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NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
CENTRAL SECURITY SERVICE
FORT GEORGE G. MEADE, MARYLAND 20755-6000

FOIA Case: 84707A
19 June 2017

JOHN GREENEWALD
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

This is our final response to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request dated 14 June 2016 for Intellipedia pages on IRAN CONTRA AFFAIR and/or Iran-Contra affair and/or Irangate and/or Contragate and/or Iran-Contra scandal and/or The Iran Contra scandal, as well as any search results pages. A copy of your request is enclosed. As stated in our initial response to you, dated 15 June 2016, your request was assigned Case Number 84707. For purposes of this request and based on the information you provided in your letter, you are considered an "all other" requester. As such, you are allowed 2 hours of search and the duplication of 100 pages at no cost. There are no assessable fees for this request. Your request has been processed under the provisions of the FOIA.

For your information, NSA provides a service of common concern for the Intelligence Community (IC) by serving as the executive agent for Intelink. As such, NSA provides technical services that enable users to access and share information with peers and stakeholders across the IC and DoD. Intellipedia pages are living documents that may be originated by any user organization, and any user organization may contribute to or edit pages after their origination. Intellipedia pages should not be considered the final, coordinated position of the IC on any particular subject. The views and opinions of authors do not necessarily state or reflect those of the U.S. Government.

We conducted a search of all three levels of Intellipedia for the requested topics, and located one document that is responsive to your request. This document is enclosed. Certain information, however, has been deleted from the enclosure.

This Agency is authorized by statute to protect certain information concerning its activities (in this case, internal URLs) as well as the names of its employees. Such information is exempt from disclosure pursuant to the third exemption of the FOIA, which provides for the withholding of information

specifically protected from disclosure by statute. The specific statute applicable in this case is Section 6, Public Law 86-36 (50 U.S. Code 3605). We have determined that such information exists in this record, and we have excised it accordingly.

In addition, personal information regarding individuals has been deleted from the enclosures in accordance with 5 U.S.C. 552 (b)(6). This exemption protects from disclosure information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy. In balancing the public interest for the information you request against the privacy interests involved, we have determined that the privacy interests sufficiently satisfy the requirements for the application of the (b)(6) exemption.

Since these deletions may be construed as a partial denial of your request, you are hereby advised of this Agency's appeal procedures. You may appeal this decision. If you decide to appeal, you should do so in the manner outlined below.

- The appeal must be sent via U.S. postal mail, fax, or electronic delivery (e-mail) and addressed to:

NSA/CSS FOIA/PA Appeal Authority (P132),
National Security Agency
9800 Savage Road STE 6932
Fort George G. Meade, MD 20755-6932

The facsimile number is (443)479-3612.

The appropriate email address to submit an appeal is FOIARSC@nsa.gov.

- It must be postmarked or delivered electronically no later than 90 calendar days from the date of this letter. Decisions appealed after 90 days will not be addressed.
- Please include the case number provided above.
- Please describe with sufficient detail why you believe the denial of requested information was unwarranted.
- NSA will endeavor to respond within 20 working days of receiving your appeal, absent any unusual circumstances.

For further assistance and to discuss any aspect of your request, you may contact our FOIA Public Liaison at foialo@nsa.gov. You may also contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at the National Archives and Records Administration to inquire about the FOIA mediation services they offer. OGIS contact information is: Office of Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, MD 20740-6001; e-mail: ogis@nara.gov; main: 202-741-5770; toll free: 1-877-684-6448; or fax: 202-741-5769.

Finally, regarding your request for a copy of the search results pages, please be advised that the FOIA only requires that this Agency search for records that already exist at the time the search is conducted. Since no search results page existed for this case when it was received, we are not obligated to fulfill this portion of your request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paul W.", written in dark ink.

for

JOHN R. CHAPMAN
Chief, FOIA/PA Office
NSA Initial Denial Authority

Encls:

a/s

From: donotreply@nsa.gov
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2016 10:29 PM
To: donotreply@nsa.gov
Subject: FOIA Request (Web form submission)

Title: Mr.

