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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

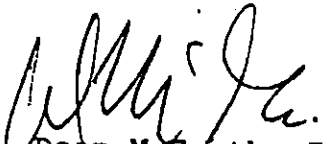
December 19, 1992

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a background memorandum prepared by Boyden Gray on Iran-Contra pardons. No action is being requested at this time.

I have discussed the memorandum with the Chief of Staff. He has not reviewed it.

Thank you.

  
C. Dean McGrath, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY *CBG/pps*  
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Iran-Contra Pardons

As you know, Secretary Caspar Weinberger has requested a pardon for the actions regarding which he has been indicted and will be tried in early January of next year. In order to avoid a need to decide this question at the last minute, I thought you should have a memorandum on that question as well as on the question of whether you should consider pardoning other individuals who have been or may be subjected to prosecution in connection with their Iran-Contra activities.

This is obviously a very difficult question. On balance, my recommendation is that you should pardon everybody who has been convicted or indicted in connection with this matter, and everyone who might be prosecuted in the future, with the exception of President Reagan and yourself.

Set forth below are five options, the pros and cons of each, a draft statement at Tab A, and one page descriptions of each individual who has been convicted or indicted at Tab B.

(1) No Pardons

The rationale for no pardons is that the criminal justice system should be allowed to take its course and that the appearance of the President condoning violations of the law undermines the people's confidence in the rule of law.

Pros

- o Avoids the likely criticism you will come under in connection with any pardons for (a) taking the law into your own hands and (b) being accused of covering up wrongdoing by members of President Reagan's and your Administration, or even by you personally.
- o The individuals who have already gone through the criminal justice system have already suffered most of the harm that it could inflict. Nobody has yet served any time except individuals who have personally profited from the arms sales.

- o Your reputation in history might suffer by going forward with pardons. Some believe that has happened to President Ford.
- o Any pardons may shift public opinion in this matter, which right now is, I think, critical of the Independent Counsel's performance, somewhat in his favor. The extent of that will depend in part on how successful a job you do in explaining the basis of your action and how successful a job the rest of the White House and others do in selling it in the press after the decision. Those who want to renew the statute will argue that any pardon emphasizes the importance of reenacting it.

#### Cons

- o Some individuals identified as targets of the independent counsel have not yet gone through the entire criminal justice process. Even if the independent counsel obtains no more convictions, individuals will certainly face more suffering in the form of legal fees and the pain that his targets will suffer as a result of his pursuit and the need to make decisions about how to respond to that pursuit.
- o Moreover, given this independent counsel's record, despite some general statements that Weinberger and Clarridge are likely to be the last two targets, there is no guaranty that after January 20 he will not discover additional objects of investigation who in turn will be put through that suffering.
- o Even for those who have gone through the entire process, individual injustices have occurred when looked at in the overall context. For example, Bud McFarlane and Elliot Abrams pled guilty to acts that the Independent Counsel characterized as crimes, but which ordinary prosecutors do not normally prosecute. These people have suffered enough, and deserve to be vindicated rather than branded as criminals.
- o There is also the general injustice committed by an investigation into what is fundamentally a policy difference that is going on seven years after it started. Weinberger and Dewey Clarridge are still being subjected to that process.

#### (2) Pardon Weinberger Alone

Several reasons would support singling out Weinberger alone for a pardon. First, he opposed the Iran initiative that is at the heart of Iran-Contra, and had no role in the Contra part.

Second, he is a real hero of the Cold War. Third, he is 75 years old and his wife is ill.

#### Pros

- o Would avoid a serious risk of injustice.
- o There is a lot of political support for pardoning Weinberger.
- o Would avoid the media spectacular surrounding a Weinberger trial.
- o The Weinberger reindictment four days before the election has given rise to a higher degree of suspicion than other cases that his prosecution is politically motivated. The suspicions about the prosecutors' political motivation might make a pardon here more readily accepted.

#### Cons

- o Any pardon of Weinberger, but especially a pre-trial pardon, creates an opportunity for accusing you of trying to protect yourself from his revelations at trial. That problem has been amplified by the confusion generated by the press treatment of the reindictment, with its emphasis on the note regarding the January 7 meeting mentioning you.
- o Pardoning Weinberger, the highest ranking person indicted, while leaving others like Clair George and Dewey Clarridge unpardoned, would give rise to charges of special treatment for the rich and powerful. The intelligence community in particular might feel betrayed.
- o Would not put an end to this as a legal matter, thus leaving the independent counsel free to retaliate by pursuing others.

#### (3) Pardon Weinberger and Other Meritorious Persons Already Convicted or Indicted or Whose Plea of Guilty Resulted in a Conviction

The rationale for this is that you would be exercising your pardon power to grant clemency to everybody who has already been convicted or indicted with respect to whom, overall, a pardon is deserved. That probably would include Weinberger, George, Fiers, Clarridge, Bud McFarlane, and Elliot Abrams, and perhaps General Secord, but probably would not include private sector types like Richard Miller, Thomas Clines, and Albert Hakim. There would be an assortment of different grounds in each case involving a combination of the fact that their service to their country makes

them deserving of clemency and the intuition that in the ordinary case, these individuals would not have been prosecuted as an exercise of prosecutorial discretion.

Pros -

- o Would come the closest to perfect justice as to the past.
- o Avoids the accusation of special treatment for Weinberger.
- o Allows mobilization of greater political support by each deserving individual's proponents.
- o Puts an end to future prosecutions identified by the independent counsel, and thus perhaps closes the book on this matter.

Cons

- o Might undermine some of the political support a pardon for Weinberger alone would muster.
- o The individuals not pardoned would complain bitterly, thus undermining the political support among proponents of pardon.
- o Makes it easier for you to be accused of placing people above the law and sanctioning lying to Congress.
- o Unless all potential future defendants are included, rather than only those the independent counsel has identified so far, we cannot be sure that the book has really been closed. Each time in the past the independent counsel has announced he has almost finished his investigation, additional indictments revealing a new line of inquiry have followed hard upon the announcement.

(4) Pardon Weinberger and Other Meritorious Individuals Indicted or Convicted Plus All Those Who Might Be Prosecuted in the Future Except President Reagan and You

The justification for this approach would be that justice should be done in the individual cases that have already been resolved (the same class identified in option 3) and that to put this behind us and avoid retaliation by the independent counsel against others, a pardon of other prospective targets is necessary.

### Pros and Cons

- o The pros and cons for this option are similar to those listed for option (3) above, except that it does justice also for potential future defendants and avoids the risk that this investigation will proceed along new lines.
- o In theory, it might increase President Reagan's and your legal jeopardy, because it would leave the two of you as the only remaining possible outlets for the independent counsel's frustration.
- o In practice, however I do not believe it does so, because neither of you has done anything remotely criminal.

### (5) Pardon Everybody--Including Arguably Non-Meritorious Persons--Except President Reagan and You

The justification for this approach, which would include within the pardon not only Weinberger, George, etc. and possible future defendants, but also private sector individuals such as Miller, Hakim, and Clines would basically be that the time has come to put this entire affair behind us, that a blanket pardon in somewhat similar circumstances has a strong historical pedigree, that this is really about policy disputes for which Presidents, not their aides, should be held accountable, preferably in the political arena, and that it is time to take a stand against the post-Watergate "culture of investigation".

### Pros

- o Prevents further unjust suffering.
- o Puts an end to this matter once and for all.
- o Eliminates the need to explain why you are pardoning A, B, C, and D, but not E, who all things considered, is not that much less deserving than D.
- o Does not leave anybody around to complain about being excluded and perhaps put out phony stories about why (e.g. everybody else had something he could have revealed about you).
- o If all those who avoided the Vietnam draft can be pardoned, then all those who fought the Cold War too vigorously can be too.

### Cons

- o A few probably undeserving individuals (Hakim and Clines are the most obvious) would benefit.

- o Their benefitting would also be an additional basis for people to complain about the entire decision (although I think that is very marginal).
- o As with any option other than a pardon of Weinberger alone, might alienate Weinberger pardon supporters like Tom Foley, although I believe if the speech has the proper focus, we will be able to handle this problem.

#### Recommendation

I believe if you are going to grant pardons in connection with this matter, it is not worth it unless you know with close to legal certainty that it will end it. Although this is a close call, I further believe that it is just and worth doing. Thus, although I regret that you would have to accept responsibility for doing something that I believe President Reagan should have done when he left office, I recommend option 5.

I have attached at Tab A one page descriptions of each individual who has been convicted, indicted, or pled guilty in connection with this matter, and at Tab B a draft speech that would implement Option 5.



### **Elliott Abrams**

Mr. Abrams, age 44, was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from 1985 to 1989. During his distinguished career, he also served in numerous other high-ranking positions at the State Department, as well as on Congressional committees. He pled guilty to two misdemeanor charges of illegally withholding from Congress information about covert U.S. activities to support the Contras. On November 15, 1991, Abrams was sentenced to two years' probation and 100 hours of community service. In entering the pleas, Abrams averted felony charges that had been threatened by the Independent Counsel.

