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STATEMENT BY THE
PRINCIPAL DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY

Many members of Congress have called for immunity for former National Security Adviser John Poindexter and for Lt. Col. Oliver North. These calls are based on a desire to have the full story come out as quickly as possible about Iran, the alleged transfer of funds, Swiss bank accounts -- everything.

The President agrees fully with these sentiments. Although he would like Colonel North and Admiral Poindexter to provide this information, he does not want them to be deprived of their constitutional rights. However, Congress passed legislation 16 years ago authorizing the Senate and the House of Representatives or any committee or sub-committee to grant special limited immunity to any witness so that the witness can give testimony that is pertinent to a Congressional inquiry. This limited immunity, called "use immunity", still permits prosecution based on evidence other than the testimony given before Congress.

The President believes that there is an urgent need for full disclosure of all facts surrounding this controversy, so that we can get on with the business at hand and put this behind us. Therefore, the President is asking the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence for bi-partisan support to grant immunity to Admiral Poindexter and Lt. Col. North in the interest of the country as a whole.

December 15, 1986

NOTE

The attached statement seeks to establish a positive tone and reflect your open and responsive approach to the Committee's inquiry.

The statement does not attempt to be a substantive outline of what you know or what you do not know. It is felt that information should be provided in response to questions.

Rather than releasing an opening statement, "sense of purpose" remarks as you walk to the Hearing would be better. A relaxed demeanor and words that say "I welcome this opportunity, and will answer all questions" will be the message in. The message out might be "I hope my appearance demonstrates the President's commitment to cooperate and has assisted the Committee in its work.

The Press will attempt to show you defending your self -- you will want to show the President and you being responsive and cooperative.

OPENING STATEMENT

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee. I appear before you today consistent with the wishes of the President that members of his Administration be cooperative and forthcoming with regard to the inquiry of this Committee. ^{As I said yesterday,} I ~~want to add~~ I welcome this ^{an} opportunity to respond to your questions, ^I and intend to do so candidly and forthrightly.

I should note I have had less than twenty-four hours to prepare and have come without benefit of reviewing any records that may be available. Nonetheless, it is my intention to answer all of your questions as completely as I can and to the best of my ability and recollection.

I recognize the unique responsibility this Committee has in exercising oversight of the extremely vital and sensitive intelligence activities of our government. I am encouraged by the dispatch with which this Committee has sought to determine the facts, complicated as they may be, and proceeded to seek the answers to the many outstanding questions.

^{If} Any way I can contribute to the Committee's understanding of this Administration's policy toward Iran and its implementation, I am pleased to do so.

I stand ready to respond to your questions

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/7/85

10 - 11:58a

Regan

McF

JP

McMann

Shultz

Weinberger

Jan 7. Meeting (Oval Off. & Sit. Rm.)

Dawson - Who he thinks was
at the Jan 7, Meeting.

Sit Room and Oval Office

↓
Oval Off. Chief

DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

Meeting with Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel
September 15, 1986

PARTICIPANTS LIST

Pre-Brief -- 2:00 - 2:30 p.m. (Oval Office)

— The President
— The Vice President
— Secretary Shultz
— Secretary Weinberger
— Donald T. Regan
— John M. Poindexter
— Assistant Secretary Richard Murphy
— Ambassador Thomas Pickering
— Dennis Ross, NSC Staff

1:59-2:23

Alton Keel
Larry Speakes

One-on-One -- 2:30 - 2:45 p.m. (Oval Office)

*2:31-2:41
Photo off
in Oval*

— The United States
— The President

2 Notetakers

— Israel
— Prime Minister Peres

2:41-3:00

Plenary Meeting -- 2:45 - 3:30 p.m. (Cabinet Room)

— The United States
— The President
— The Vice President
— Secretary Shultz
— Secretary Weinberger
— Donald T. Regan
— John M. Poindexter
— Larry Speakes
— Assistant Secretary Richard Murphy
— Ambassador Thomas Pickering
— Dennis Ross, NSC Staff
— William Burns, NSC Staff