Full Name: John Greenewald

email: john@greenewald.com

Company: The Black Vault

Postal Address: [REDACTED]

Postal City: [REDACTED]

Postal State-prov: [REDACTED]

Zip Code: [REDACTED]

Country: United States of America

Home Phone: [REDACTED]

Work Phone: [REDACTED]

Records Requested: To whom it may concern,

This is a non-commercial request made under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act 5 U.S.C. S 552. My FOIA requester status as a "representative of the news media" however due to your agency's denial of this status, I hereby submit this request as an "All other" requester.

I prefer electronic delivery of the requested material either via email to john@greenewald.com or via CD-ROM or DVD via postal mail. Please contact me should this FOIA request should incur a charge.

I respectfully request a copy of the Intellipedia entry (from all three Wikis that make up the Intellipedia) for the following entry(s) (Or whatever similar topic may pertain if it is slightly worded differently):

IRAN CONTRA AFFAIR

and/or

Iran-Contra affair

and/or

Irangate

and/or

Contragate

and/or

Iran-Contra scandal

and/or

The Iran-Contra scandal

I also ask that you include a copy of the search results page, when inserting the above words / phrases into the Intellipedia search engine.

Thank you so much for your time, and I am very much looking forward to your response.

Sincerely,

John Greenewald, Jr.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]



(U) Iran-Contra

UNCLASSIFIED

From Intellipedia

You have new messages (last change).

The **Iran-Contra Affair** was a political scandal in the United States which came to light in November 1986, during the Reagan Administration, in which senior US figures agreed to facilitate the sale of arms to Iran, the subject of an arms embargo, to secure the release of hostages and to fund Nicaraguan contras.

It began as an operation to improve US-Iranian relations, wherein Israel would ship weapons to a relatively moderate, politically influential group of Iranians; the US would then resupply Israel and receive the Israeli payment. The Iranian recipients promised to do everything in their power to achieve the release of six US hostages, who were being held by the Lebanese Shia Islamist group Hezbollah, who were unknowingly connected to the Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution. The plan eventually deteriorated into an arms-for-hostages scheme, in which members of the executive branch sold weapons directly to Iran for exchange for the release of the American hostages. Large modifications to the plan were devised by Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North of the National Security Council in late 1985, in which a portion of the proceeds from the weapon sales was diverted to fund anti-Sandinista and anti-communist rebels, or Contras, in Nicaragua. While President Ronald Reagan was a supporter of the Contra cause, no evidence has been found showing that he authorized this plan.

After the weapon sales were revealed in November 1986, Reagan appeared on national television and stated that the weapons transfers had indeed occurred but that the United States did not trade arms for hostages. The investigation was compounded when large volumes of documents relating to the scandal were destroyed or withheld from investigators by Reagan administration officials. On March 4, 1987, Reagan returned to the airwaves in a nationally televised address, taking full responsibility for any actions that he was unaware of, and admitting that "what began as a strategic opening in Iran deteriorated, in its implementation, into trading arms for hostages."

Several investigations ensued, including those by the United States Congress and the three-man, Reagan-appointed Tower Commission. Neither found any evidence that President Reagan himself knew of the extent of the multiple programs. In the end, fourteen administration officials were charged with crimes, and eleven convicted, including then-Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger.^[1] They were all pardoned in the final days of the George H. W. Bush presidency, who had been vice-president at the time of the affair.^[2]

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The affair

The affair was composed of arms sales to Iran, and funding of Contra militants in Nicaragua. Direct funding of the Nicaraguan rebels had been made illegal through the Boland Amendment, the name given to three U.S. legislative amendments between 1982 and 1984, all aimed at limiting US government assistance to the rebel Contras in Nicaragua. The affair emerged when a Lebanese newspaper reported that the U.S. sold arms to Iran through Israel in exchange for the release of hostages by Hezbollah.^[3] Letters sent by Oliver North to John Poindexter support this.^[4] The Israeli ambassador to the U.S. says that the reason weapons were eventually sold directly to Iran was to establish links with elements of the military in the country.