**Background:** In his appearance on October 10, 1986 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Abrams did not disclose information regarding U.S. involvement with the Contras. On October 14, 1986 before the House Intelligence Committee, Abrams denied that foreign funding was being used to support arms sales to the rebels, when in fact he had solicited \$10 million from the Sultan of Brunei for this purpose.

Following his plea, Abrams stated that he acted to support U.S. policies "which at the time [he] believed proper and lawful."

### **Duane "Dewey" Clarridge**

Mr. Clarridge, age 60, served as the CIA's Chief of European Operations during the Iran-Contra affair. He currently faces trial for his alleged role in covering-up a November 1985 shipment of Hawk missiles to Iran. He and Caspar Weinberger are the only two Iran-Contra targets who have been indicted and are still facing trial. If convicted on all charges, Clarridge faces a possible 35 years in prison and fines totaling \$1.75 million.

The case: On November 16, 1991, Clarridge was indicted on seven felony charges of perjury and making false statements to the Tower Commission and to Congress. Clarridge pled innocent to all charges. A trial date has not been set.

Background: In a hastily arranged meeting between Clarridge and Lt. Colonel North six days before the November 25, 1985 shipment of Hawk missiles to Iran, Clarridge allegedly informed North that a CIA proprietary aircraft could be used to fly the missiles and contacted CIA officers overseas to facilitate the shipment. It is also alleged that Clarridge allowed North to use his office at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia to coordinate the delivery. This November 1985 shipment of arms to Iran was done without the required Presidential finding.

### **Thomas G. Clines**

Mr. Clines, age 64, was a private businessman engaged in international arms dealing. Before his business career, Clines worked at the CIA. He was found guilty for four tax violations relating to income derived from his arms transactions with the Iran-Contra-affair. Clines was sentenced on December 13, 1990 to sixteen months in prison and fined \$40,000. He is currently serving his sentence at the McKean correctional facility in Bradford, Pennsylvania. Although officially eligible for parole since August 1992, Clines remains incarcerated.

The case: Clines was charged February 22, 1990 on four felony counts relating to his tax returns for 1985 and 1986-- two for failure to disclose holding more than \$10,000 in foreign bank accounts and two for underreporting income. He pled not guilty. On September 18, 1990, he was convicted on all counts. His conviction has been affirmed on appeal.

Background: Clines was hired by the firm operated by Gen. Secord and Hakim for his abilities to obtain arms for the Contras. Clines was one of only three people who took a percentage of the profits on each shipment of weapons.

The prosecution showed that Clines only reported income from those transactions that he thought could be discovered by investigators. The appellate court rejected Clines's argument that the money was not really "his" income because he did not have sufficient control over the bank account into which the money was deposited.

**Alan D. Fiers, Jr.**

Mr. Fiers, age 52, was the Chief of the CIA's Central American Task Force during the Iran-Contra affair. He was sentenced on January 31, 1992 to a year's probation and 100 hours of community service for withholding information from Congress.

The case: As a result of a plea agreement with the Independent Counsel, Fiers was charged with and pled guilty to two misdemeanor counts of withholding information.

Background: Fiers served with Lt. Col. North and then-Assistant Secretary of State Abrams on the Restricted Interagency Group, which was responsible for formulating administration policy regarding the Nicaraguan rebels.

As the CIA official who gave regular briefings to Congress on a variety of issues, Fiers took special care in the words he chose to describe U.S. activities in Central America, especially Nicaragua. His circumspection, however, resulted in Fiers withholding information from and lying to Congress on various occasions. On October 14, 1986, before the Senate Intelligence Committee, Fiers, in response to a question regarding the crash of a resupply plane in Nicaragua, claimed that he had no knowledge of who was flying or coordinating the missions. In a November 25, 1986 appearance before the Senate Intelligence Committee, Fiers testified that the only knowledge he had regarding the diversion of profits from Iranian arms sales to the Nicaraguan rebels was from public statements made by the Administration.

District Chief Judge Aubrey Robinson said at sentencing he was impressed by Fiers' cooperation with authorities, as evidenced by letters from Judge Walsh's office and from Capitol Hill. Fiers' cooperation also led to the indictment of Clair E. George, formerly the number three official at the CIA.

## **Clair E. George**

Mr. George, age 62, served as the CIA's Deputy Director of Operations and coordinated all overseas covert operations during the Iran-Contra affair. George has been found guilty of lying to Congressional committees. He will be sentenced on February 18, 1993, at which time he faces a possible ten years in prison and \$500,000 in fines.

The case: On September 6, 1991, George was indicted on ten felony counts of perjury, making false statements and obstructing investigations of the Iran-Contra affair. He pled not guilty to all charges on September 12, 1991. Three obstruction of justice charges were dismissed on May 18, 1992. His first trial ended with a hung jury. On December 9, 1992, George was acquitted at a second trial of five of the remaining counts, but was found guilty on two perjury charges.

Background: The perjury convictions stem from George's October 14, 1986 testimony before the House Intelligence Committee regarding his knowledge of the activities of Felix Rodriguez, who assisted North in resupplying the Contras, and his December 3, 1986 appearance before the Senate Intelligence Committee, when he denied knowing the role of General Secord in the Iran-Contra affair.

## **Albert A. Hakim**

Mr. Hakim, a 60 year old Iranian-born businessman and naturalized American citizen, set up the financial network to funnel the profits from the arms sales to the Contras. He played a critical role in opening up a new diplomatic channel to Iran to negotiate for the release of the American hostages held in Lebanon. He pled guilty to illegally supplementing the salary of a government employee, by paying for a \$13,800 security fence at the home of Lt. Colonel North.

The case: Hakim was charged on March 16, 1988, in five felony counts, including conspiracy, fraud, and theft. He pled guilty to a misdemeanor charge of providing an illegal gratuity to a government employee. On February 1, 1990, Hakim was sentenced to two years' probation and a \$5,000 fine. Additionally, the court ordered Hakim's Lake Resources, Inc., one of the principal corporations used as a conduit for the arms sales, to be dissolved. Hakim also released his claim on \$7.3 million of profits from the arms sales that were being held in Swiss bank accounts. He was allowed to retain \$1.7 million, which was in addition to the \$1.3 million he originally received in profits from the arms sales.

Background: Hakim was a financial partner of Gen. Secord. Secord and North asked Hakim to coordinate a network of dummy corporations and bank accounts that were created to handle the flow of profits from the arms sales to Iran that were being used to finance the Contras.

## **Robert McFarlane**

Mr. McFarlane, age 54, was the National Security Advisor to President Reagan from October 1983 to December 1985. He also served in numerous other high-ranking positions relating to defense and national security matters during his nearly thirty year-long military and government career.

**The case:** On March 11, 1988, McFarlane was charged with and pled guilty to four counts of withholding information from Congress. He was sentenced to two years' probation, \$20,000 in fines and 200 hours of community service.

**Background:** All four counts against McFarlane stemmed from his description to Congress of his role in the Contra resupply, and not his role in the Iranian arms sales. In three 1985 letters to the House Committee on Intelligence, McFarlane withheld information about the National Security Council's role in raising funds for the arms purchases and providing military assistance for the Nicaraguan rebels. He also admitted to similarly misleading the House Foreign Affairs Committee during his testimony on December 6, 1986.

Unlike Lt. Colonel North and Admiral Poindexter, McFarlane appeared before the Joint Committee of Congress investigating the Iran-Contra affair voluntarily and without immunity.

McFarlane attempted suicide on February 9, 1987. This act has been attributed in part to his sense of remorse and conflict over his role in the Iran-Contra affair.

## **Richard R. Miller**

Mr. Miller, age 38, was the head of International Business Communications, a Washington public relations firm, during the time of the Iran-Contra affair. Before joining IBC, he served as the Director of the Agency for International and Public Affairs Development and a Reagan campaign aide. He was convicted for a tax violation relating to his activity to support the Contras. On July 6, 1989 he was sentenced to two years' probation, 120 hours of community service and a \$50 fee.

**The case:** On May 6, 1987, Miller was charged and pled guilty to one count of conspiring to use funds raised through a tax-exempt organization for a non-tax-exempt purpose, namely, to aid the Contras.

**Background:** Miller agreed with Carl Channel and Lt. Col. North to raise money for the Contras by obtaining contributions from private sources using a tax-exempt organization. The use of the tax-exempt organizational structure improperly allowed donors to write-off their contributions on their tax returns.



