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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name CULVAHOUSE, ARTHUR B.:FILES

Withdrawer

DLB 10/2/2014

File Folder IRAN/ARMS TRANSACTION: ABC (ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE) NOTES (1 OF 2)

FOIA

S643

Box Number CFOA 1132

SYSTEMATIC

188

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
165885	NOTES	HANDWRITTEN NOTES FROM 3/16/1987 WITH RR, HHB, ETC.	1	3/16/1987	B1
165886	NOTES	HANDWRITTEN NOTES RE: TELEPHONE CALLS WITH DUBERSTEIN, GARMENT	6	3/18/1987	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]
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3/3

HHS following

falls as usual

file from center

to do

Carroll / P

Morse

Baker talk to Pres

Bernie Mc Mahan
Council to Intell. Center

Ponderosa / Briefed P 2 or 3 times

Nov. 29 called Mc Mahan
with council call
look into //

Boren -

Internal inv. under oath

2 groups of stoppers

B.M. P took 5th to
present French

briefed Pres. on committee & discussion
not sure P&K understood

briefing is such a way
Pres. may not have understood

George
Boren
Morse
Carroll
Lowe
Fritz
INSISL
Stewart
releases

5 stoppers
total

B.M.
says both
under oath

John Dupree - B.M. told
him P&K called B.M.
substantive

Boren - counsel Dupreealey
from - but that's B.M. did
not talk to Pres.

Spec. Counsel / Pres.
// write-up //

Twouffe & Rodman

what did P tell
Ms Mahan

~~From 2 common
Holograms~~

①

LIWMB/

NO

will not stand up
870

Prognosis
frustrate

③ Pitca
imminently
alot of sense

④ very few
meets by all
none at all

facts not
knew up

not ask
line to report

clear lines of authority
knowledge

outgoing personal
frustrating

~~scribble~~

does no problem

agreed
people not
read

②

PARDON --
T full full complete
frustrate

3/11/8. Talc Beaker / Intra/canona

Paul Thompson
G.C. of WSC
Spec. Asst.

Tested before
Worse than
Helen Paul

understand sensitivity
collusion / conspiracy

Other way of
certain and of course

Employees occupying
similar position
as WSC

experience

On access to calendar
Part T - only as
John's counsel

Interests are the same
NSC employees
as a group / very few

Next few days --
Some questions

Conspiracy to cover
up

Collective
group of targets

3/13

444-2142 (Home)

File Iron /

Cooker

Doug Kelly - 224-

Durenberger's A.A.

Controversy going

McManis's comments regarding

Hollings & Durenberger

Some stories were by staffers
comments had taken place

Leather charged over

5 staffers under oath
McManis - denied

McManis - interviewed by Sen. Pro

2:30

Polygraph FBI

Tues. Capitol Hill police

All come out O.K.

Press on to this / Woodward

Pondexter's lawyer / said

3/13 ^{Tec} P. Waller Edan
Contra

Governor's letter / B. Waller

Did Furness come to
Tourist Board? ✓

Do not know who from?

Don Regan } 2 weeks
 } over

Came in ¹⁰
separately } First one - 2 weeks before
 } 1st one from Regan
 } Jan - 3 Pres Henry

Furness comes to Tourist Bd

not get gone to DC on
Committees

Pres. did not say

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Judges

-- March 16 --

Tell
-- Warren Rodman --

David H. Suttan

Atty G of WA

Rhodes Schwan

Trial Judge

Amr. Justice WA Sup Ct

Brilliant legal conservative attorney

[Go vacancy in First Cir
Bring David down here, go thru with
Take Barnes take Simon status -

Announce // commit //

:

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Telc

File In
center

JOE Small --

3/23

Request for documents / Jan. ~~1977~~⁸ } to Peter
Calendar / What Books } Wallson
documents available w/in 3 days

(1) If request is for docs to prepare for
testimony, then w-10. Could respond
couple of mos / little later
Admission testify, need to
Senate & Home Committee /

(2) Psychological Aspect -
request for docs really modest
P-10's personal records
anyway communicate -
Share info / discuss facts & circumstances
ought to explore

(3)