Hostage taking



At the end of the Iran hostage crisis, Vice President George H. W. Bush and other VIPs wait to welcome hostages home

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Middle East was faced with frequent hostage-taking incidents by hostile organizations. In 1979, Iranian students took hostage 52 employees of the United States embassy in Iran. On January 20, 1981, the day Ronald Reagan became President, the hostages were freed following the Algiers Accords. Hostage taking continued following the imprisonment of members of Al-Dawa, an exiled Iraqi political party turned militant organization, for their part in a series of truck bombs in Kuwait in 1983. Hezbollah, an ally of Al-Dawa, took 30 Western hostages between 1982 and 1992, many of whom were American.^[5]

Arms transactions

Michael Ledeen, a consultant of National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane, requested assistance from Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres for help in the sale of arms to Iran.^[6]

At the time, Iran was in the midst of the Iran-Iraq War and could find few Western nations willing to supply it with weapons.^[7] The idea behind the plan was for Israel to ship weapons through an intermediary (identified as Manucher Ghorbanifar)^[8] to a moderate, politically influential Iranian group opposed to the Ayatollah Khomeini;^[9] after the transaction, the U.S. would reimburse Israel with the same weapons, while receiving monetary benefits. The Israeli government required that the sale of arms meet high level approval from the United States government, and when Robert McFarlane convinced them that the U.S. government approved the sale, Israel obliged by agreeing to sell the arms.^[6]

In 1985, President Reagan entered Bethesda Naval Hospital for colon cancer surgery. While the President was recovering in the hospital, McFarlane met with him and told him that representatives from Israel had contacted the National Security Agency to pass on confidential information from what the President later described as "moderate" Iranians opposed to the Ayatollah.^[9] According to President Reagan, these Iranians sought to establish a quiet relationship with the United States, before establishing formal relationships upon the death of the Ayatollah.^[9] In President Reagan's account, McFarlane told him that the Iranians, to demonstrate their seriousness, offered to persuade the Hezbollah terrorists to release the seven U.S. hostages.^[10] McFarlane met with the Israeli intermediaries;^[11] President Reagan claims that he allowed this because he believed that establishing relations with a strategically located country, and preventing the Soviet Union from doing the same, was a beneficial move.^[9] Although the President claims that the arms sales were to a "moderate" faction of Iranians, the Walsh Iran/Contra Report states that the arms sales were "to Iran" itself,^[12] which was under the control of the Ayatollah.

Following the Israeli-U.S. meeting, Israel requested permission from the U.S. to sell a small number of TOW antitank missiles (Tube-launched, Optically-tracked, Wire-guided) to the moderate Iranians,^[10] saying that it would demonstrate that the group actually had high-level connections to the U.S. government.^[10] President Reagan initially rejected the plan, until

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Israel sent information to the U.S. showing that the moderate Iranians were opposed to terrorism and had fought against it.^[13] Now having a reason to trust the moderates, the President approved the transaction, which was meant to be between Israel and the moderates in Iran, with the U.S. reimbursing Israel.^[10] In his 1990 autobiography *An American Life*, President Reagan states that he was deeply committed to securing the release of the hostages; it was this compassion that motivated his support for the arms initiatives.^[8] The President requested that the moderate Iranians do everything in their capability to free the hostages held by Hezbollah.^[14]

According to *The New York Times*, the United States supplied the following arms to Iran:^[15]

- August 20, 1985. 96 TOW anti-tank missiles
- September 14, 1985. 408 more TOWs
- November 24, 1985. 18 Hawk anti-aircraft missiles
- February 17, 1986. 500 TOWs
- February 27, 1986. 500 TOWs
- May 24, 1986. 508 TOWs, 240 Hawk spare parts
- August 4, 1986. More Hawk spares
- October 28, 1986. 500 TOWs

First arms sale

In July 1985, Israel sent American-made BGM-71 TOW antitank missiles to Iran through an arms dealer named Manucher Ghorbanifar, a friend of Iran's Prime Minister, Mir-Hossein Mousavi. Hours after receiving the weapons, the Islamic fundamentalist group Islamic Jihad, that later evolved into Hezbollah, released one hostage they had been holding in Lebanon, the Reverend Benjamin Weir.^[6]