## **Richard V. Secord**

Mr. Secord, age 60, was a private businessman at the time of the Iran-Contra affair. Before his business career, he served in Air Force; he earned the rank of Major General and twice received the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Department's highest peacetime award. He pled guilty to making false statements to a Congressional Committee in 1987 when he denied that Lt. Col. North personally benefited from the profits derived from arms sales to Iran. On January 24, 1990, Secord was sentenced to two years' probation and a \$50 fine.

The case: Secord was originally indicted on six counts in March 1988. He was charged in a reformulated and expanded indictment with a total of twelve counts. All of the charges were based on his giving false statements to and obstructing Congress. On November 8, 1989, he pled guilty to a single false statement charge.

Background: Secord was recruited by North to become involved in the shipping of arms to the Nicaraguan rebels. He played a central role in providing critical logistical expertise and contacts to facilitate in the distributing of military aid.

Secord received approximately \$1.5 million in profits from the arms sales to Iran and the Contras.

## **Caspar W. Weinberger**

Mr. Weinberger, age 75, served as the Secretary of Defense from 1981 to 1987. During his nearly twenty-five years in government, he served in numerous senior positions, including as: Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Counselor to the President, and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. His trial is scheduled to begin on January 5, 1993. If convicted on all counts, he faces up to twenty-five years in prison and \$1.25 million in fines.

**The case:** On June 16, 1992, Weinberger was indicted on five felony charges of perjury, obstructing a Congressional investigation, and making false statements. Although the count for obstruction of Congress was dismissed, a new count of providing false information to Congress was filed on October 30, 1992. Holding that the new charge violated the statute of limitations, Judge Thomas F. Hogan dismissed it on December 11, 1992.

**Background:** The charges against Weinberger stem from his allegedly false statements in testimony to Congressional and Independent Counsel investigators and alleged perjury in his appearances before Iran-Contra Congressional Committees. The principal charge of criminality -- brought four days before the election and now dismissed -- was that Weinberger misled Congress by saying that he did not have notes of meetings in which the sale of arms to Iran was discussed.

Unlike Lt. Col. North and Admiral Poindexter, Weinberger appeared before the Joint Congressional Committee investigating the Iran-Contra affair without a grant of immunity. Weinberger refused to agree to a plea bargain that would have reduced his charges to a single misdemeanor offense.

He was one of a few top administration officials who vigorously opposed arms sales to Iran.

**Others Indicted in Conjunction  
with the Iran-Contra Affair**

The following four individuals were also charged for activities relating to the Iran-Contra affair; however these cases have either been formally dismissed, or effectively terminated.

Lt. Colonel Oliver L. North: Lt. Col. North, age 49, served as a staff aide at the National Security Council during the Reagan Administration and masterminded the Iran-Contra affair. He was convicted on May 4, 1989 on three felony counts: aiding and abetting obstruction of Congress, destroying NSC documents, and accepting an illegal gift. He was acquitted on nine other counts. On July 5, 1989, he was sentenced to 1,200 hours of community service, two years' probation, and \$150,000 in fines. On September 16, 1991, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia set aside the conviction on the basis that the testimony of the witnesses at the trial was improperly tainted by North's previous, immunized testimony before Congress. That ruling makes any re-trial a practical impossibility, because the Independent Counsel has been stripped of his principal evidence.

Rear Admiral John M. Poindexter: Admiral Poindexter, age 56, served as National Security Advisor from December 1985 to November 1986. He was convicted on April 7, 1990 on five felony counts: two for lying to Congress, two for obstructing Congressional investigators and one for conspiring to cover-up the secret sales of arms to Iran and the diversion of the profits to the Nicaraguan rebels. He was sentenced to six months in prison. On November 15, 1991, the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the conviction, holding that Mr. Walsh used testimony that was improperly tainted by Poindexter's previous, immunized testimony before the Congressional Committee investigating the Iran-Contra affair. On December 7, 1992, the Supreme Court refused to review the decision by the appellate court, terminating the Poindexter case.

Joseph F. Fernandez: Mr. Fernandez, served as the CIA's station chief in Costa Rica during the Iran-Contra affair. He worked with Lt. Colonel North to develop a network in Central America to deliver weapons to the Contras. Fernandez was indicted on four counts: two for making false statements to the Tower Commission and the CIA's inspector general and two for obstructing justice. As the case was proceeding to trial, Attorney General Thornburgh intervened to appeal the district court's ruling permitting Fernandez to obtain and offer into evidence highly sensitive classified documents. On September 6, 1990, the appellate court affirmed the lower court's ruling, effectively terminating the Fernandez prosecution.

Carl "Spitz" Channel: On May 6, 1987, Mr. Channel, a conservative fund raiser, was charged and pled guilty to a one felony count of conspiring to defraud the Treasury of tax revenue by illegally using a tax-exempt organization in 1985 and 1986 as a conduit for funding the Contras. On July 6, 1989, Channel was sentenced to two years' probation. Channel died on May 7, 1990 as a result of injuries sustained in an automobile accident.

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My fellow Americans,

I am announcing that I am pardoning former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and others for their conduct related to the Iran-Contra affair.

Let me explain why I have made this decision.

For over six years now, the American people have invested enormous resources into what has become the most thoroughly investigated matter in recent memory, and perhaps in our history. In fact, the investigation has gone on for so long that many of us cannot even remember what the words "Iran-Contra" meant when all of this started. Let me remind you.

In the summer of 1985, American officials came to believe that some factions in Iran could influence the fate of American hostages held in Lebanon. The hostages' plight was desperate and their treatment was brutal. One of them, William Buckley, had already been tortured to death. Our country's effort to secure their release and redefine our strategic relationship with Iran

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was flawed, but it was fueled by compassion and the judgment that better relations would be in our national interest. Likewise, in Nicaragua, -the Contras were fighting for freedom and democracy against a ruthless, dictatorial regime, one that was seeking to expand the tyranny of Communism in our Hemisphere.

In the six years during which the Iran Contra affair has been investigated, the last American hostage came home to freedom, world-wide terrorism declined, the people of Nicaragua elected a democratic government and the Cold War ended. But in the mid 1980's, the outcome of these struggles was far from clear. Some of the best and most dedicated of our countrymen were called upon to step forward. Secretary Weinberger was among the foremost of these. Caspar Weinberger is a true American patriot -- one of the premier architects of the downfall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union. As Secretary of Defense throughout most of the Reagan Presidency, Caspar Weinberger directed the military renaissance in this country that led directly to the breakup of the Evil Empire and a new birth of

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freedom and democracy. His legacy will endure beyond the ending of the Cold War, of course. The military readiness of this nation that resulted in large part from the build-up that he led could not have been better displayed than it was two years ago in the Persian Gulf and today in Somalia.

It is a bitter irony that on the day that the first charges against Secretary Weinberger were filed, Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in the United States to celebrate the end of the Cold War. Instead of praise for his significant contribution to this historic moment, Secretary Weinberger's reward was a five count felony indictment.

Secretary Weinberger's role in the Iran-Contra Affair can be summarized succinctly: he opposed the Iran initiative and knew nothing of the diversion of profits to the Contras. His trial, which without this pardon would begin on January 5, would turn justice and common sense on its head. I am pardoning Secretary Weinberger not just to spare a 75 year-old patriot the torment of a lengthy trial and costly appeals, but to make it possible for

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him to receive the honor he deserves for his extraordinary service to his country.

I have also decided to pardon the other Iran-Contra defendants. This is not because I believe their conduct was uniformly above reproach. It is because their conduct was motivated, for the most part, by patriotism, and because they have already paid a price equal to or far greater than what they owed for their misdeeds. And, I am convinced that we need to put this episode in our national life to rest.

I have considered this matter carefully and at length and I believe that this is the right thing to do. It continues a long tradition of Presidents using the pardon power to put behind the nation divisive issues arising from sometimes searing disputes about how best to protect the nation's security. James Madison pardoned Lafitte's pirates after the War of 1812. Andrew Johnson pardoned soldiers who had fought for the Confederacy. Harry Truman pardoned those who violated the Selective Service laws to

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avoid serving in World War II. Jimmy Carter did the same for those who evaded service in Vietnam.

In those cases, the conduct and motives of the people pardoned varied greatly. Their actions and the decisions to pardon them raised important issues of conscience, the rule of law, and the relationship under our Constitution between the government and the governed. Despite these differences, and despite the profound significance of these issues, all these Presidents used the power given them under Article II section 2 of the Constitution to grant pardons in order to heal the wounds and divisions in the country at the end of a war, and to help it move on.

The actions of the men I am pardoning in connection with the Iran-Contra initiative took place within the larger context of the Cold War struggle. In some cases, their actions were wrong and hurt the national interest they endeavored to serve. My predecessors forgave the wrongdoing of those they pardoned, and in so doing helped to heal the nation; today I do the same.

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We must look forward as a nation to the great challenges that lie ahead unhampered by old policy disputes. The Cold War was an epic struggle between slavery and freedom. While there were many arguments over our policies, in the final analysis they succeeded.

