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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT
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Withdrawer

DLB 5/18/2023

File Folder CO071 (IRAN) (448403)

FOIA

S10-306

Box Number 91

SYSTEMATIC

1151

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
249687	MEMO	DUPLICATE OF #97487; FRANKLIN LAVIN TO ALTON KEEL, RE: BEYOND IRAN - EVENTS TO KEEP THE AGENDA ON TRACK	2	12/8/1986	B1

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 compiled 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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 24, 1986

Dear Helmut:

Thank you very much for your recent letter. The support and solidarity you extend are those of a true friend. I particularly appreciate your expression of understanding for the motivation behind our efforts to bring peace in the Gulf and seek dialogue with Iran.

My prime goal now is to put the present public debate in the United States behind us in the shortest possible time. As Alliance partners, the issues we face together, especially those you mention in your letter -- improved East-West relations and arms reduction -- demand no less. Your past counsel, advice and cooperation have played a crucial role in setting the stage for further progress and I very much welcome your assurance of continued, active cooperation.

Nancy joins me in sending you and Hannelore our very best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a New Year crowned with success for the efforts we have undertaken together as partners and friends.

With best wishes and warm regards,

Sincerely,

Rau

His Excellency
Dr. Helmut Kohl
Chancellor of the Federal Republic of
Germany
Bonn

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ON

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448411
CO 071
FD 003-02
SP
FG 006-12

Buchanan
December 1, 1986
7:00 pm

PT

Draft

REMARKS:

Before closing, let me speak briefly about the ^{issue} ~~subject~~ that has commanded the headlines in recent days: The Iranian-Contra Affair.

It is my hope and ~~my~~ intention to get to the bottom of this, as quickly as possible -- to get all the facts to the American people, as soon as possible.

One of the accomplishments of my Administration of which I am most proud is to have restored the levels of confidence, of faith, of trust of the American people in the Government of the United States. In these six years, together, we have put behind us some of the cynicism and disbelief of previous decades. Nothing must be permitted to shake that renewed faith -- for it remains indispensable to America's capacity to do good in an imperfect world.

To keep that faith, to guarantee that there shall be a full accounting of what happened, I have appointed the Tower commission to review and report to me, shortly, on all the operational actions of the National Security Council staff. I have said before and repeat today -- we would welcome the appointment of an Independent Counsel to investigate this affair. And ~~Further~~, we will co-operate to the full fully with all the relevant committees of Congress.

As I ^{said} two weeks ago, the motives behind our opening to Iran ^g were the best of motives: to replace ^a total hostility with this critically situated nation of 40 million with a new relationship. To bring an end to terror. To bring a close to the Persian Gulf War. To effect the release of our hostages in Lebanon. The ^{Effort} objective of my former ^{NSC} staff aides -- to help the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters recapture their country from a Communist tyrant ^g -- was likewise a worthy objective. ^g But noble ends do not justify illicit means. We cannot condone the breaking of laws -- if that ~~has~~ happened. ^g America is a nation under law; ^g and ours, is an Administration that believes deeply in the rule of law.

~~Let me state something up front here. This Iranian initiative -- the sale of a quantity of arms to Iran ^g was a secret operation carried out by the National Security Council on my authority. ^{And} For that initiative, I have taken full responsibility.~~

But, the liberation of Grenada, the capture of the hi-jackers of the Achille Lauro; ^{air} and the ^{These} attack upon the sources of terror in Colonel Khadafi's Libya -- were also secret operations undertaken by the National Security Council on my authority. And the same men ^{Now widely} ~~now~~ criticized for having conducted the Iranian initiative -- ~~that is now so widely condemned --~~ are the same Navy and Marine officers who share responsibility for those successes.

It is right that ^{we} American ^s ~~should~~ maintain a sense of indignation at the breach of law. But, we must also keep a sense of perspective. To risk nothing is to gain nothing. We live in a dangerous world for free peoples. Half a century ago, an

American President used secret ^{and} and suspect means to bring the United States ^{closer to} into World War II. Then, he aligned us -- for our ^{National} survival -- with one of the great tyrannies in human history, that of Joseph Stalin. To combat and contain Communism today, we must deal with Communists. To bring ~~about~~ ^{Communicate} an end to terror, we must ~~talk~~ ^{Communicate} with some regimes which have in their history made use of terror.

And, so, my friends, I ^{Appreciate} know that today there is consternation and anguish over ^{our} the Iranian initiative -- and how it went ^{over} awry -- and how funds were ^{diverted} directed into aid for the ^{Nicaraguan} freedom Fighters. ~~Combating terrorism and containing communism are noble goals; but, again, they cannot be permitted to excuse illicit means.~~ I would only ask that you reserve judgment, wait for the entire story to unfold, and keep the faith -- faith in your government, faith in this Administration. I believe that history will show that not only have we earned that faith these past six years, but we deserve that faith today.