3/27

Speidel

Inno / Lucha

(1) April 86 —

walks reference to discussion
doc cannot do to make account

— 1 version / produced by FBI for each
file

— Jay sent Intelligence Lucha slightly
diff version /

(2) Rest of docs in North's office

— not taken by FBI

Grower

— Interviewing of other docs

— Owen and Green to review
other relevant docs

— FBI went back again / went through spec for
5 documents

4/3/87

INNO/AMOR

Becker - May 2 or 3

do docs of any kind

Prepare testimony

Met w/ I.C. / not too sympathetic
to problem

Re release Becker would not
sum docs over w/o IC consent

13th & F

7th Floor

Columbia Square

10:00

April 6 // //

Tally pts for 4/6
Meeting with George Walsh

Thom / Curran

- Service to the arms to OAC --
- PLOB --
- BECKER --

-- Appearance at Interview --

-- Going Forward [P. Stevens / our effort] //

-- LEAD / Schuyler

We don't want to repress targets or subjects on potential
We don't know who is being interviewed / contrary to understanding
NOT appearing at interviews, contrary to past practice,

OLC (right & appropriate [fact witness] - represent institution
furthering, irrelevant inquiries, classified info

Middle East agents

Other areas counsel

Panel: says no, never, can & will not, Judge every one
before grand jury, can't stand political heat

Concerns several fronts:

target / subject warning

With people can't get counsel otherwise except at their expense

Fact witnesses to slaughter / will not advise targets or
subjects

Understand our ability to insure relevancy, absolute security

understand our ability to ensure cooperation

Chief impact on cooperation of FBI leaves

people is when we report leads, etc.

To get into w/o office - Pres., Asst to P,

Dep. Asst to P, P personal staff,

our interest on being there ~~for Exec.~~ grows

increasing access / that goes to the heart

of the institution / wo counsel would

allow CEO / or SVP to appear in interviews

w/o counsel

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

APRIL 6, 1987
AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION
WITH INDEPENDENT COUNSEL

1. 1/85 - 4/85, multiple checks received on at least three occasions.
2. Disclosure of above is indicative of WH cooperation.
 - (a) extra personnel working to meet IC's deadlines
 - (b) we agreed to IC's request not to disclose documents to lawyers for North, Poindexter & McFarlane
 - (c) IC working with Biff Henley to design a way to search the WH & NSC systems
3. We believe it appropriate for WH to be present at IC's interviews of WH personnel.
 - (a) President has instructed us to insure that all evidence is disclosed
 - (b) we can facilitate that disclosure (as evidenced by #1 & #2 above)
 - (c) we should be present when WH employees are providing information about their activities as WH employees
 - (d) we will not be present at interviews of targets or subjects
 - (e) no conflict of interest:
 - WH & President not targets or subjects
 - our interest is same as IC's
 - (f) it is only an appearance problem if IC makes it one
 - (g) WH Counsel present at other IC investigatory interviews
 - (h) pursuant to prior agreement w/FBI, WH should at least be notified in advance of all interviews
 - (i) alternatives:
 1. we advise all WH employees in advance of their options
 2. some WH employees get private counsel

- cost nonreimbursable
- slows down IC

4. IC shown docs to Senate & House staffers.
 - (a) IC gets docs which, in some cases, Senate & House may see, but not have, or which have been redacted -- as a result of Inter Agency Review Process concerning highly classified information.
 - (b) If IC shows or provides docs to congressional staff,
 1. 6(e)?
 2. Inter Agency Review Process nullified
 3. serious security concerns
 - (c) Solution:
 1. no document shown to congressional staff or members
 2. all requests declined by IC and referred to ABC
5. Paul Stevens
 - (a) Has recused himself
 - (b) Has only helped schedule times for interviews
 - (c) Has not interviewed anyone or conducted any investigation
6. Other non-issues:
 - (a) FBI already has ability to (Kevin Fryslie) to check all Poindexter, McFarlane files to double check relevancy determination
 - (b) FBI-IC communications seem lagging
7. Review of President's diaries
 - (a) draft letter in process
 - (b) treat Tower Board's notes of its interviews w/President and former President same way we are treating diaries, i.e., access only
 - (c) any private handwritten notes of President remain private, access only

8. Declassification of documents per Guy Struve's letter of March 26, 1987

-- Defer for time being because time and effort involved in meeting IC's document production timetables

File Inm/umom

1. Does the President want the Counsel to the President to be present when the President and Mrs. Reagan sign their income tax return? Roy Miller, the President's tax attorney, will be present at the April 13 signing at the ranch. Although the Counsel to the President apparently always has been in attendance, I profitably can work on other matters back here in Washington. In addition, Roy Miller advises me that the President's tax return will be non-controversial; and, presumably, I can review a draft in advance to confirm that it is routine. Finally, Howard Baker or you could attend the signing ceremony. I am happy to attend if that is the President's desire, but want to confirm the appropriate priorities.