I have said earlier that this has been the most thoroughly investigated matter ever. Some will nevertheless argue that my decision is motivated in part by a desire to prevent a public airing of claims or testimony that would be harmful to me. That is not true. The truth is that this investigation has been going on so long that people have forgotten how much testimony has been given, how many questions have been answered, and how much is on the public record. The Tower Board, the Joint Congressional Committee charged with investigating the Iran-Contra affair, and the independent counsel have looked into every aspect of this matter. The Tower Commission interviewed more than 80 people, and reviewed thousands of documents. The Joint Congressional Committee interviewed more than 500 people, and reviewed more

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than 300,000 pages of material. The Independent Counsel investigation has, over the past six years, cost more than \$31 million dollars.

As for my role, I was interviewed before the Tower Board and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and I gave a sworn deposition to the independent counsel. I have answered over 450 questions about this, and my staff has answered more than 3000.

Nevertheless, to avoid any question about this, tonight I am taking three steps to make sure that all the information that can possibly be made available is before the American people. First, I am directing the Iran-Contra prosecutor, Lawrence Walsh, and his entire staff of lawyers, to make public any and all evidence they would have presented at trial relating to me or to President Reagan. In addition, I have requested that the independent counsel provide me with a copy of my official statement to his office, which I am prepared to release immediately to the general public. And Secretary Weinberger has requested that the

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independent counsel release all of his notes pertaining to the Iran-Contra matter.

The Independent Counsel will be placing his full assessment of all the evidence in the public record when he submits his final report required by law. Finally, I want to make clear that I am not including President Reagan or myself in the scope of this pardon.

For more than thirty years in public service, I have tried to follow three concepts: honor, integrity and fairness. I know, from all those years of service, that the American people believe in fairness and fair play. I have thought long and hard about this decision. I have concluded that it would be deeply unfair to allow good people who sought to serve our country to be branded as criminals because they got caught in a political and policy cross-fire between the President and the Congress. Today, I am doing what I believe honor, integrity and fairness require of me.

**DRAFT**

Kathy Super

CAMP DAVID

Dear Kathy - Tom -  
Thanks for the  
cookies. In the spirit  
of Christmas we are  
sharing with some of the



CAMP DAVID

Dec. 24 '92

daily  
acid: not in system

guys here at Camp.

I'm the taster.

Verdict - Fantastic!

Have a great New Year,  
but oh how I'll miss ya

Love CB

THOMAS L. SUPER

December 23, 1992

Merry Christmas to all the  
Buck family from the Super family.  
We love you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

12/24  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

December 23, 1992

2 DEC 23 P2: 20

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER *CH*  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

SUBJECT: Memorandum on Letters of Resignation

The attached memorandum has been okayed by Jim Baker and Andy Card. Andy has given the Clinton team (Mark Gearan) an opportunity to see it, since it represents their post-inaugural intentions regarding ambassadors and U.S. Attorneys. We are not requesting resignation from any term appointees, non-career SESes, or Schedule C's. We have notified departments and agencies by phone of this guidance, as well as by this memorandum. Now that we have the final word from the Clinton transition on the disposition of ambassadors after January 20, we are also notifying political ambassadors by phone, cable, and mail.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 23, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR CABINET AND AGENCY HEADS  
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES, INCLUDING U.S.  
ATTORNEYS, U.S. MARSHALS AND AMBASSADORS  
COMMISSIONED OFFICERS IN THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER   
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

SUBJECT: Letters of Resignation

As we approach the conclusion of the Bush Administration, we take great pride in our service to the American public and in our effective conduct of the business of government, including, now, the transition to a new Administration.

This memorandum covers Presidential appointees who are full-time and Senate-confirmed and serve at the pleasure of the President, rather than in term appointments, including U.S. Attorneys and Non-career Ambassadors. It also covers White House Commissioned Officers.

In order to facilitate a smooth transition to the next Administration, appointees who are not U.S. Attorneys, U.S. Marshals or Ambassadors should submit letters of resignation to President Bush (if you have not already done so) effective no later than noon, January 20, 1993. Please address your letters to President Bush and send them care of Phillip D. Brady, Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary, by January 10, 1993.

U.S. Attorneys and U.S. Marshals are not asked to submit letters of resignation; however, the President-elect's transition team leadership has asked us to let U.S. Attorneys know that they may anticipate such a request after the inauguration.

Non-career Ambassadors serving abroad are asked to plan for an orderly departure from their embassies and embassy residences. According to the President-elect's transition office, they should not expect to remain until successors are confirmed. Therefore, ambassadors may submit letters of resignation (if you have not already done so) but are not expected to specify an effective

date, and are not expected to depart as of January 20, unless it is their preference to do so.

I thank you for your most helpful cooperation, now as throughout the President's term, and wish you the very best in the future.

If you have any questions relating to the subject of this memorandum please do not hesitate to call me or my deputy, Jan Naylor, at 202-456-6444.



THE PRESIDENT

December 24, 1992

Rose:

Please send this to Boyden's office.

I do not believe counsel will approve of my doing this.

If that is correct, please have them write a very loving caring regret to Sally.

"The Pres, asked us to look at the proposals. He loved Lee very much and would do anything he could to help the kids, however it is commercial etc etc.

GB

Mr. President:

You told me to hold Sally  
Atwater's letter and not  
respond to it as yet.

**SALLY D. ATWATER**

Want to still hold?

Yes ☐

No ☐

4459 Salem Lane, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20007

December 16, 1992

Dear President Bush,

I have signed an agreement with  
Home Box Office (HBO) for a made for TV movie  
on Lee's life. Mike Deaver, President  
Reagan's former deputy is representing  
mine and the children's interest with  
the network and will produce it.  
President Reagan, himself sat in on the  
luncheon with Mike Deaver and Bob  
Cooper President of HBO Entertainment  
Division giving his approval.

The proceeds from the movie will  
go into an educational trust fund for  
the girls (approximately \$70,000).

I would like to ask you to

# SALLY D. ATWATER

---

4459 Salem Lane, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

consider making two telephone calls<sup>2</sup>  
regarding the movie:

1. to Bob Cooper - 310-201-9405

President - HBO Entertainment Division  
to thank him for making the movie

and 2. to Dennis Quaid - 310-280

- 7942 - the actor HBO is

trying to secure for Lee's role

Thanking him for considering

the part. Dennis Quaid played

Jerry Lee Lewis in Great Balls

of Fire. He's a talented and energetic

actor. Lee thought he did a great

job playing Jerry Lee Lewis

Kathleen is his contact person.

# SALLY D. ATWATER

---

4459 Salem Lane, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

I think Lee would be pleased with  
a movie about his life. He always  
was trying to get our Republican  
message out.

My heart felt thoughts go to you  
and Mrs. Bush as you enter into  
this new phase of your life.

Sometimes we do not choose change.  
but it seeks us. It has given  
me great peace knowing Lee  
loved every minute he worked  
for you.

Thank you for considering  
this

Sally Atwater



THE PRESIDENT

December 24, 1992

Patty/Rose/Laurie/Kathy S.

Charlie Bartlett suggests a new movie his daughter Helen co-produced.

I talked to him this A>M> The Valenti viewing crowd said :Fantastic".

I told him I would like to show it at White House after I get back from overseas travel.

It will be available.

This is just an heads up!!! It is something I'd like to do.

GB

A handwritten signature, likely "G", in dark ink.



THE PRESIDENT

12-27:

daily

To Laurie cc Kathy S - R2

I told Charlie Bantlett  
we will show a movie that  
his daughter co-produced.  
Please get a date from  
Kathy Super - consult BPPB  
I'd like to invite some

Ambassadors including  
Eduardo Mac Gillycuddy  
on Uruguay!

Also Renwick  
who else??

Maybe Jan 11<sup>th</sup> or Jan 5<sup>th</sup>  
Maybe small group for early dinner  
then more staff etc for movie



# Coleman/Bartlett's Washington Focus

John Coleman, Jr.  
222 E. Wisconsin Ave. - Suite 115  
Lake Forest, IL 60045  
(708) 234-0082  
FAX: (708) 234-0903

Charles L. Bartlett  
1529 18th Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 234-3681  
FAX: (202) 483-6010

Memo to the President  
from Charley Bartlett

Daughter Helen Bartlett asked if I would urge you to see a motion picture she has just co-produced, a movie that is to be released with very high expectations by MGM in February. Name: "Untamed Heart". It is a very appealing movie (filmed in Minneapolis) with a Christmas theme plus snow and a hockey game. Jack Valenti is going to show it tonight at his Christmas party at the MPA. The stars are Maria Thomei (Cousin Vinnie), Christopher Slaytor, and Rosita Perez (White Men Can't Jump). They are going for a PG rating although in this print the word "fuck" is used once.

