
- The activity by NSC officials may represent a circumvention of established procedures for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy and may constitute a violation of U.S. law.

The President Wants the Facts Out -- Quickly and Forthrightly

- The President was first advised of the "funds to the Contras" scheme on November 24, by the Attorney General.
 On November 25 the COngress and the media were briefed on the matter.
- A week after learning of the Contra connection and upon the disclosure of additional information by the Attorney General, The President called for the appointment of an <u>Independent Counsel</u> to investigate the possibility of illegal activity.
- o The President has met frequently with leaders of <u>Congress</u>, urged an orderly investigation, and pledged his support.
- Additional facts will be learned about the Iran/Contra transaction. That is the purpose of the investigations.

The President Will Fix the Problem

- By Executive Order, the President empaneled a distinguised bipartisan <u>Special Review Board</u> (Tower, Muskie, Scowcroft) to investigate the procedures of the National Security Council that may have permitted excesses or improprieties.
- Personnel actions were taken to address existing problems at the National Security Council -- Frank Carlucci was appointed to be the new head of the NSC.

| 200 | David - |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| DEC 17 WHITE HOUSE | Peter has made comments, |
| | attached. to you have any more |
| | before it's sent back to Gibson |
| SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS ON I | for re-write? |

| | A | | Kathen | ne |
|----------------|----|-----------------|--------|-----|
| VICE PRESIDENT | | MILLER - ADMIN. | | |
| REGAN | | POINDEXTER | | |
| MILLER - OMB | | RYAN | | |
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RESPONSE:

WI SI 330 986

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

The Iran Issue -- Executive Summary

Request In

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON A Petros finit Chop m tous the lot m tour the win de to release

at in Sabe -

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

I've gut this

back to GIBSON -

it needs real work.

Dave,

All word changes made; rhetoric reshaped where it appears you had concerns.

One exception -- top of page 2. Wirthlin says the "four points" were an absolute bomb. Particularly on the issue of reaching out to moderates. Why leave it hanging out there? Therefore, the 4 become 3. Finding a "long-term end to terrorism" is the best meld for the other outstanding points. NSC concurs.

The Iran Issue -- Executive Summary

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For additional information, call the White House Office of Public Affairs; 456-7170.

249689

RR has stated 4 goals only 3 mentioned here.

THE PRESIDENT & IRAN ISSUE

Leadership, Motives, and Risks

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249691

WHITE HOUSE TALKING POINTS

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- RR has stated 4 goals only smentioned here.

Leadership, Motives, and Risks

The Iran issue began with an assessment by the President that compelling reasons -- ending a blood war, freeing American hostages, finding a long-term end to terrorism -- warranted the undertaking of a secret diplomatic initiative. The pros and cons of the initiative were fully discussed by the President's Senion national security advisors.

- There were great risks. The President, considering hte advice, decided that the risks were commensurate with possible returns. History will judge the correctness of the President's decision.
- Americans elect Presidents to lead. That is what the President has done since January 1981. There is a broad list of 6 years of accomplishments that reflect the benefit of a President willing to take risks. Examples:
 - -- <u>The Economy</u> -- Risk bold tax cutting initiatives to restart a stalled American economic engine. Result: Four years of economic growth and 12.3 million new jobs.
 - -- <u>Achille Lauro</u> -- Risk strained relations with friends to intercept terrorists. Result: International murderers brought to justice.
 - -- <u>Grenada</u> -- Risk the lives of American servicemen to liberate a country from Communist tyranny. Result: A people are set free and Soviets are denied another staging area in the Caribbean.

The President will Continue to Lead and Serve the American People

o The leadership of President Reagan has fundamentally restored the stature of the Presidency in the American political system.

President Reagan's Six-Year Accomplishments are manifold:
 Four years of ecomomic growth; government that works better;
 Four years of ecomomic growth; government that works better;
 domestic agenda to fight crime, drug abuse, improve
 education, and salvage Social Security; promoted freedom and
 democracy in the world; and worke for peace and provide
 America's security.

o The President has many key programs and issues remaining on his agenda. Initiatives for continued prosperity, responsible spending, and greater personal and national security for the American people lie ahead in 1987 and 1988.

Contra Connection

Staff of the National Security Council, acting without the knowledge or consent of the President, undertook to provide financial assistance to freedom fighters in Nicaragua — a policy that. the President and a bipartisan majority in Congress have supported, but where implementation (use of U.S. funds) is defined by Congress.