2. Advise the President that Howard Baker, Ken Duberstein and A. B. Culvahouse ^{may} need to spend some time with him on Wednesday, April 8, to discuss and confirm the procedures for reviewing the President's diary notes.

3. Consider whether you wish to inquire of the President regarding the delivery of the Adnan Khashoggi letter to the President dated January 10, 1987.

don't know

Feb 5/5 - - (File from/center
Congressman Lee Hamilton
extensive classifications

use of airports in El Salvador
①/Incidents

don't have him testify
as to things of that sort
fairly to identify use
of Portugal

Constitution is protecting
Nat'l security matters

Second

has extensive classifications
propose a concern
want to

June 24

BRIEF: Arms Export Control Act. Jack Brooks order Ollie North to cooperate.

I. ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT.

Who told the President about \$14m requirement?

December 7, 1985 NSPG?

Who briefed him?

Exactly what was his understanding?

Who told him?

II. COVERT ACTION FINDING.

Was he advised about delay of notification to Congress?

Who advised him on legality of delay?

III. BOLAND AMENDMENT.

PIOB report in September of 1985.

Did McFarlane discuss the Boland Amendment with him?

Did Poindexter? Casey? Regan?

IV. SAUDI FUNDING.

May 1984?

Did McFarlane tell him?

V. Public statements that Contras running out of money in May 1984. Then they did not -- what was the President told about how they survived?

VI. Shultz, Weinberger, Casey, Regan.

PROPOSED TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

I. The Contra Diversion -

You have been reported as saying that the President was not aware, and did not approve, of any diversion to the Contras of proceeds from the Iranian arms sales. Various news media reports state that sources close to Admiral John Poindexter say that he may testify that he discussed the diversion with the President on two occasions and/or that he had "broad authority" to justify his activities relating to the diversion.

A. Admiral John Poindexter -

1. On what basis did you conclude that Admiral Poindexter did not inform the President, or at least tip him off, that a diversion might occur?

a. Mr. Regan's conversation with Admiral Poindexter on November 25, 1986, the date of his resignation (see Regan Tower Board Tr. 57-58).

b. The President's reaction on November 24, 1986, upon being informed by Attorney General Edwin Meese III of the possibility that a diversion had occurred (see Regan Tower Board Tr. 57: "horrified....He [the President] couldn't believe it").

2. Are there any other reasons?

3. Assume, merely as a matter of hypothesis, that Admiral Poindexter claims that he was just trying to protect the President when he suggested on the morning of November 25, 1986, that he had not told the President of the diversion. What objective, or subjective, factors would lead one to discount such a claim?

4. Are there any other examples of items coming to light where Admiral Poindexter had failed to keep the President fully advised?

B. William Casey -

Recent testimony suggesting a close relationship between Casey and North has spurred speculation that Casey may have encouraged a diversion and, as a close confidant of the President, informed him of it in advance. There is, of course, no evidence that any such thing occurred. For his part, DCI

Casey testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that North had assured him in October 1986 that no money from the arms sales had been diverted to the Contras. What objective or subjective factors would lead one to discount speculation that the President was informed of the diversion by Mr. Casey?

C. CIA Control of the Sale of Arms to Iran -

The President has stated that he assumed the CIA managed the sale of arms to Iran after the January 1986 Iran Finding. Are you aware of any information on which the President based that assumption? Was information available to the President which should have led him to any other assumption? Are you aware of any discussion about how the arms sale was to be managed after the January 1986 Finding?

D. LtCol Oliver North -

In his Congressional testimony, General Secord stated that Oliver North had said to him several times that he had mentioned to the President that it was "very ironic" that "some of the Ayatollah's money was being used to support the Contras." What, if any, objective or subjective factors would lead one to discount the possibility of such a comment having been made by North in the presence of the President?