She can arrange for MGM to have a print delivered to Camp David if you care to see it while you are there this week or they will get a print to the White House if you care to show it in the theatre there after you return. Helen's involvement with the movie plus the fact that little Charley is in it for about 40 seconds makes me less than fully objective but the film has been shown in a series of sneak previews from Atlanta to Dallas to various parts of California with reactions that have encouraged MGM to believe they have a real hit. If you can work it into your rest and recreation, it will be great.

A very merry Christmas to all the family -----

C.B.

December 23, 1992

R2 send to Laurie  
on Monday —  
The President

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

*From the desk of*  
**George Bush**

send cc  
Boutle H FAX  
h P/R/L/K

**Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Rose Zamaria  
Dual Office

Via  
Lishew's Office

**MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT**  
**December 24, 1992**  
**(to Camp David)**

**ACTION**

1. Personnel Selection -- National Council on Surface Transportation Research; Western Water Policy Review Commission.
2. Condolence letter to Mrs. Steven Ross.
3. Executive Clemency Recommendations.
4. Draft proclamation entitled "Grant of Executive Clemency" (faxed to CD)

**CLASSIFIED**

**INFORMATION**

1. Horner memo re Letters of Resignation.

**REMARKS**

**SCHEDULE**

**Friday, December 25, 1992**  
**(to Camp David)**

**ACTION**

1. Presidential Delegation to the Inauguration Ceremony for the New President of Ghana (January 7, 1993).  
(2nd memo w/additional names: Slease; Kaufman)

**CLASSIFIED**

1. Memo re Africa

**Sunday, December 27, 1992**  
**(to Camp David)**

**SCHEDULE**

1. Schedule for 12/27, Sunday -- to Texas
2. Schedule for 12/29, Tuesday -- Texas to Wash., D.C.

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Don Oberdorfer  
The Washington Post  
1150 15th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20071



CAMP DAVID

Dec. 24 '92

Dear Don,

That was a nice letter. Thank  
I wish you well for the  
future. As you know, I plan  
to totally shift gears to private  
life, but if you're ever in Houston

I'd love to say Hello.

Good luck in your  
post-Post life!

Ag TB

cc: R.Zamaria  
2 copies, in/out

# The Washington Post

1150 15<sup>TH</sup> STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20071

(202) 334-6000

Dec 20, 1992

Dear President Bush -

I'm sorry it wasn't possible for me to attend the Christmas party last week, because Larry Eagleburger was keeping me busy covering his trip to Stockholm, Geneva and Brussels. I particularly wanted to say goodbye to you as president, though I am sure we will meet again at another phase of life.

I wanted to tell you, too, that I will be changing my own life in the Spring by retiring from The Post after 37 years in journalism - 24 of them at The Post. I have some more books I would like to write and places I'd ~~like~~ like to go on a bit more flexible schedule than is possible as a diplomatic correspondent, though I will continue to live in Washington.

Thanks for your helpfulness to me in connection with my book on US-Soviet relations (The Turn: From The Cold War to A New Era) and at many other times.

With best regards,

Don Oberdorfer

1992



We wish you a merry Christmas  
filled with the love  
of family and friends  
and a 1993 blessed  
with peace on our earth.  
Dear Mother, Your Thanksgiving letter about  
Mother caught up with me here today. I  
know you loved her. Because of her life  
and values I'm sure she is in heaven in God's  
loving arms. I miss her so much.  
But joins me in sending our love at Christmas  
and our best wishes for a happy '93 to you/your love  
Camp David  
12-24-92

daily



THE WHITE HOUSE

Martha Ashe  
103 River Rd.  
Hobe Sound, Florida 33455

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Robert L. Ashe  
River Road  
Hobe Sound, Florida 33455

cc: R.Zamaria  
2 copies, in/out

themselves knowing all  
about me a source of  
Thanksgiving - what is  
heritage?

I shall think about  
you often, and I send  
love to you, Barbara  
and the children -

Tenderly,

Mother Ade

Thanksgiving.

Dear Mr. President,

Though I knew the end must  
come to Betty's wonderful life, I  
didn't think I would be writing  
you so soon again - I've only had  
one other friend, who could even  
compare with her - I admired, en-  
joyed and loved her. I went  
to see her often, and I always  
left feeling better whether she  
was well or sick -  
I imagine on this Thanksgiving  
Day, you many marvelous

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

**CAMP DAVID**

Michael W's

sister

ash Pabby

FROM  
**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Kimberly Smith  
c/o Chaz Corzine  
Blanton/Harrell  
2910 Poston Avenue  
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Daily 12-24  
cc'd Not in  
System

CAMP DAVID

Michael W's  
sister  
ash Pally

Kimberly Smith

*We* wish you a merry Christmas  
filled with the love  
of family and friends  
and a 1993 blessed  
with peace on our earth.

*Camp David  
12-24-92*

*Dear Kim -*

*Thanks for that lovely jacket  
We love it. Barbara & I send  
our thanks, and our family love.*

*Have a great 1993*

*Ag T*



1992  
THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: 12-24-92 TIME: 10<sup>15</sup>  
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Boyer

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

approved this  
with some changes

call RR - I say NO  
(Camp in in)

Foley call? Will  
FOLLOW UP: check to see if Tom  
supports still

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 24, 1992

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached draft is for your review. If you find this version acceptable you should call Boyden Gray and the proclamation will be put in final form for your signature.

Thank you.

*fw for*  
C. Dean McGrath, Jr.

**DRAFT**

**CLOSE HOLD**

GRANT OF EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Today I am exercising my power under the Constitution to pardon former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and others for their conduct related to the Iran-Contra affair.

For more than six years now, the American people have invested enormous resources into what has become the most thoroughly investigated matter of its kind in our history. During that time, the last American hostage has come home to freedom, world-wide terrorism has declined, the people of Nicaragua have elected a democratic government and the Cold War has ended in victory for the American people and the cause of freedom we championed.

In the mid 1980's, however, the outcome of these struggles was far from clear. Some of the best and most dedicated of our countrymen were called upon to step forward. Secretary Weinberger was among the foremost.



# DRAFT

Caspar Weinberger is a true American patriot. He has rendered long and extraordinary service to our country. He served for four years in the Army during World War II where his bravery earned him a Bronze Star. He gave up a lucrative career in private life to accept a series of public positions in the late 1960s and 1970s, including Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Director of OMB and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Caspar Weinberger served in all these positions with distinction, and was admired as a public servant above reproach.

He saved his best for last. As Secretary of Defense throughout most of the Reagan Presidency, Caspar Weinberger was one of the principal architects of the downfall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union. He directed the military renaissance in this country that led to the breakup of the communist bloc and a new birth of freedom and democracy. Upon his resignation in 1987, Caspar Weinberger was awarded the highest civilian medal our nation can bestow on one of its citizens, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.



**DRAFT**

Secretary Weinberger's legacy will endure beyond the ending of the Cold War. The military readiness of this nation that he in large measure created could not have been better displayed than it was two years ago in the Persian Gulf and today in Somalia.

As Secretary Weinberger's pardon request noted, it is a bitter irony that on the day the first charges against Secretary Weinberger were filed, Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in the United States to celebrate the end of the Cold War. I am pardoning him not just [out of compassion or] to spare a 75 year-old patriot the torment of lengthy and costly legal proceedings, but to make it possible for him to receive the honor he deserves for his extraordinary service to our country.

Moreover, on a somewhat more personal note, I cannot ignore the debilitating illnesses faced by Caspar Weinberger and his wife. When he resigned as Secretary of Defense, it was because of his wife's cancer. In the years since he left public service, her condition has not improved. In addition, since that time, he

# DRAFT

also has become ill. Nevertheless, Caspar Weinberger has been a pillar of strength for his wife; this pardon will enable him to be by her side undistracted by the ordeal of a costly and arduous trial.

I have also decided to pardon five other individuals for their conduct related to the Iran-Contra affair: Elliott Abrams, Duane Clarridge, Alan Fiers, Clair George, and Robert McFarlane.

First, the common denominator of their motivation -- whether their actions were right or wrong -- was patriotism. Second, they did not profit or seek to profit from their conduct. Third, each has a record of long and distinguished service to this country. And finally, all five have already paid a price -- in depleted savings, lost careers, anguished families -- grossly disproportionate to any misdeeds or errors of judgment they may have committed.

The prosecutions of the individuals I am pardoning represent what I believe is a profoundly troubling development in the political and legal climate of our country: the criminalization

# DRAFT

of policy differences. These differences should be addressed in the political arena, without the Damocles sword of criminality hanging over the heads of some of the combatants. The proper target is the President, not his subordinates; the proper forum is the voting booth, not the courtroom.

In recent years, the use of criminal processes in policy disputes has become all too common. It is my hope that the action I am taking today will begin to restore these disputes to the battleground where they properly belong.