Thank you and God bless you.

Before closing, let me speak briefly about ^{any} a subject ^{that has} some of ~~you~~ ~~may have read~~ ^{Commander The headlines} about in recent days: The Iranian-Contra Affair.

It is my hope and my intention to get to the bottom of this, ~~matter~~, as quickly as possible---to ~~bring~~ get all the facts to the American people, as soon as ⁹ possible.

One of the accomplishments of my Administration of which I am most proud is to have ^{restored} ~~increased~~ the levels of confidence, of faith, of trust of the American people, in the Government of the United States. In these six years, together, we have put behind us some of the cynicism and disbelief of previous decades. Nothing must be permitted to shake that renewed faith---for it is indispensable to America's ~~capacity~~ ^{any} capacity to do good in ~~this~~ imperfect world.

^{To keep that faith,} To guarantee that there shall be a full ~~and~~ ^{Tower} accounting of what happened, I have appointed the ~~Panel~~ ^{Review and} commission to ~~report back to~~ ^{Report to} me, ^{any} shortly, on the operational actions of the NSC. ^{National Security Council staff,} As I ~~have~~ said ^{I have said before and} the other day ~~and~~ and repeat today---we would welcome the appointment of an Independent Counsel ^{This} ~~to~~ to investigate ~~the~~ the affair. Further we ~~will~~ will co-operate to the full with all the relevant committees of ~~the~~ Congress.

even if we do believe deeply in the cause for which those laws were broken.

As I ~~say~~^{7/20/79}, several weeks ago, the motives behind our ~~XXXXXX~~ opening to Iran, were the best of motives: To replace ~~the~~ a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~relationship~~ of total hostility with a new relationship with this critically situated nation of 40 million. To bring an end to terror. To bring a close to the Persian Gulf War. To effect the release of our hostages in Lebanon. ~~The~~ objective of my former staff aides---to help the Nicaraguan ~~Freedom Fighters~~ recapture their country from a Communist tyrann---was likewise a ~~noble~~^{worthy} objective. But ~~the~~ noble ends ~~do~~ do not justify illicit means. We cannot countenance or condone the breaking of laws---~~if laws have been broken~~^{if that has happened}. ~~And~~^{AND} America is a ~~the~~ nation under law; so, ours, is an Administration that believes deeply in the rule of law.

9 | Let me state something up front here. This Iranian initiative
---the ^{secret} sale of a quantity of arms to ~~Iran~~ Iran---was a secret operation
carried out by the National Security ~~Council~~ Council, on my authority.
For ^{that initiative} ~~me~~, I have taken full responsibility. ~~XXXXXX~~ For the mis-per-
ceptions that have followed, we bear the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ responsibility.
And I profoundly regret ~~that~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ faith of many Americans
has been shaken.

But, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the liberation of Grenada, the
^{Capture} ~~capture~~ of the hijackers of the Achille ^{LAURO} ~~LAURO~~, and the ~~the~~
attack upon the sources of Terror in Colonel Khadafi's Libya
were also secret ~~operations~~ operations undertaken by the National
Security ~~Council~~ Council on my authority. And the same men ~~now~~
now criticized for having conducted ~~Iranian initiative~~ Iranian initiative--
that is now so widely condemned---are the same ^{Navy and Marine} ~~officers~~ officers who
~~share~~ ^{those} share responsibility for ~~our~~ successes.

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at the ^{breach} ~~breach~~ of law. But, ~~we~~ we must also keep a sense of perspective.
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free peoples. Half a century ago, an American President ~~used~~
used secret and suspect means to bring the United ~~States~~ States into
World War II ~~and~~ ^{then} then, he aligned us---~~our~~ ^{our} survival---with one
of the great tyrannies in human history, that of Joseph Stalin. To
combat and contain Communism today, we must deal with Communists.
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with regimes ~~which~~ ^{made} which have in their history ~~use~~ use of terror.

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Thank you and ~~good day~~ God bless you.

I want to take a couple of minutes and also talk about Iran. More than a month ago when our initiative came to light, I shared with the American people why I had made the decision to to renew contact with Iran.

Later when I was informed by the Attorney General that he had uncovered the possible misuse of monies from the sale of arms to Iran, I met with the bipartisan Congressional leaders and shared all of that information with them. That same week I announced appropriate personnel changes and named an independent Board chaired by former Senator Tower to find out what went wrong within the NSC staff structure.