3:00-3:33

— Frank Lavin
— Larry Speakes

*Plenary
Cont.*

Israel

- ~~—~~ Prime Minister Shimon Peres
- ~~—~~ Ambassador Meir Rosenne
- ~~—~~ Abraham Tamir, Director General, Office of the Prime Minister
- ~~—~~ Hanan Bar-On, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ~~—~~ Dr. Nimrod Novik, Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister
- ~~—~~ Dan Halperin, Economic Minister, Embassy of Israel
- ~~—~~ Brigadier General Azriel Nevo, Military Secretary to the Prime Minister
- ~~—~~ Uri Savir, Media Advisor to the Prime Minister

- one additional -

Departure Statements -- 3:30 - 3:40 p.m. (South Lawn)

The United States
The President

Israel
Prime Minister Peres

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 16, 1986

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

There is an urgent need for full disclosure of all facts surrounding the Iranian controversy. I want to get this information out. We must get on with the business at hand and put this issue behind us.

It is my desire to have the full story about Iran come out now -- the alleged transfer of funds, the Swiss bank accounts, who was involved -- everything.

The law provides a process for Congress to obtain this information from Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, and any other witnesses without depriving them of their constitutional rights.

Congress passed legislation 16 years ago authorizing the Senate and the House of Representatives or any committee or sub-committee to grant special limited "immunity" to any witness so that the witness must give testimony that is pertinent to a Congressional inquiry. This limited immunity also protects the witness by providing that such testimony cannot be used against him in any criminal proceedings. At the same time the law still permits prosecution based on all evidence other than the testimony given before Congress.

Such "use immunity" is not amnesty or clemency. This legal process obtains the facts before Congress but does not prevent those responsible for any wrongdoing from being brought to justice. Thus it does not interfere with the duties and responsibilities of the Independent Counsel.

Therefore, I am asking the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence to immediately seek "use immunity" for Admiral Poindexter and Lieutenant Colonel North in order that the whole truth -- all of the facts on Iran -- may be told. This is essential because of the controversy surrounding the Iranian matter. There is an absolute need to get on with the business of government.

#

RULES OF PROCEDURE
FOR THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
UNITED STATES SENATE

(Adopted June 23, 1976)

(Amended February 28, 1985)



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1985

45-119 O

Documents

- * - [who prepared Timeline of references] where found
typed
word
referred
to R.R.
- [North-RR log - ?]
- * - Notes of NSC Deputy re morning briefing (Spaulin)
- Notes of AG & Deputy re weekend investigation (Spaulin)
AG's notes re Q's of N & P
- * - Sept 15 briefing re Paria -
- Harbinger?
- * - Smallest group North is w/ RR (Goodby)
- Number of people out of house: RR's house confirmed.
- * - Was Chance of JCS present at 1-7 mtg

Events:

Dec. 11 ~ 12 mtg - re: review of F London trip

OTR

12-15-86

PSW

Thomas in discussion of OTR SSCI testimony

Call

Cowan

Opening statement - (public release?)

- here to coop; AL wants to coop
- no group; memory; no documents
- specifics may be vague
- scope of participation - NSC - no notes
on - 9th NSC briefings participate
- Anne to Dan going - yes - would be helpful.
- Knowledge of diversion - none
- Phil - no knowledge of diversion.

Council -

Transcript -

- Oral finding - Aug -
 Aug / Sept Israeli ship-panels / Nov. Ship-panels
- Policy of arms / hostages - role
- legal basis for seizure
- Replenishment of Israeli stocks
- Surood / Dorkanigan / Cantelo / Hakim / Kashoggi
- Discussions w/ McFarlane / JP / ON /
- NSC meetings -
 who proposed
 legal advice
 any discussion of contra funding
- Policy toward private contra funding
 (any grounds for misunderstanding)
- Dec. 7 WH Residence meeting
- JAN 6 Finding / Jan. 17 Finding
 1-14 mtg in NSA Otr - CW / EM / WC / Spertin / - apparent
 fund length of funding
- ANY discussion of payment for arms - details