- The President upon learning of this matter, moved immediately to get all of the facts on the matter beginning with the offices of the Attorney General.
- A swift investigation by the Attorney General revealed the need for additional review by independent parties.
- The activity by NSC efficials may represent a circumvention • of procedures for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy.
- At this point in time, and until the Independent Counsel is appointed, conducts an investigation, and renders its findings, discussion of any violation of U.S. law is premature.

The President Wants the Facts Out -- Quickly and Forthrightly

- The President was first advised of the "funds to the Contras" scheme on November 24, by the Attorney General.
 On November 25 the Congress and the media were briefed on the matter.
- A week after learning of the Contra connection and upon the disclosure of additional information by the Attorney General, The President called for the appointment of an <u>Independent Counsel</u> to investigate the possibility of illegal activity.
- o The President has met frequently with leaders of <u>Congress</u>, urged an orderly investigation, and pledged his support.

o <u>Additional facts will be learned about the Iran/Contra</u> transaction. That is the purpose of the investigations is to gtall **Ble facts of on the Ina/Contra Mansatra** The President Will Fix the Problem

- o By Executive Order, the President empaneled a distinguised bipartisan <u>Special Review Board</u> (Tower, Muskie, Scowcroft) to investigate the procedures of the National Security Council that <u>may have</u> permitted excesses **and** improprieties.
- Personnel actions were taken to address existing problems at the National Security Council -- Frank Carlucci was appointed to be the new head of the NSCSTAL National Security Advise THATP.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE CHEW

FROM: TOM GIBSON U.

SUBJECT: Iran Taking Points

Attached for final clearance are points on the Iran/Contra issue. Bob Pearson and I did a final scrub after incorporating White House comments.

I would like to get this in the mail before COB today.

Thanks very much.

Tom Gisson 12/10/86 (9:35pm A lot of work still needs ton done here. This is complicated and touchy subject. It is tough toget it precise, but it is important to do so.



Document No.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

12/5/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: DATE:

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS ON IRAN/CONTRA AFFAIR

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | | ¥, | MILLER - ADMIN. | Ξ, | |
| REGAN | | | POINDEXTER | V | |
| MILLER - OMB | □, | | RYAN | 05 | |
| BALL | | | SPEAKES | | V |
| BARBOUR | | | SPRINKEL | | |
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REMARKS:

Please provide your comments on the attached directly to Tom Gibson by 10:00 Monday morning, December 8th, with an Comments in QtA Area Gigot info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Clarey Danis Stucky

McHelister (1111114 Bledsse

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

THE PRESIDENT & IRAN/CONTRA AFFAIR

Leadership, Motives, and Risks

The Iran/Contra Affair began with an assessment by the President that compelling reasons -- ending a bloody war, freeing American hostages, finding a long-term end to terrorism -- warranted the undertaking of a secret initiative to Iran.

- There were great risks. The President decided that the 0 risks were commensurate with possible returns. History will judge the correctness of the President's decision.
- We walk fil it it -what childent -reader Hentident -this feature -Economic leader Americans elect Presidents to lead. That is what the President has done since January 1981. There is a broad list of 6 years of accomplishments that reflect the benefit of a President willing to take risks.
 - "Reganomics", -- Risk bold tax cutting initiatives to restart a stalled American economic engine.
 - Achille Lauro -- Risk possible violation of "diplomatic procedures" to bring international murderers to justice.
 - Grenada -- Risk the lives of American servicemen to free a country from Communist tyranny and deny the Soviets another staging area in the Caribbean.

Contra Connection

Unknown to the President, another motive and additional risks were introduced to the Iran initiative by staff of the National Security Council -- financial asssitance to freedom fighters in Nicaraqua -- a policy that the President and a bipartisan majority in Congress have supported, but with implementation (U.S. funds) through procedures defined by Congress.

- This free-lance effort was done without the President's 0 knowledge, and represents a circumvention of established procedures for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy and may constitute a violation of U.S. law.
- The President upon learning of this incident moved immediately 0 to investigate in an orderly manner beginning with the offices of the Attorney General.
- A swift investigation by the Attorney General revealed the 0 need for additional review.

3. Is this another Watergate?

Absolutely not. This President has gone the extra mile in getting this thing out in the open.

There is one striking similarity, however: The Left's interest in bringing down another President. Senator Ted Stevens says he was bumped off of three network television shows after he told them he intended to <u>support</u> Ronald Reagan. Stevens finally got on MacNeil-Lehrer and hasn't been heard from since. That's why the FBI wasn't called in sooner -- they were out looking for him.