Arrow Air 1285 crash

After a botched delivery of Hawk missiles, and a failed London meeting between McFarlane and Manucher Ghorbanifar, Arrow Air Flight 1285, a plane containing nearly 250 American servicemen, crashed in Newfoundland on December 12, 1985. On the day of the crash, responsibility was claimed by the Islamic Jihad Organization, a wing of Hezbollah that had taken credit for the kidnapping of the very Americans in Lebanon whom the Reagan administration sought to have released.^[16] The crash came on the anniversary of attacks in 1983 for which Islamic Jihad took credit: the near-simultaneous bombings of six targets in Kuwait, the French and American Embassies among them. Members of Hezbollah had participated in, and were jailed for, those attacks, but most of the conspirators were members of al-Dawa. The accident was investigated by the Canadian Aviation Safety Board (CASB), and was determined to have been caused by the aircraft's unexpectedly high drag and reduced lift condition, which was most likely due to ice contamination,^[17] although a minority report stated as part of its conclusions that, "Fire broke out on board while the aircraft was in flight, possibly due to a detonation in a cargo compartment".^[18]

Modifications in plans

Robert McFarlane resigned on December 5, 1985,^[19] citing that he wanted to spend more time with his family;^[20] he was replaced by Admiral John Poindexter.

Two days later, President Reagan met with his advisers at the White House, where a new plan was introduced. This one called for a slight change in the arms transactions: instead of the weapons going to the moderate Iranian group, they would go to moderate Iranian army leaders.^[21] As the weapons were delivered from Israel by air, the hostages held by Hezbollah would be released.^[21] Israel would still pay the United States for reimbursing the weapons. Though staunchly opposed by Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, the plan was authorized by Reagan, who stated that, "We were *not* trading arms for hostages, nor were we negotiating with terrorists."^[22] Now retired National

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Security Advisor McFarlane flew to London to meet with Israelis and Ghorbanifar in an attempt to persuade the Iranian to use his influence to release the hostages before any arms transactions occurred; this plan was rejected by Ghorbanifar.^[21]

On the day of McFarlane's resignation, Oliver North, a military aide to the United States National Security Council (NSC), proposed a new plan for selling arms to Iran, which included two major adjustments: instead of selling arms through Israel, the sale was to be direct, and a portion of the proceeds would go to Contras, or Nicaraguan guerrilla fighters opposed to communism, at a markup. North proposed a \$15 million markup, while contracted arms broker Ghorbanifar added a 41% markup of his own.^[23] Other members of the NSC were in favor of North's plan; with large support, Poindexter authorized it without notifying President Reagan, and it went into effect.^[24] At first, the Iranians refused to buy the arms at the inflated price because of the excessive markup imposed by North and Ghorbanifar. They eventually relented, and in February 1986, 1,000 TOW missiles were shipped to the country.^[24] From May to November 1986, there were additional shipments of miscellaneous weapons and parts.^[24]



Reagan meets with (left to right) Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz, Attorney General Ed Meese, and Chief of Staff Don Regan in the Oval Office

Both the sale of weapons to Iran, and the funding of the Contras, attempted to circumvent not only stated administration policy, but also the Boland Amendment. Administration officials argued that regardless of the Congress restricting the funds for the Contras, or any affair, the President (or in this case the administration) could carry on by seeking alternative means of funding such as private entities and foreign governments.^[25] Funding from Brunei was botched when North's secretary, Fawn Hall, transposed the numbers of North's Swiss bank account number. A Swiss businessman, suddenly \$10 million richer, alerted the authorities of the mistake. The money was eventually returned to the Sultan of Brunei, with interest.^[26]