JAN 6
NSC

JAN 7
NSC

- Any mty of R.M.F. or JP w/o OTR present
- any north mty w/ RR
- Any discussion of funding Afghan rebels
- McFarlane trip - Knowledge - awareness - planning

(Document North prepared

- A Aug 1985 Israeli TOW shipment ^(as agreed)
(to my bank)
- B. Nov 1985 Israeli Hawk missile shipment (detained)
- C. Oct 1986 TOWs for Israel w/ US ^(explained) ~~agreement~~
- [May arms shipment w/ McFarlane trip]
- CIA - Israeli weapon bank accounts

^{approp}
All cabinet etc. appraised throughout

- finding - never saw until /

- July hospital mtg. - McFarlane

- Aug - Residence mtg re sale of arms
Israeli sale / requirement
implicit approval
Svt no arms for hostages

- R.R. went to ranch - August 11 - 9-2

(occasional updates)

- Fall 85 - learned Israeli's shipped arms

- November - issue of missile raised - vague
problem w/ delivery. Morning briefing.

- December mtg - only very vague mention of
mtg in ranch

- Jan 6 mtg - NSPG

- Funding Jan 17

- The Libya issue predominated

- Spring - opportunity to get all hostages -
McFarlane trip.

- Briefing of McFarlane before trip.
RA - DTR - J.P. McDaniel

- McFarlane return -

- occasional ^{RM:} briefings re arm sales
no direct linking to hostages.

DTR. SSCI Testimony 12-16-86

Oath

Opening statement

Dunkley -

June 85 - ^{TWA} Hijacking - learned of relationships to Iran
McFarlane - alluded to Israeli-Iran connection

July 85 - RR in hospital - McFarlane wanted
to see RR. McFarlane: Kimke - Gobarjane channel.
Dialogue. RR - 4 phone - OTR agreed

Aug 85 - early - in Residence

CIA / Shultz / CW - McFarlane briefing on
Kimke - Gobarjane channel.

OTR takes no notes. OTR for Israeli to
be allowed to sell TOWs to Iran.

Issue: authorization of sale -- RR declined authorization
Others also thought it was premature

Sept. 85 - Hostage released

Discussion re WH procedure.

Morning briefing 9³⁰ - NSA + C.S

McFarlane + Deputy Brief -

Sept 85 Briefing: Israeli sold 500 TOWs w/o
our knowledge - decided to do nothing. Ignore
at this time. Wanted to keep channel open

RR - GB - OTR - MF - + Deputy

p. 2 DTR Feb. SSCZ 12-16-86

Mitgahon, Morgan, Brody, Holley, Loftis, Neum, Juby, Dumbony, Cohen,
Hatch, Spitzer, Shult, McConnell, Warner. Boren DeConcini. (Mendelsohn)

DTR doesn't recall seeing any NSC papers at
the period re Iran arms.

Weir release - Israeli sale

DTR doesn't link this as US getting
Fung Watts thinks he was responsible

DTR discussed purpose of Iran initiative

- Pat. Khomeni period
- end Iran-Iraq war
- contact of "moderate"
- help release hostages

[Geneva Summit planning - logistics & substance]

During Geneva only - McFarlane advised of
movement in Iran / Hostage situation.

Some/stoppage of arms movement to Iran.

Hoped re future hostage release

Dec 7 - Meeting in Paris/Genève - casual affair

Dec 7 McF. JP - McFarlane - Shultz, CW, Discussion about shipment
(unknown of how)
return for
visit of Hawk missiles - open discussion - where
one falling into trap of hostages for arm - RR rejected
Discussions: None NSC review matter.

Bud's resignation about the time

Doesn't recall discussion of McF. trip to London

Summary: Shultz / CW against arms sales -

CEA / NSC proponents

P. 3 OTR meeting 12-16-86

Jan. 86

JAN 6/7 mtg.

1-6-86 9³⁰ briefing JP & McOmish - wanted mtg next day
w/ Ron to establish a finding.