Shortly thereafter, I urged the appointment of an independent counsel to determine if there were violations of law. And finally I worked with Congress in asking that they have a coordinated inquiry into the matter. I also urged limited immunity for John Poindexter, Ollie North and anyone else that might be able to shed light on this matter, in an effort to move quickly, ^{to get} to find out ^{all that} (what) happened.

I have taken all of these steps to find out the facts, to fix what went wrong and to take action against anyone who may have committed an illegal act.

He whole
story out,
so that
He Am
people ca
could

Now, if I sound a bit frustrated -- I am. I want to know ^{all of the details} ~~what happened~~ as much as the American people do. And, like them, I want to know now.

Some have suggested I call people in my office and demand answers. Others advise I should ask them to give up their constitutional rights. I have given considerable thought to these suggestions. Goodness knows, I want to get this matter behind us. All of the energy and time necessary to deal with this matter is costly.

But I have weighed that cost against the cost of aborting the very process that allows us as a ^{rather} ~~country~~ and a people to have faith in our system and our government. A process that is at work -- admittedly slow and tedious and doesn't produce immediate answers and judgements. But a process that does allow for renewed trust and confidence as a result of its findings.

Just as when a tragic accident or ^{incident} ~~(crime)~~ occurs in our community, we must resist the temptation to place blame before we have the facts or arrest someone before there is evidence -- so to must we now.

An ~~unmistakable~~
unmistakable

Indeed I could do some of the things that are suggested to quote show action or leadership -- but the price is too high. Because if we are to truly restore confidence and trust and get all the facts and, most importantly, if we do believe in our system, then we must allow it to work.

Am I disappointed the American people do not yet believe they have all the facts and question what role I played -- of course. But, I temper that disappointment with the knowledge that when the facts are produced everyone's questions will be answered and their confidence will be restored.

In the interim, we can handle this -- and while mistakes were made, they (will be) corrected. Legal responsibility will be determined and ^{if necessary} appropriate action ^{with} taken. The circumstances of this matter are serious but not tragic. The tragedy will occur only if our system is not allowed to work. Temporary gain -- no matter how desirable, can never be reason enough to circumvent our institutions of justice.

The process of governing will go on. I pledge to the American people I will ^{continue to} do everything ^{possible to get} ~~I can to get~~ to the bottom of this matter. I also pledge that I will continue to fight for a safer world, for more jobs, for a growing economy and for all the other issues important to the American people.

I have two arms, I will roll up my one sleeve and get to the bottom of the issue on Iran. I will roll up the other and continue to move ahead on the critical issues before us. I believe the Congress can do the same. And in a spirit of cooperation and working together we can achieve both.

DETERMINED CODE
ADMINISTRATIVE
E.O. 12958, as amended, Sec. 1.3
BY NARA dlb DATE 4/24/10

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FG006-12

URGENT & CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Thomas C. Dawson, II
Chief Executive Assistant to
the Chief of Staff
Office of Donald T. Regan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

312 South Main Street
Harrisburg, Illinois 62946
December 20, 1986

Dear Mr. Dawson:

As an ardent supporter of the President, I am respectfully submitting an idea to resolve the current dilemma; how the President can unburden the presidency in the most timely manner and get on with governing without resorting to depriving the principals -- Lt. Col. North and Adm. Poindexter -- of their constitutional rights. A "pardon" is unseemly; "limited immunity" is, at best, premature. *Iran Situation*

- STEP 1 The President should summon the principals in tandem to the Oval Office. If they want to bring along their attorneys, fine.
- STEP 2 The President should acknowledge the fact that he is most sensitive to the issue of constitutional rights, but at the same time he is equally aware of the potential damage and travail to the nation and body politic associated with protracted lack of the truth -- especially as it directly relates to a viable presidency in the next two(2) years.

Further, the President should unequivocally state to the principals:

"You know as well as I that I knew nothing about a scheme for funneling monies to the Contras until it was a matter of public record. Therefore, in the spirit of patriotism, in behalf of all the American people, as your President, I appeal to you to consult with your respective attorneys and issue a 1-pg. joint communique to the effect that 'at no time did you have occasion to inform me of such matters and I at no time condoned, approved, or authorized such operations.' Consider matters, if you will, and return here to the Oval Office 72 hours hence with your decision. Thank you, gentlemen."

Larry R. Smith


STEP 3 The President should announce STEP 2 proceedings to the general public, within minutes after principals exit Oval Office.

Benefits

If the principals cooperate, the Contra issue, in large measure, will be put to rest. Even if the principals respectfully decline to cooperate, the President will generate enormous goodwill and will be roundly applauded by the American people for his extraordinary measure of effort, candor, and creativity: attempting to preserve the viability of the presidency without impinging upon the principals' constitutional rights. If the initiative fails, the Administration should nevertheless attempt to turn the train of national thought back to basics (3-R's: it's Regan ... for the Right Reasons).