On January 7, 1986, John Poindexter proposed to the president a modification of the approved plan: instead of negotiating with the moderate Iranian political group, the U.S. would negotiate with moderate members of the Iranian government.^[27] Poindexter told President Reagan that Ghorbanifar had important connections within the Iranian government, so with the hope of the release of the hostages, the President approved this plan as well.^[27] Throughout February 1986, weapons were shipped directly to Iran by the United States (as part of Oliver North's plan, without the knowledge of President Reagan) and none of the hostages were released. Retired National Security Advisor McFarlane conducted another international voyage, this one to Tehran. He met directly with the moderate Iranian political group that sought to establish U.S.-Iranian relations in an attempt to free the four remaining hostages.^[28] This meeting also failed. The members requested demands such as Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights, which the United States rejected.^[28]

Subsequent dealings

In late July 1986, Hezbollah released another hostage, Father Lawrence Martin Jenco, former head of Catholic Relief Services in Lebanon. Following this, William Casey, head of the CIA, requested that the U.S. authorize sending a shipment of small missile parts to Iranian military forces as a way of expressing gratitude.^[29] Casey also justified this request by stating that the contact in the Iranian government might otherwise lose face, or be executed, and hostages killed. President Reagan authorized the shipment to ensure that those potential events would not occur.^[29]

In September and October 1986 three more Americans — Frank Reed, Joseph Ciccipio, Edward Tracy — were abducted in Lebanon by a separate terrorist group. The reasons for their abduction are unknown, although it is speculated that they were kidnapped to replace the freed Americans.^[30] One more original hostage, David Jacobsen, was later released. The captors promised to release the remaining two, but the release never happened.^[31]

Discovery and scandal

After a leak by Iranian radical Mehdi Hashemi, the Lebanese magazine *Ash-Shiraa* exposed the arrangement on November 3, 1986.^[3] This was the first public reporting of the weapons-for-hostages deal. The operation was discovered only after an



Oliver North

airlift of guns was downed over Nicaragua. Eugene Hasenfus, who was captured by Nicaraguan authorities, initially alleged in a press conference on Nicaraguan soil that two of his coworkers, Max Gomez and Ramon Medina, worked for the Central Intelligence Agency.^[32] He later said he did not know whether they did or not.^[33] The Iranian government confirmed the *Ash-Shiraa* story, and ten days after the story was first published, President Reagan appeared on national television from the Oval Office on November 13 stating:

"My purpose was... to send a signal that the United States was prepared to replace the animosity between (the U.S. and Iran) with a new relationship... At the same time we undertook this initiative, we made clear that Iran must oppose all forms of international terrorism as a condition of progress in our relationship. The most significant step which Iran could take, we indicated, would be to use its influence in Lebanon to secure the release of all hostages held there."

The scandal was compounded when Oliver North destroyed or hid pertinent documents between November 21 and November 25, 1986. During North's trial in 1989, his secretary, Fawn Hall, testified extensively about helping North alter, shred, and remove official United States National Security Council (NSC) documents from the White House. According to *The New York Times*, enough documents were put into a government shredder to jam it.^[23] North's explanation for destroying some documents was to protect the lives of individuals involved in Iran and Contra operations.^[23] It wasn't until years after the trial that North's notebooks were made public, and only after the National Security Archive and Public Citizen sued the Office of the Independent Council under the Freedom of Information Act.^[23]

During the trial North testified that on November 21, 22, or 24, he witnessed Poindexter destroy what may have been the only signed copy of a presidential covert-action finding that sought to authorize CIA participation in the November 1985 Hawk missile shipment to Iran.^[23] US Attorney General Edwin Meese admitted on November 25 that profits from weapons sales to Iran were made available to assist the Contra rebels in Nicaragua. On the same day, John Poindexter resigned, and Oliver North was fired by President Reagan.^[34] Poindexter was replaced by Frank Carlucci on December 2, 1986.^[35]

In his expose *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987*, journalist Bob Woodward chronicles the role of the CIA in facilitating the transfer of funds from the Iran arms sales to the Nicaraguan Contras spearheaded by Oliver North.^[36] Then Director of the CIA, William J. Casey, admitted to Woodward in February 1987 that he was aware of the diversion of funds to the contras confirming a number of encounters documented by Woodward.^[37] The admission occurred while Casey was hospitalized for a stroke. On May 6, 1987 William Casey died the day after Congress began its public hearings on the Iran-contra affair.