Up to 6th

- Summary of issues

- what has been said at previous

Between 12-7 and 1-6

10 daily briefings by NSC admin

No discussion of Iran matter at these briefings - don't recall

No indication from HK that he had gotten info re Iran

& no recollection of a Dec (11)/12 mtg

w/ full cast of characters to review Iran

Newspaper accounts of M.F. London mtg only - no

independent knowledge

Jan 7, 1986:

Sit Rm - V-P Task Force

Reconvened in Oval Office

Shits / Dy / CIA / NSC / VP / C.O.S / AG

No notes -

Discussion of Finding issue proposed by JP.

(Lets Oct Camp call looking for copy of Finding)

OTR didn't have one; JP said he had original only.

Describes his understanding of Finding

Summary of process for Finding -

NSC submit report to C.S

Flow of NSC paper -

Pres. briefing book - may include decision paper

Could be Finding + decision paper OTR didn't see

Jan. 7 decision:

Process of connection / dialogue /
limited arm sales etc.

Feb - Sale of SAM missile to Iran 1000 9³⁰ briefing

JP reported to RR at morning briefing

RR advised - advance of sale / + when completed

Jan. 17 -

may have seen oral briefing since decision reached
earlier. Re Finding - don't know difference in Finding

During Feb-March period

constant reference to hostages

Sagan consistent, on Libya terrorism

R.R.'s personal concerns during this period

detail briefing re terrorism / lot of movement

P.S. DTR

12-16-86

April 25 → May 12 RR out of O/C - Tokyo Summit

Really very little action in Jan - Feb - May

McFarlane says

Between
April 14 - 25th

J.P. → R.R. want to upgrade level of contact

Gobernador / Korybaros - too guarded

US embassy - McF.

Work on this issue (NSC) while RR/ORK = Tokyo

Planning - Oval office - morning briefings

J.P. reflected view of security community

Recommended to RR to upgrade contact.

RR agreed.

Intercepts - Iran may want to exploit opening

How to find acceptable person. Choice of McF.

Sec of State & Def not involved in decision - ^{not - ORR} someone

Met w/ RR before McF's departure

Probably at 9⁴⁵ - w/ McF.

What should be US priorities

J.P. asked to do whether sense of response

- relationships

- Iran-Iraq war

- Warm re Soviet contacts

- Afghan freedom fighters

- Terrorism (helpful - TWA Lybia & Pakistan (Hagel))

- Hostages - who held.

Info provided to R.R. et M.F. only

- Iron concern

- Weapon ordered under State but not delivered

- freezing of assets

- more arms - discourage

Financing of sale of arms

No knowledge

Didn't inquire about cost or how financed

M.F. trip - super secret

- personal danger; high risk

- impact on hostages

Trusted JP - bright

full staff, large, good people

intelligence sources

Relied on him. Discussion among security types

JP informed RR/DTR daily of M.F.'s progress
at 9³⁰ mty.

When M.F. returned, day after reported to Gen

May 16 NSRC - Support from 3rd countries
for anti-Sandinistas -

Absolutely no discussion of \$\$\$ to Contras for
arms sales

P.7.DTR 12-16-86

3rd County provided Humantla and
in either 85 or 86 Saudi Arabia agreed
to provide assistance prior to May 16
funded from press cut of others.

after M.E. trip - Summer 86 -

M.E. trip

Spare parts shipment } key channel opening
lost it; not helpful.

Nothing happening.

Early July one of hostages come out (Jenks)

July 86 - Budget discussion -

Subsequent - spare parts shipment (Aug-Sep)

Late Summer / fall 86 upgrading of contacts -

- nephew of one of leaders

- appeared leader trying to be helpful

had lead to
→ Jenks's release

Discussion of more normalized relation

Oct - Iranian irigahint - 500 TOW's sold.

Sec of State - may not have had any involvement
in these upgrades (M.E. trip & late Summer 86)

problem came out.

Burnt story - cover blown - just before that

Issue of notifying Congress:

Jan 7 maybe Dec 7 perhaps Sept 85

AG opinion is - no need to notify Congress.

p. 8 DTR 12-16-86

Not-quota of Cong.