Thank you, Mr. Dawson.

Sincerely,



Larry R. Smith
LRS:bj

cc: First Lady Nancy Reagan
Patrick J. Buchanan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1986

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a draft of the letter that you wanted to send to your Cabinet, Department and Agency heads, and senior White House staff urging them to come forward with any information regarding the Iran/Contra situation.

After you have made any edits and approved this draft, we will prepare the individual letters.

You may wish to raise the subject of this letter at the Cabinet Meeting later today, so they will not be surprised when the letter is received.

David L. Chew

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WH004

Since the disclosure that funds from the sale of arms to Iran may have been diverted to assist the anti-Sandinista forces in Central America, I have been committed to seeing that all the facts are brought to light and shared with the American people. I established a special board chaired by former Senator Tower to review the activities of the NSC staff and make recommendations on how it could be improved; called for a coordinated Congressional inquiry; and endorsed the appointment of an independent counsel.

All of these actions were taken to find out what happened -- quickly and fairly. I write to you now to request your cooperation (and that of your agency) in having all the facts and information relating to this matter brought to the attention of the appropriate inquiry -- be it the Special Review Board, Congressional Committees, or the Independent Counsel.

Specifically, it is my hope that you will determine what, if any information you might have that could shed light on this matter, provide that information immediately to the appropriate inquiry, and respond to their efforts as they seek testimony, documents or materials. I understand this appeal may be extraordinary, but so too is the nature of this controversy. While debate over our policy goals toward Iran is understandable and appropriate, there can be no debate over

the need to answer all of the legitimate questions posed by those conducting the reviews and most importantly those asked by the American people. Total restoration of trust and confidence is dependent upon complete cooperation and full disclosure.

I will share with the American people everything I learn regarding this matter. It is imperative that those who have knowledge share it, those who have information provide it and those who have answers give them.

I pledged to the American people I would set things right. With you help we will.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Shultz; Casey; DTR;

Since the disclosure that funds from the sale of arms to Iran may have been diverted to assist the anti-Sandinista forces in Central America, I have been committed to seeing that all the facts are brought to light and shared with the American people. I established a special board chaired by former Senator Tower to review the activities of the NSC staff and make recommendations on how it could be improved; called for a coordinated Congressional inquiry; and endorsed the appointment of an independent counsel.

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Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

EF

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PROO1

YES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Jesse:

Your strong support for my diplomatic initiative with Iran is very much appreciated. I am pleased that I can count on you to promote America's longstanding goals in the region: to preserve Iran's independence from Soviet domination; to bring an honorable end to the bloody Iran-Iraq war; and to halt the export of subversion and terrorism in the region.

Jesse, thank you for your continued support, particularly now during these difficult times. It is heartening to hear a word of encouragement from a valued friend when so many seem to offer only criticism.

Nancy joins me in wishing you and your family all the best in the new year.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

RETURNED TO
NOT REVIEWED BY QRM.

D. Chew

ON 870108

December 9, 1986

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FG011

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

FG006-12

FROM: Ron Sable

SUBJECT: Hearing debrief For Dr. Keel

General testimony of Shultz and McFarlane was without eruptions as both defended the need for a policy which included an element of risk. Shultz surprised everyone with his revelation that AMB Kelly in Lebanon had been dealing direct with JMP, without Shultz' knowledge. He defended the Brunei effort as legal and in consort with views of the Congress. Elliott Abrams will be asked to appear today to explain that further. McFarlane allowed as how the President approved the Nov 85 arms sale---"authorized by the President". Also mentioned he was generally aware of the diversion of funds to Cent. Am. as Ollie told him. North expected to receive subpoena to appear before HFA today.

August

Ok —
a Plea update for tomorrow

TJ

NSC # 8608685

National Security Council
The White House

System # I

Package #

DOCLOG A/O

SEQUENCE TO HAS SEEN DISPOSITION

Bob Pearson

Rodney McDaniel

Rodman/Cockell

Al Keel

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

Paul Thompson

Florence Gantt

John Poindexter

Rodney McDaniel

NSC Secretariat

 I _____ R

Situation Room

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8608685

RECEIVED 09 DEC 86 18

TO KEEL

FROM SABLE

DOCDATE 09 DEC 86

KEYWORDS: CONGRESSIONAL

IRAN

SHULTZ, G

MEYER, R

SUBJECT: SHULTZ & MCFARLANE HEARINGS / DEBRIEF

ACTION: NOTED BY KEEL

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS

REF#

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ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

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