Yes. There is a whole new generation of reporters out there who missed their chance 12 years ago to win a Pulitzer Prize.

6. <u>George Bush said this Iran mess was a mistake. Why doesn't</u> <u>the President admit it and move on?</u> *recort. that when these Democrats say, "We want to get this behind us," office of the president admit it and move on? when these Democrats say, "We want to get this behind us," office of the president admit it and move on?*

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The President said there would be no arms for terrorist nations, then he sold Iran arms. Wasn't that hypocritical?

7.

No This was not a government-to-government transaction REDACTED 8. How can the President get anything out of Congress when they
no longer trust him, respect him, or fear him -- and when
REDACTEL
the people don't believe him?

I disagree with the premise of that question. The only people you hear from are the people who believe all of the above. But that is because to get yourself on television these days, you have to attack Ronald Reagan.

9. Why doesn't the President order Oliver North and John Poindexter to stop "taking the Fifth Amendment" and tell the truth?

Because the President is sworn to uphold the Constitution and they are exercising a constitutional right. I'm guve By'll tertify in due warde, in Re graph forum, when New Companyon polosite Rean That May should do so.

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| | WHITE | HOUSE STAFFING MEMORA | NDUM 0114 F0003-02 |
| DATE: _ | 12/5/86 | ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: | FG038 10:00 a.m. 12/8/86 |

TALKING POINTS ON IRAN/CONTRA AFFAIR SUBJECT:

| ACTION FYI | | | | ACTION FYI | | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | | ¥, | MILLER - ADMIN. | Ξ, | | |
| REGAN | | | POINDEXTER | 4 | | |
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RESPONSE:

Clarey Danis Stucky

Mc Allister Bledson

David L. Chew **Staff Secretary** Ext. 2702

LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

249695

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THOMAS F. GIBSON SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

FROM:

PETER J. WALLISON COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Talking Points on Iran/Contra Affairs

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced talking points and has the following comments.

In our opinion the information set forth in the talking points raises a number of troublesome issues. First, the <u>Leadership</u>, <u>Motives and Risks</u> section describes the Achille Lauro incident as an example of the President risking possible violation of "diplomatic procedures." Such a characterization implies a violation of international usages which in our view is neither accurate nor necessary. At this point, we should not be emphasizing our willingness, if any, to circumvent established ways of conducting business.

Second, the <u>Contra Connection</u> section states that contra funding "may constitute a violation of U.S. law." Based on the information available to this office, we cannot verify the accuracy of this statement. Furthermore, since this issue is being investigated by the Independent Counsel, we question whether it would be appropriate to pass judgment at this time.

Please see editorial changes on the draft. The proposed responses to questions strike a highly confrontational posture, and are both disingenuous and wrong. For example, the response to the question concerning whether the Chief of Staff should resign implies that such calls have come solely from Democratic Presidential candidates. However, even though these demands have been misguided, we must recognize that they have come from bipartisan sources and from non-Presidential candidates. A more candid response would be that such calls reflect frustration and a lack of appreciation about who is responsible for the development and implementation of national security policy in the White House. In addition, a number of answers to the question are not responsive. See the responses to questions six through eight. Finally, the responses about whether mistakes have been made does not accurately reflect the President's remarks in his Saturday, December 6, 1986 radio address.

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In general, we think all the Qs and As should be substantially revised or scrapped.

cc: D. Chew

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DRAFT

Iran/Contra Affair -- Executive Summary

- o For six years, the American people have supported the President and have welcomed his leadership.
- No one has challenged the President's motives in the Iran initiative. The President, as leader, took risks commensurate with possible returns.

Contra Connection

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- Upon learning of excess funds to Contras, the President categorically stated that he had not been informed of the initiative.
- o The President wants all the facts out and has moved with unprecedented speed to organize an investigative effort:
 - 1st -- Ordered an Attorney General review;
 - 2nd -- By Executive Order, created a distinguished bipartisan panel (Tower Commission) to review the management and administration of the NSC;
 - 3rd -- Called for the appointment of a <u>Independent Counsel</u> to look into violations of the law;
 - 4th -- Encouraged <u>Congress</u> to work efficiently and expeditiously in conducting their own investigation
- o The President has already taken personnel steps within the NSC. Frank Carlucci was appointed as the new head of the NSC and has the authority to make necessary changes.
- Additional information on the Iran/Contra Affair will certainly come to light. It is the purpose of the investigating groups to determine what is fact and what is merely intrigue, and to render their findings.
- In six years, the President and his supporters have compiled a remarkable record of achievement. Much remains to be done. Intitiatives for 1987 will require a unity.