1000 rows / Spare parts / 500 rows

Current: AG range illegal.

NSC - non-legal

Oned opinion - A.G.

Head of CIA on this issue: Jan 7 didn't have to notify Cong.

Second: Didn't know him - known nothing about his role.

When did he become aware of diversion of funds

Friday - AG - dumping - Sub

Nov. 29

Monday AM - AG - smoking gun - Oh shit

DTR urged upon #15 only -

AG - advised RR - overcharge on arm -

sent RR to Swiss bank: controlled by Carter.

JP probably knew; Questioned North -

R.R. reaction - fell off - need to get to bottom.

My God -

AG

Overcharge 10-30M - Same to Swiss bank:

apparently North had some outside help

JP hadn't demanded matter

NO RR decision to use funds for Carter

Turns of response - for AG test. - hadn't seen what WHC showed him.

p 9. OTR. 12-16-84

Terms of reference document shown by POW

- "12 on Contra document"
- had never seen before
- not believe document approved
- Unbelievable document
- would document have been used to buy RA. ^{possibly}

But RR no knowledge of this.

North & SP wouldn't have told RR of
division.

Document probably prepared by North

Cong report to President -

OTR - told Lott NV. Cong told OTR.

P.10 OTR 12-16-84

(Trudy Q.)

26 Nov. 85 Casey → JP memo w/ Finding (no date)

(talk to)
McMahan) Was the finding ever signed?

12-10-85 Casey → McMahan memo -

Concern about trading arm-hatboxes
Not OTR's view - hatbox alone would be a crime

JP - not sure OTR would trust him in a position
of authority.

Relates conversation w/ JP -

Didn't want to know where it was coming from.

OTR - call is scam.

No idea how NSC handles the gender for court activity

If over, JP would authorize travel.

If court, OTR no knowledge.

Did JP -

Older getting it for contact w/o his knowing where
it came from.

OTR describes Nov. 24 / 25th

Conversation in AM w/ JP - re: migration

Didn't talk to North - AG had said he may have
committed a crime. - Had outside help. - contacted Gov.
Mum told RR - JP should have known of this - but
claimed he didn't have experience.

No visits in/ North / No calls (1 phone log)
North met w/ RR 19 days - 2 yr - groups

P. 11 OTR 12-16-86

xxx

R.R. just issued statement that Cong grant immunity to North

Dont call - N VJP

OTR.
drawings
detail on
see above

- avoid let's make a deal

- avoid pressure - Court rights

- avoid becoming a record & witness in I.C.

July - write story out by Jan

Doagun is immunity until Ind Court action

(Hecht Q's)

Dobanigan - OTR characteristics here -

July 85 last time he heard of L

Relationship of NSC / CIA - role of NSC

RR convinced NSC should not conduct covert operations

Does OTR really control the WH

OTR - may have contributed to the perception

JP - direct address to Pwr

Discussion of funds to campaign - no publicity
use press stories.

P.12 OTR 12-16-84

Kashoggi - heard of since 1975

Didn't hear of her - saw dead wanted read in
paper. Kashoggi's name not mentioned
in front of RR

OTR Strong / some pulled off her as far away

(Specter Q:)

Urged OTR to share additional info
w/ Com

- - - spontaneously - notes of NSC Deputy in
morning briefing.

(requested notes of AG & Specter in
his weekend investigation)

- - - Wants AG notes -

- Q's of North & Prinsdale

Shows Timeline of reference document to OTR

Undated
w/ April 4
date attached

- doesn't know where document found

- who typed it of copies

- who read who received

did not go to RR.

NO "RR" involved. Doubt whether RR even saw
this document.

Language suggests it came from lower level.

P. 13 DTR 12-16-86

(Eagleton Q7)

of lead of state -

Reads briefing memo

with - in public session

Briefing of Pres program of 11/2

Sept 15⁸⁶ - Perez visit to US -

Sept 15 Briefing -

Shultz / CW / CEA / JP / other state

JP organizer briefing.