In addition, the actions of the men I am pardoning took place within the larger Cold War struggle. At home, we had a long, sometimes heated debate about how that struggle should be waged. Now the Cold War is over. [When earlier wars have ended, Presidents have historically used their power to pardon to put bitterness behind us and look to the future. This healing tradition reaches at least] from James Madison's pardon of Lafitte's pirates after the War of 1812, to Andrew Johnson's pardon of soldiers who had fought for the Confederacy, to Harry

# DRAFT

Truman's and Jimmy Carter's pardons of those who violated the Selective Service laws in World War II and Vietnam.

In many cases, the offenses pardoned by these Presidents were at least as serious as those I am pardoning today. The actions of those pardoned and the decisions to pardon them raised important issues of conscience, the rule of law, and the relationship under our Constitution between the government and the governed. Notwithstanding the seriousness of these issues and the passions they aroused, my predecessors acted because it was time for the country to move on. Today I do the same.

Some may argue that this decision will prevent full disclosure of some new key fact to the American people. That is not true. This matter has been investigated exhaustively. The Tower Board, the Joint Congressional Committee charged with investigating the Iran-Contra affair, and the Independent Counsel have looked into every aspect of this matter. The Tower Board interviewed more than 80 people, and reviewed thousands of documents. The Joint Congressional Committee interviewed more

than 500 people, and reviewed more than 300,000 pages of material. Lengthy committee hearings were held and broadcast on national television to millions of Americans. And as I have noted, the Independent Counsel investigation has gone on for more than six years, and it has cost more than \$31 million dollars.

Moreover, the Independent Counsel stated last September that he had completed the active phase of his investigation. He will have the opportunity to place his full assessment of the facts in the public record when he submits his final report. While no impartial person has seriously suggested that my own role in this matter is legally questionable, I have further requested that the Independent Counsel provide me with a copy of my sworn testimony to his office, which I am prepared to release immediately. And I understand Secretary Weinberger has requested the release of all of his notes pertaining to the Iran-Contra matter.

For more than thirty years in public service, I have tried to follow three precepts: honor, decency and fairness. I know,

**DRAFT**

from all those years of service, that the American people believe in fairness and fair play. [In granting these pardons today,] I am doing what I believe honor, decency and fairness require.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, George Herbert Walker Bush, President of the United States, pursuant to my powers under Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, do hereby grant a full, complete, and unconditional pardon to Elliott Abrams, Duane R. Clarridge, Alan Fiers, Clair George, Robert C. McFarlane, and Caspar W. Weinberger for all offenses charged or prosecuted by Independent Counsel Lawrence E. Walsh or other members of his office.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this      day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventeenth.

# Executive Grant of Clemency

After reviewing the applications for executive clemency of the following named persons and giving consideration to a letter from the Deputy Attorney General recommending executive clemency in each case, I hereby grant full and unconditional pardons to the following named persons for those offenses against the United States described in each such recommendation:

Joseph Bear, Jr.  
Thomas Burley Berry  
Robert William Dailey, Sr.  
Paul Karsten Fauteck  
Dale Leonard Fix  
Francene Geiger  
Ivan Leon Gentry  
Joseph Gordon Haynie, Jr.  
Henry Levin  
Guillermo Medrano Moreno  
Frank T. Passini, III  
Donald Rightmire  
Edwin Roberts  
Patrick James Sheehan  
Hildred Earl Spates  
Alfredo Encinas Villarreal  
Jack Alvin Walker  
Carl Frank Westminster, Jr.

I hereby designate, direct and empower the Deputy Attorney General, as my representative, to sign each grant of clemency to the persons named herein. The Deputy Attorney General shall declare that his action is the act of the President, being performed at my direction.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have hereunto signed my name and caused the seal of the Department of Justice to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this

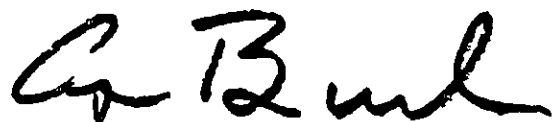
24<sup>th</sup> day of December

in the year of our Lord One Thousand

Nine Hundred and Ninety-two and of the

Independence of the United States the

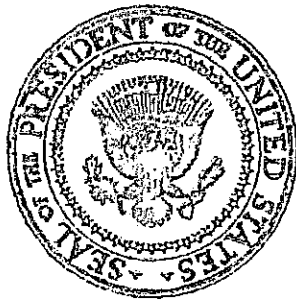
Two Hundred and Seventeenth.



George Bush  
President

(file copy)





## Grant of Executive Clemency

*By the President of the United States of America*

### A Proclamation

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In the mid 1980's, however, the outcome of these struggles was far from clear. Some of the best and most dedicated of our countrymen were called upon to step forward. Secretary Weinberger was among the foremost.

Caspar Weinberger is a true American patriot. He has rendered long and extraordinary service to our country. He served for 4 years in the Army during World War II where his bravery earned him a Bronze Star. He gave up a lucrative career in private life to accept a series of public positions in the late 1960's and 1970's, including Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Caspar Weinberger served in all these positions with distinction and was admired as a public servant above reproach.

He saved his best for last. As Secretary of Defense throughout most of the Reagan Presidency, Caspar Weinberger was one of the principal architects of the downfall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union. He directed the military renaissance in this country that led to the breakup of the communist bloc and a new birth of freedom and democracy. Upon his resignation in 1987, Caspar Weinberger was awarded the highest civilian medal our Nation can bestow on one of its citizens, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Secretary Weinberger's legacy will endure beyond the ending of the Cold War. The military readiness of this Nation that he in large measure created could not have been better displayed than it was 2 years ago in the Persian Gulf and today in Somalia.

As Secretary Weinberger's pardon request noted, it is a bitter irony that on the day the first charges against Secretary Weinberger were filed, Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in the United States to celebrate the end of the Cold War. I am pardoning him not just out of compassion or to spare a 75-year-old patriot the torment of lengthy and costly legal proceedings, but to make it possible for him to receive the honor he deserves for his extraordinary service to our country.

Moreover, on a somewhat more personal note, I cannot ignore the debilitating illnesses faced by Caspar Weinberger and his wife. When he resigned as Secretary of Defense, it was because of his wife's cancer. In the years since he left public service, her condition has not improved. In addition, since that time, he also has become ill. Nevertheless, Caspar Weinberger has been a pillar of strength for his wife; this pardon will enable him to be by her side undistracted by the ordeal of a costly and arduous trial.

I have also decided to pardon five other individuals for their conduct related to the Iran-Contra affair: Elliott Abrams, Duane Clarridge, Alan Fiers, Clair George, and Robert McFarlane. First, the common denominator of their motivation—whether their actions were right or wrong—was patriotism. Second, they did not profit or seek to profit from their conduct. Third, each has a record of long and distinguished service to this country. And finally, all five have already paid a price—in depleted savings, lost careers, anguished families—grossly disproportionate to any misdeeds or errors of judgment they may have committed.

The prosecutions of the individuals I am pardoning represent what I believe is a profoundly troubling development in the political and legal climate of our country: the criminalization of policy differences. These differences should be addressed in the political arena, without the Damocles sword of criminality hanging over the heads of some of the combatants. The proper target is the President, not his subordinates; the proper forum is the voting booth, not the courtroom.

PRESERVATION

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In recent years, the use of criminal processes in policy disputes has become all too common. It is my hope that the action I am taking today will begin to restore these disputes to the battleground where they properly belong.

In addition, the actions of the men I am pardoning took place within the larger Cold War struggle. At home, we had a long, sometimes heated debate about how that struggle should be waged. Now the Cold War is over. When earlier wars have ended, Presidents have historically used their power to pardon to put bitterness behind us and look to the future. This healing tradition reaches at least from James Madison's pardon of Lafitte's pirates after the War of 1812, to Andrew Johnson's pardon of soldiers who had fought for the Confederacy, to Harry Truman's and Jimmy Carter's pardons of those who violated the Selective Service laws in World War II and Vietnam.

In many cases, the offenses pardoned by these Presidents were at least as serious as those I am pardoning today. The actions of those pardoned and the decisions to pardon them raised important issues of conscience, the rule of law, and the relationship under our Constitution between the government and the governed. Notwithstanding the seriousness of these issues and the passions they aroused, my predecessors acted because it was time for the country to move on. Today I do the same.

Some may argue that this decision will prevent full disclosure of some new key fact to the American people. That is not true. This matter has been investigated exhaustively. The Tower Board, the Joint Congressional Committee charged with investigating the Iran-Contra affair, and the Independent Counsel have looked into every aspect of this matter. The Tower Board interviewed more than 80 people and reviewed thousands of documents. The Joint Congressional Committee interviewed more than 500 people and reviewed more than 300,000 pages of material. Lengthy committee hearings were held and broadcast on national television to millions of Americans. And as I have noted, the Independent Counsel investigation has gone on for more than 6 years, and it has cost more than \$31 million.