THE PRESIDENT & IRAN/CONTRA AFFAIR

- and opening channel

Leadership, Motives, and Risks

The Iran/Contra Affair began with an assessment by the President that compelling reasons -- ending a bloody war, freeing American hostages, finding a long-term end to terrorism -- warranted the undertaking of a secret initiative to Iran.

- There were great risks. The President decided that the risks were commensurate with possible returns. History will judge the correctness of the President's decision.
- Americans elect Presidents to lead. That is what the President has done since January 1981. There is a broad list of 6 years of accomplishments that reflect the benefit of a President willing to take risks.
 - -- "<u>Reganomics</u>" -- Risk bold tax cutting initiatives to restart a stalled American economic engine.
 - -- Achille Lauro -- Risk possible violation of "diplomatic procedures" to bring international murderers to justice.
 - -- <u>Grenada</u> -- Risk the lives of American servicemen to free a country from Communist tyranny and deny the Soviets another staging area in the Caribbean.

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- o This free-lance effort was done without the President's knowledge, and represents a circumvention of established procedures for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, and may constitute a violation of U.S. law.
- The President upon learning of this incident moved immediate to investigate in an orderly manner beginning with the of: of the Attorney General.
- A swift investigation by the Attorney General revealed the need for additional review.

(Iran/Contra Affair, Cont.)

The President Wants the Facts Out -- Quickly and Forthrightly

- On November 25 the President stated the facts concerning his involvement in the Contra funds initiative -- he was first advised of the action on November 24 by the Attorney General.
- A week after learning of the Contra connection and upon the disclosure of additional information by the Attorney General, The President called for the appointment of an <u>Independent Counsel</u> to investigate the possibility of illegal activity.
- o The President has met frequently with leaders of Congress, urged an orderly investigation, and pledged his support.
- <u>Additional facts</u> will be learned about the Iran/Contra transaction. That is the purpose of the investigations.

The President Will Fix the Problem

- By Executive Order, the President empaneled a distinguised bipartisan <u>Special Review Board</u> (Tower, Muskie, Scowcroft) to investigate the procedures of the National Security Council that may have permitted excesses or improprieties.
- Personnel actions were taken to address existing problems at the National Security Council Frank Carlucci was appointed to be the new head of the NSC.

The President will Continue to Lead and Serve the American People

- o The leadership of President Reagan through six years has fundamentally restored the stature of the Presidency in the American political system.
- o President Reagan's Six-Year Accomplishments are manifold:
 - -- Four years of ecomomic growth with low inflation;
 - -- Better stewardship of the taxpayer's dollar by making government work better;
 - -- Restored international stature for America while getting tough on trade;
 - -- A vigorous domestic agenda to fight crime, drug abuse. improve education, and salvage Social Security;
 - -- Promote freedom and democracy in the world; and
 - Work for peace and provide America's security.
- o The President is not finished.) Initiatives for continued prosperity, responsible spending, and greater personal and national security for the American people lie ahead in 1997

CHRONOLOGY -- IRAN/CONTRA AFFAIR

- Mon 11/3 -- Lebanese magazine reports U.S. sent Iran spare parts and ammunition after a September vist to Tehran by Robert McFarlane. A day later, the speaker of Iran's parliament says McFarlane and four others visited Iran.
- Wed 11/5 -- White House confirms the U.S. is working with other countries for the release of hostages in Lebanon.
- Wed 11/12 -- President Reagan meets Congressional leaders, personally acknowledges sending military supplies to Iran.
- Thu 11/13 -- President Reagan addresses the Nation on his secret diplomatic initiative to Iran, says he authorized transfer of small amounts of defensive weapons and spare parts. The President's goals: Ending a bloody war, freeing American hostages, finding a long-term end to terrorism.
- Mon 11/17 -- President Reagan says he has no plans to send additional arms to Iran.
- Wed 11/19 -- President Reagan holds a formal news conference.
- i 11/21 -- Wanting a quick review of the record on implementation of his policy toward Iran that would be independent of the national security establishment, <u>President Reagan directs</u> <u>Attorney General Meese to review the matter and report his</u> findings.
 - Sat 11/22 -- Aides to the Attorney General discover excess funds from the Iranian arms sale went to Nicaraguan freedom fighters.
 - Mon 11/24 -- Attorney General reports preliminary findings to the President; the President tells the Attorney General he had no knowledge of the diversion. The President orders the Attorney General to make his findings public.
 - Tue 11/25 -- President Reagan briefs Congressional leaders; announces reassignment of Admiral Poindexter and dismissal of Lt. Col. North. Attorney General reports to the Nation on his findings to date.
 - Wed 11/26 -- President appoints 3-member panel to examine role of NSC.
 - Tue 12/2 -- President addresses the Nation; directs the Attorney General to seek appointment of an independent counsel. Names Frank Carlucci as head of NSC.