II. Private Funding of the Contras -

A. Conceding that there is no documentary evidence to prove it, Senator Inouye has stated: "I'm certain the President was aware that Oliver North was in the process of raising funds, not specifically for bullets or bandaids, but I'm certain he knew that." Asked about this, the President stated: "there was nothing in the nature of a solicitation by the Administration to my knowledge." Approximately one day later, the President said: "I don't know how that money was to be used and I have no knowledge that there was ever any solicitation by our people."

1. To what extent was the President made aware of North's private fundraising activities?

2. The President on several occasions spoke to groups of supporters of aid to the Freedom Fighters. His briefing papers for those meetings describe these groups as individuals who have purchased TV ads and engaged in other educational activities to support the President's policies. On other occasions, the President met with individuals such as Ellen Garwood and Barbara Newington. It has been alleged that Spitz Channell told private contributors that for a \$300,000 donation they would receive an "off the record" meeting with the President. Did the President know that the groups or individuals with whom he was meeting were giving direct aid to the Contras? What did the President know about these "off the record" meetings? Were such meetings unusual?

B. A recent issue of Time Magazine reported that "[a]fter setbacks in Congress [in 1984], Reagan instruct[ed] McFarlane to fund the Contras 'any way you can.'" McFarlane testified that the President wanted the democratic resistance held together, "body and soul." In a PROFS note dated May 2, 1986, from Poindexter to Don Fortier, he quoted the President as having said to him [in Bali on the way to Japan]: "I am really serious. If we can't move the Contra package before June 9, [1986,] I want to figure out a way to take action unilaterally to provide assistance." Poindexter then commented that the President "was taken with the examples of Presidential actions in the past without Congressional approval" and that "the President is ready to confront the Congress on the Constitutional question of who controls foreign policy." Two weeks later, at an NSPG meeting on May 16, 1986, dealing with proposed legislation for aid to the Contras, after being informed by Secretary Shultz of unsuccessful approaches to Third Countries for aid to the Contras in accordance with the FY 1986 intelligence authorization bill, the President stated: "What about the private groups who pay for ads for the Contras. Have they been contacted? Could they do more than ads?" According to the minutes, you responded: "We have contacts."

1. What, if any, Presidential action on this issue followed this May 16, 1986, meeting? What would have been your understanding of the President's instructions to McFarlane and Poindexter?

C. By PROFS note dated May 16, 1986, North stated: "I have no idea what Don Regan does or does not know re my private U.S. operation, but the President obviously knows why he has been meeting with several select people to thank them for their 'support for Democracy' in CentAm." Poindexter responded: "Don Regan knows very little of your operation and that is just as well." Why would the President know more about North's operation than you?

D. The Boland Amendments were an inconsistent patchwork of statutes that purported to limit the use of intelligence agencies in providing direct or indirect support for paramilitary or military operations in Nicaragua. Robert McFarlane testified that the President had a more liberal view of what was permitted under the Boland Amendments than did McFarlane. Were you ever present during discussions with the President concerning the limitations of the Boland Amendments? Did the President ever see or even hear about the PIOB opinion that the Boland Amendments did not apply to the NSC? Was any other legal advice ever sought on the President's behalf concerning the Boland Amendments' limitations? What is your understanding of what the President knew concerning the Boland Amendment?

E. Third Country Solicitations -

1. Do you know of any discussion with the President about the reported Saudi contributions for the Contras in preparation for the February 1985 state visit by King Fahd?

Do you have any reason to believe that, as the Washington Post reported, McFarlane went to Prince Bandar's residence in McLean, where King Fahd was staying, to discuss Contra aid during the King's visit? Do you recall anything the President said after the visit? Was the President advised of any effort to link Saudi aid to the Contras to favorable Administration treatment of the then pending Saudi arms package?

2. As noted above, the idea of soliciting Contra aid from Third Countries was discussed at a May 16, 1986, NSPG meeting. Other than with respect to Saudi Arabia, would the President have had reason to know at that time that other nations had made contributions? If so, how did he find out?

3. Did the President know of any discussions by anyone in the government (e.g., North, Gaston Sigur, McFarlane, Poindexter, Abrams) with representatives of any other foreign governments about making contributions to the Contras?