North to JP 9-15-86 memo - JP responds

p. 5 Briefed RR on invitation - Oct 3

- assurance re US current joint invitation

- capture of foreign Soviet arms which can go to Contras.

DTR aware of joint invitation to secure release of hostages

DTR heard at briefing the transfer of captured Soviet arms to Nicaragua - (no discussion of arms)

(Bradley Q)

North - RR mby

Action

Found out smallest group North is in RR
Mesa / Camp / JP and don't need to report
to Congress

No reference in Camp David log to North visit

14 OTR 12-16-86

Cohen Q's

Aug 85 - Hospital entry -

Not sure MR made a recommendation

Sgt - criticism of Sgt Israeli arms sale

NW: Hawk missile sale -

discussion of funding - yes -

Didn't get into sale of finally until Jan 7

Possible that discussion coming from Israeli source - never happened to be knowledge

Nat End. for Pres. of Liberty - TH Expert.

Don't know Spitz Channel

But he has been in briefing in groups who come to E.O. for Contra briefing

No contact w/ FRS re NEPL's TH status

(Nunn Q's)

Mistake in execution -

raising price / siphoning funds / illegal act

RR authorized Iran arms sale & will stand behind that.

RR press conference - who prepared
Nunn - major errors - RR disrupted - ^{Defense Dept}

P. 15 DTR 12-14-84

(Nunn Q - cont)

- oil price not discussed in front of DOE
- No info that Seamus wanted us to assist in coming out.

McF mty -

George Cave came in w/ McF on Seamus after trip + NSC person who was in Tokyo.

Before Trip: JP brought McF in for change

Contra funding:

- didn't know -ORR
- possible, but not probable

Decision so outrageous that RR would not have approved w/o coming w/ other people -

(Boren Qs)

On balance DOE favored opening to Iran & Iran likely that Study Working didn't have copy of Funding; but should have known that RR was going to sign it

Don't recall any part of JCS

1-19-85 memo re Soviet Act: Policy Approval.

- Membership of NSPG

Have never seen memo -

Was
Chen?
Good Check
print at
1-7-86
NSPG

P.14 OTR 12-16-84

(Boren & i cond)

Issue of whether check list for covert actions was followed.

Asks OTR whether he fulfilled his duties as C of S. - explain why planning group kept small

- Didn't need broader group
- enough advice
- RR chose wrong route
- Learned lesson

Israeli came to S. again - intelligence report (don't know if there are Amer. arms)

Durenburger -

Wants to know pre-notification advice to Comm position of OTR.

OTR: Ex-Be should keep Top Sec. advised; if ultra-secret mission, Ex-Be should be kept in close hold. if aware-yes, advise Com.

Warner Qs (by Durenburger)

NO 1 on 1 w/ RR. O'Neill
no record.

Nov. 24 AG Group of RR:

JP not present.

Saw JP next morning.

OTR reiteration comment w/ JP.

P.17 DTR 12.16-86

RR - never suggested doing anything illicit
to raise money for Contine

Why wasn't Lee & St. informed -
didn't have to know -

Why not go CW / S.S. / CIA / NSD.

Lee & St. don't lead - State Dept does

Judy

ORK don't know anything about North raising
money for candidates a dummy money.
Nor does Daniels know of any.

Other countries generally agree to Contine - NO
Hull & Haasman - DTR not aware.

Specter : Re: Team 7 reference

form for approval - not type to Pres.
NO overlay -

NO Pres. signature or initials

+ Pres. document trail (WHCO)

Immunity discussion?

Wants to bring - additional witnesses -

(Coyleton &)

more discrepancies: a testing pup for Admin W's
Fogues didn't jibe on arm sale -

P.18 DTR 12-16-86

(Cognigni & i cond)

Cohen -

Aug mdy

Contract MIF sent w/ OTR

MIF thought he had RR approval

Dec 7 -

MIF wants out

Everyone wants out

How did we get to Jan 7 approval.

DOR Early Jan - new approach from Israeli's
to Dandyle.