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For more than 30 years in public service, I have tried to follow three precepts: honor, decency, and fairness. I know, from all those years of service, that the American people believe in fairness and fair play. In granting these pardons today, I am doing what I believe honor, decency, and fairness require.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, pursuant to my powers under Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, do hereby grant a full, complete, and unconditional pardon to Elliott Abrams, Duane R. Clarridge, Alan Fiers, Clair George, Robert C. McFarlane, and Caspar W. Weinberger for all offenses charged or prosecuted by Independent Counsel Lawrence E. Walsh or other member of his office, or committed by these individuals and within the jurisdiction of that office.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventeenth.

*George Bush*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

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DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, December 24, 1992

|                     |               |
|---------------------|---------------|
| Mrs. Bush           | (in folder)   |
| Susan Porter Rose   |               |
| Julie Cooke         |               |
| Anna Perez          |               |
| Joan DeCain         |               |
| Laurie Firestone    |               |
| Ann Brock           |               |
| Sondra Haley        |               |
| Jean Becker         |               |
| Sally Runion        |               |
| Jane Moore          |               |
| Peggy Swift         |               |
| Anne Griffith       | Room 98 OEOB  |
| Diana Kellogg       | Room 157 OEOB |
| Secretary Baker     | West Wing     |
| Marlin Fitzwater    | West Wing     |
| Constance Horner    | West Wing     |
| Dennis Ross         | West Wing     |
| Margaret Tutweiler  | West Wing     |
| Steve Provost       | Room 118 OEOB |
| Patty Presock       | Residence     |
| Gregg Petersmeyer   | Room 100 OEOB |
| Shirley Green       | Room 94 OEOB  |
| Karen Connell       | Room 58 OEOB  |
| Carol Powers        | West Wing     |
| Marguerite Sullivan | Room 268 OEOB |
| Carolyn Washington  | Room 268 OEOB |
| Benita Somerfield   | hold one copy |
| First Lady Detail   | Staircase     |
| Chronological Files |               |
| Event Files         | (originals)   |

# The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1992

## Merrie- Go-Round Merrie Morris

**Clothes line:** The lengths Seventh Avenue will go to in hopes that Hillary Rodham Clinton will wear its clothes.

To date, seven American designers have agreed to show their wares in what is believed to be the first inaugural fashion show ever. Alma Brown is the honorary chairwoman for the Jan. 19 event at the Grand Hyatt, where Mary McFadden, Joseph Abboud, Kathryn Dianos, Alexander Julian, Pamela Dennis, Becky Blouin and ~~Bar-X~~ ~~bara Bush~~ ~~fave Arnold Scaas~~ will send out their wares.

Donna Karan plans to be among inaugural revelers but isn't sure she'll make the show; her own menswear collection is scheduled for the same time in New York.

Thursday, December 24, 1992

# President offers holiday words of hope

ASSOCIATED PRESS

*Here is the text of President Bush's Christmas message:*

During the Christmas season, millions of people around the world gather with family and friends to give thanks for their blessings and to recall the events that took place in Bethlehem almost 2,000 years ago. As we celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ, whose life offers us a model of dignity, compassion and justice, we renew our commitment to peace and understanding throughout the world.

Through his words and example, Christ made clear the redemptive value of giving of oneself for others, and his life proved that love and

sacrifice can make a profound difference in the world.

Over the years, many Americans have made sacrifices in order to promote freedom and human rights around the globe: The heroic actions of our veterans, the lifesaving work of our scientists and physicians, and the generosity of countless individuals who voluntarily give of their time, talents, and energy to help others — all have enriched humankind and affirmed the importance of our Judeo-Christian heritage in shaping our government and values.

This Christmas we are especially grateful for the expansion of democracy and hope throughout the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and elsewhere — progress that is

being encouraged by the help of many Americans.

In some regions, however, the joy and peace that normally mark the Christmas season are marred this year by violence that is rooted in ethnic hatreds and nationalist rivalries.

Our prayers go out especially in behalf of the victims of such fighting, just as our thoughts are with those who are helping to provide humanitarian relief.

Their selfless, caring efforts are a wonderful example of the true meaning of Christmas.

X Barbara joins me in wishing all of our fellow Americans a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

# USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN THE USA... FIRST IN DAILY READERS

**WEDNESDAY**, DECEMBER 23, 1992

## Bush to visit Somalia for New Year's

By Marilyn Greene  
USA TODAY

President Bush — in what could be his last foreign trip as chief executive — plans a New Year's visit to U.S. troops helping feed Somalia.

Still undecided:

- ▶ Who will travel with Bush.
- ▶ Whether he'll address a large gathering or mingle with small groups.

"The logistics haven't been worked out," says White House spokesman Doug Davidson.

The Bushes will spend Christmas weekend at Camp David. The president begins the 17-hour flight from Washington Dec. 30.

He will likely spend New Year's Eve in Mogadishu, staying at an unannounced site, and plans to tour relief centers on New Year's Day.

Davidson says the presidential party will probably consist of a small group aboard Air Force One; Mrs. Bush hasn't decided whether she'll go.

"It's appropriate he visit the troops. It'll help them realize people back here do care," says Rep. John Murtha, D-Pa., who criticized Bush's decision to send troops.

# Bush to see US troops in Somalia in final trip abroad as president

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — In a final foreign mission, President Bush will go to Somalia to spend New Year's Eve with US troops.

"The president's visit will demonstrate United States concern for the people of Somalia, our commitment to humanitarian assistance and our support for American and United Nations forces," the White House press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, said yesterday.

Bush will begin the 17-hour flight from Washington on Dec. 30, after returning from a hunting trip in Texas. He will arrive in Somalia on Dec. 31, Mogadishu time, and spend the rest of the day and that evening with the troops.

He will remain overnight at an unannounced site and plans to spend

New Year's Day visiting relief centers. The White House left open the possibility Bush might stop somewhere else on the way home.

Bush has been trying to wrap up a second major Strategic Arms Treaty with the Russian president, Boris N. Yeltsin, in the time remaining before he leaves office.

Bush has spoken emotionally of the troops in Somalia who are opening routes so that relief supplies can get to the starving populace. Some 350,000 Somalis have died since January 1991. On Monday, he sent holiday greetings to the US forces in Somalia, saying they have "proved the wisdom of America's policy of peace through strength" and "also shown Americans' deep sense of compassion."

Bush made a similar trip in 1990, spending Thanksgiving with US troops in the Saudi Arabian desert

as they prepared for the Gulf War.

His mission this time might be compared with the dramatic visit that President Francois Mitterrand of France paid to Sarajevo last June.

The president will be accompanied on Air Force One by a small pool of reporters, photographers and camera operators, but not by news media in a separate press plane.

Bush's Christmas plans are unchanged. He intends to be at Camp David, Md., from tomorrow afternoon through Sunday and to begin his three-day hunting trip in Texas on Monday.

Fitzwater said Bush is expected to stop in Washington on Dec. 30 before heading to Africa, possibly just long enough to pick up aides, including Fitzwater and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

✕Barbara Bush is not expected to make the Somalia trip.

Wed. 23-Dec-92 11:35 EST

Aid Workers Cheered by Bush's New Year's Trip to Somalia

By CHRISTOPHER CONNELL

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — An American relief official says President Bush's New Year's Eve journey to Somalia will be "a real morale booster" for all involved in the struggle to end starvation in the stricken East African land.

Bush will spend Dec. 31 with U.S. troops in Somalia and visit relief operations there on New Year's Day, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater announced Tuesday.

It will be Bush's 25th and perhaps last foreign journey of his presidency, and just his second trip to Africa as president. He traveled to Egypt in 1990. In all, Bush has visited 36 countries on previous trips.

White House officials said Bush will bring a much smaller staff than usually accompanies him abroad, and the president has instructed aides that he wants to avoid disrupting the ongoing humanitarian effort.

Fitzwater said the first U.S. casualties of the operation — a U.S. Army employee killed and three other American civilians wounded by an anti-tank mine — would not affect the decision to go.

"We regret the loss of life," he said. "Operation Restore Hope will continue as planned, and we don't expect it will have any effect on the president's trip."

Bush was briefed on the incident this morning by his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft.

The president was leaving today for Camp David, Md., where he will spend the holiday before going on a three-day hunting vacation in Texas and the new Year's trip to Somalia. On Christmas Day, he plans to make telephone calls to the troops.

A relief official hailed the president's decision to go to Africa.

"We're elated to hear that President Bush is going because we think that world attention needs to be kept on Somalia," said William D. Novelli, executive vice president for CARE-USA in New York. "The situation is still very dire. This can be a real morale booster for everybody over there."