IRAN BRIEFING MATERIAL

1. Do you think Don Regan should resign?

That's something Fritz Hollings and Joe Biden, among others, have demanded. I don't believe for one minute these two gentlemen -- who have White House ambitionss of their own -have Ronald Reagan's interests in mind.

The people of 49 states elected Ronald Reagan to make those decisions.

Those who focus on Regan's future ignore the looming threats to <u>Ronald Reagan's</u> future. What's at stake here is more important than the White House organization chart: The future of the Reagan agenda is all anyone in this country should care about today.

2. <u>How can you condemn the Democrats for their criticism of the</u> <u>President when Bob Dole, Richard Lugar and others have been</u> just as harsh?

That's a good point. The President needs support, not a batch of resumes, from his fellow Republicans.

It's time members of the Republican Party realize that either we all hang together -- or we will all hang separately.

The Republicans need to think for a moment about how they did in 1980 and 1984 with Ronald Reagan -- and how they did in 1982 and 1986 without him.

All a conservative or a Republican needs to do to make news these days is to attack Ronald Reagan. I know it's hard to resist the temptation to see yourself on television, but the President's supporters should try. When CBS calls, just say no.

3. Is this another Watergate?

Absolutely not. This President has gone the extra mile in getting this thing out in the open.

There is one striking similarity, however: The Left's interest in bringing down another President. Senator Ted Stevens says he was bumped off of three network television shows after he told them he intended to <u>support</u> Ronald Reagan. Stevens finally got on MacNeil-Lehrer and hasn't been heard from since. That's why the FBI wasn't called in sooner -- they were out looking for him.

Yes. There is a whole new generation of reporters out there who missed their chance 12 years ago to win a Pulitzer Prize.

4. If the President is suddenly putting such a premium on loyalty, why didn't he fire George Shultz?

George Shultz hasn't said the President was wrong. He said the policy was debatable and that he argued against it. It would be rather ironic if someone who argued against a policy should be fired because its execution may have misfired.

5. Is our Central American policy now doomed?

It is no more doomed than the Strategic Defense Initiative is doomed, or tax reform is doomed. A number of candidates -- including Senator-elect Graham in Florida and Senatorelect Shelby in Alabama -- said they support the President's policies on Central America. I'm sure their constituents will hold them to these commitments.

We continue to believe the President's policies should be judged on their merits. Those who would abandon our efforts to promote democracy in Central America never supported us from the outset. George Bush said this Iran mess was a mistake. Why doesn't the President admit it and move on?

When these Democrats say, "We want to get this behind us," they're talking about Ronald Reagan.

7. The President said there would be no arms for terrorist nations, then he sold Iran arms. Wasn't that hypocritical?

No. This was not a government-to-government transaction.

8. How can the President get anything out of Congress when they no longer trust him, respect him, or fear him -- and when the people don't believe him?

I disagree with the premise of that question. The only people you hear from are the people who believe all of the above. But that is because to get yourself on television these days, you have to attack Ronald Reagan.

9. Why doesn't the President order Oliver North and John Poindexter to stop "taking the Fifth Amendment" and tell the truth?

Because the President is sworn to uphold the Constitution and they are exercising a constitutional right.

10. What effect will this Iran affair have on the 1988 elections?

•

The question illustrates what is so disappointing in the current debate. Some individuals on the other side think the "Misery Index" is Ronald Reagan's popularity, and that anything that drives it downward is good for them politically.

As far as GOP chances in 1988 are concerned, it depends upon how big a hole certain Republicans dig for themselves. They have a choice: They can take the short term gains of seeing themselves on television -- and risk in the long term being voted out of the Senate's group picture.