Bush on Dec. 4 ordered 28,000 U.S. forces to head to Somalia to break feuding warlords' grip on relief supplies in the lawless country, where an estimated 350,000 people have died since a coup almost two years ago.

Some 8,400 U.S. troops are now on the ground there and 9,000 sailors and Marines are at sea off Somalia.

Philip Johnson, the president of CARE-USA, urged Bush on Friday to make the trip to "see what his decision has meant in the lives of the million Somalis" still at risk of starving.

It was undecided whether first lady Barbara Bush will go to Somalia, an aide said. Bush and his wife spent Thanksgiving with U.S. troops in the Saudi Arabian desert in November 1990 as they readied for the Persian Gulf War.

Scowcroft and Fitzwater will make the journey.

Bush will depart Washington on the 17-hour trip to East Africa on Dec. 30 after returning to the capital from a three-day hunting vacation in Beeville, Texas.

Bush will arrive in Mogadishu on the afternoon of Dec. 31 and bring in the new year with the troops, spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said.

He will spend that night at an undisclosed location and visit relief centers before departing on the evening of Jan. 1, Fitzwater said.

A press pool of about a dozen reporters, photographers and a television camera crew will accompany Bush on Air Force One, but the White House had no plans to arrange a press charter. Normally the media fill a separate jumbo jet on Bush's travels abroad.

Bush sent holiday greetings Monday to the U.S. forces in Somalia, saying they have "proved the wisdom of America's policy of peace through strength" and "also shown Americans' deep sense of compassion."



Wed.. 23-Dec-92 0:14 EST

## VISIT TO SOMALIA A FIRST FOR MUCH-TRAVELLED BUSH

By Gene Gibbons

WASHINGTON, Reuter - George Bush will have visited three dozen countries as president, many more than once, by the time he leaves office Jan. 20. But his trip to Somalia will be his first presidential visit to black Africa.

Bush, the most widely-travelled president in U.S. history, will usher in 1993 by marking the New Year holiday with American troops conducting famine relief operations.

The White House said Tuesday he would arrive in Somalia on New Year's Eve and leave late the next day. It is likely to be his last hurrah as commander-in-chief since he will turn over power to President-elect Clinton less than three weeks later.

"The president's visit will demonstrate U.S. concern for the people of Somalia, our commitment to humanitarian assistance and our support for American and United Nations forces," spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said in a statement.

Fitzwater and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft are the only aides scheduled to travel with Bush, who ordered the U.S. military deployment Dec. 4 to stop marauding bands of gunmen from victimizing millions of starving Somali civilians.

White House officials said Barbara Bush was not expected to accompany her husband because she was busy packing up and preparing for their return to private life.

Bush's trip means he will end his presidency the way he began it -- on the road, preoccupied by foreign policy. In the nearly four years he has been president, he has logged 590,094 miles in foreign travel.

His holiday journey will be his 25th trip abroad in his four years in office.

Depending on how you count them, Somalia will be the 35th or 36th country he has visited as president. (The discrepancy is due to the independence of Ukraine, which was part of the Soviet Union when Bush visited in 1991.)

Only 21 days after he entered the White House in 1989, Bush made his first foray out of the country -- to Canada's capital, Ottawa, to reaffirm America's close ties with its northern neighbor.

A few weeks later, he was off to Asia to underscore the importance of U.S. relations with Pacific Rim nations, and there were five more foreign trips in 1989 alone.

There were eight presidential trips abroad in 1990, and six more in 1991. These helped pave the way for the extraordinary international military coalition that ousted Iraq from Kuwait in last year's Gulf War.

The flurry of presidential diplomacy came amid turmoil in eastern Europe that eventually brought the disintegration of the Soviet empire and the end of the Cold War.

But Bush's critics in the Democratic Party poked fun at his penchant for globe-trotting and also raised campaign money last year by peddling a T-shirt that lampooned his "Anywhere But America Tour."

The ploy struck a nerve in the White House and caused Bush to cut back on foreign travel. His trip to Somalia, which will be reminiscent of his 1990 Thanksgiving holiday visit with the troops on the Gulf frontlines, is his fourth trip abroad this year.

It will be Bush's first presidential visit to black Africa although he visited the region before as Ronald Reagan's vice president.

Ironically, Bush had planned to tour Africa in a second term. But a widespread public perception that he was trying to create a "new world order" at the expense of domestic problems like the ailing economy helped Clinton defeat him in the Nov. 3 election.

Tue. 22-Dec-92 20:47 EST

#### Former Cuban Pilot Meets Bush

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Bush met privately Tuesday with a former Cuban air force pilot who snatched his wife and two sons from a highway east of Havana and flew them to freedom.

"We have the first Christmas in our lives," Orestes Lorenzo said after he and his family left the Oval Office. "Unfortunately, the Cuban children, the Cuban family, don't have Christmas."

Mrs. Bush and one of the president's sons, George, were in the room during the visit.

"A wonderful president, a wonderful family," Lorenzo said of the Bushes. "We are really proud to meet the president, to meet his family, to spend a few minutes there. I told him how we did it, how we came to the United States."

Lorenzo, who now lives in Alexandria, Va., said he told Bush that Fidel Castro has destroyed family values in Cuba because "everything that makes stronger families is bad for Castro."

Almost nothing happens in Cuba's tightly run society without the government's approval. But twice in less than two years, Lorenzo has managed to outmaneuver his homeland's internal security network.

In March 1991, he stole a MiG jet fighter and flew to south Florida alone. Last Saturday, in a James Bond-like exploit, the 36-year-old pilot returned to Cuba in a newly acquired Cessna airplane to snatch his wife and and two sons and fly them to freedom.

# Children orphaned by AIDS rising fast

## Report sees over 80,000 in US by decade's end

By Richard A. Knox  
GLOBE STAFF

The number of American children and teen-agers orphaned by AIDS will top 80,000 by the end of the decade, rivaling the family-shattering impact of cancer and motor vehicle accidents, according to a study published today.

Unlike in many other fatal diseases and accidental death, however, the loss of a parent from AIDS leaves behind children who are especially vulnerable, ashamed of their plight and in need of customized programs, say the study's authors and others who are beginning to monitor the problem.

"We need to reconceptualize AIDS as a disease that affects not only individuals but families and communities," said David Michaels of the City University of New York, who coauthored the report with Carol Levine of the Orphan Project in New York City. The study appears in this week's *Journal of the American Medical Association*.

More than 80 percent of all youths whose mothers have died of AIDS or other causes related to human immunodeficiency virus infection are African-American or Hispanic, the researchers report. They often come from families already beset by severe poverty, fragile community supports, drug abuse and poor education and medical care.

"How can we allow there to be 80,000 or more AIDS orphans by the end of this century and all the social destruction that accompanies that?" Michaels said in a telephone interview yesterday.

Michaels and other researchers said one of the biggest obstacles to

providing services to AIDS orphans is the shame still associated with the disease, especially in the minority communities where families are most affected.

"The stigma of AIDS is still enormous," said Barbara Drainin of New York City's Department of Human Resources. In a separate study she recently conducted of 40 families

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**'We need to reconceptualize AIDS as a disease that affects not only individuals but families and communities.'**

DAVID MICHAELS  
*Coauthor of report in this week's  
Journal of the American Medical  
Association*

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in which a parent had died of AIDS or was ill with the disease. Drainin found that only 39 percent of the affected adolescent children knew their parent's diagnosis.

Of the 61 percent who did know, Drainin said yesterday, not a single one had shared the information with a best friend — even, in one instance, when the best friend's mother also had AIDS.

The stigma of AIDS impairs people's ability to deal with the disease, plan for child custody and seek necessary supports, Drainin said.

"We found many of our families

got great solace from their church, but not one had told anyone at their church they had AIDS," the New York City official said. "So in New York City I don't think churches are seen as safe places to disclose."

Dr. Robert Sege, codirector of the Family HIV Program at New England Medical Center, concurred that many family members "don't know that the mother is HIV-infected until very late and in some cases may never know. And in some cases they can't turn to their community or even family for support because they don't want any one to know."

The study published today estimates that 18,500 American children and adolescents had lost mothers to AIDS by the end of last year.

Practically speaking, this means they are orphaned, since the mother is usually the primary or sole caregiver, the researchers said.

By 1995, the cumulative total of AIDS-orphaned children will reach 45,700, using assumptions the researchers termed conservative.

"Unless the course of the epidemic changes dramatically ... the overall number of motherless children and adolescents will reach 82,000" by decade's end, the researchers said.

Already, AIDS and HIV diseases account for 13 percent of all American children whose mothers died from any cause. Within the next two years, AIDS will account for 17 percent of all such children.

The number of children and adolescents orphaned each year by AIDS will reach 7,300 by 1995, the study estimates. By comparison, cancer will cause 12,900 to be orphaned, and motor vehicle accidents 5,100.