Tower Commission

On November 25, 1986, President Reagan announced the creation of a Special Review Board to look into the matter; the following day, he appointed former Senator John Tower, former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, and former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft to serve as members. This Presidential Commission took effect on December 1 and became known as the "Tower Commission". The main objectives of the commission were to inquire into "the circumstances surrounding the Iran-Contra matter, other case studies that might reveal strengths and weaknesses in the operation of the National Security Council system under stress, and the manner in which that system has served eight different Presidents since its inception in 1947."^[8] The commission was the first presidential commission to review and evaluate the National Security Council.

President Reagan appeared before the Tower Commission on December 2, 1986, to answer questions regarding his involvement in the affair. When asked about his role in authorizing the arms deals, he first stated that he had; later, he appeared to contradict himself by stating that he had no recollection of doing so.^[38] In his 1990 autobiography, *An American Life*, Reagan acknowledges authorizing the shipments to Israel.^[39]

The report published by the Tower Commission was delivered to the President on February 26, 1987. The Commission had

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interviewed 80 witnesses to the scheme,^[8] including President Reagan, and two of the arms trade middlemen: Manucher Ghorbanifar and Adnan Khashoggi.^[38] The 200 page report was the most comprehensive of any released,^[38] criticizing the actions of Oliver North, John Poindexter, Caspar Weinberger, and others. It determined that President Reagan did not have knowledge of the extent of the program, especially not the diversion of funds to the Contras,^[8] although it argued that the President ought to have had better control of the National Security Council staff.^[8] The report heavily criticized Reagan for not properly supervising his subordinates or being aware of their actions.^[8] A major result of the Tower Commission was the consensus that Reagan should have listened to his National Security Adviser more, thereby placing more power in the hands of that chair.^[8]

The Democratic-controlled United States Congress issued its own report on November 18, 1987, stating that "If the president did not know what his national security advisers were doing, he should have." The congressional report wrote that the president bore "ultimate responsibility" for wrongdoing by his aides, and his administration exhibited "secrecy, deception and disdain for the law."^[40] It also read in part: "The central remaining question is the role of the President in the Iran-contra affair. On this critical point, the shredding of documents by Poindexter, North and others, and the death of Casey, leave the record incomplete."



President Reagan (center) receives the Tower Commission Report in the White House Cabinet Room; John Tower is at left and Edmund Muskie is at right, 1987

Aftermath

Reagan expressed regret regarding the situation during a nationally televised address from the White House Oval Office on March 4, 1987; Reagan had not spoken to the American people directly for three months amidst the scandal.^[41] President Reagan told the American people the reason why he did not update them on the scandal:

"The reason I haven't spoken to you before now is this: You deserve the truth. And as frustrating as the waiting has been, I felt it was improper to come to you with sketchy reports, or possibly even erroneous statements, which would then have to be corrected, creating even more doubt and confusion. There's been enough of that."^[41]

He then took full responsibility for the acts committed:

"First, let me say I take full responsibility for my own actions and for those of my administration. As angry as I may be about activities undertaken without my knowledge, I am still accountable for those activities. As disappointed as I may be in some who served me, I'm still the one who must answer to the American people for this behavior."^[41]

Finally, the president stated that his previous assertions that the U.S. did not trade arms for hostages were incorrect:

"A few months ago I told the American people I did not trade arms for hostages. My heart and my best intentions still tell me that's true, but the facts and the evidence tell me it is not. As the Tower board reported, what began as a strategic opening to Iran deteriorated, in its implementation, into trading arms for hostages. This runs counter to my own beliefs, to administration policy, and to the original strategy we had in mind."^[41]

Domestically, the scandal precipitated a drop in President Reagan's popularity as his approval ratings saw "the largest single drop for any U.S. president in history", from 67% to 46% in November 1986, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll.^[42] The "Teflon President", as Reagan was nicknamed by critics,^[43] survived the scandal, however, and by January 1989 a Gallup poll was "recording a 64% approval rating," the highest ever recorded for a departing President at that time.^[44]

Internationally the damage was more severe. Magnus Ranstorp wrote, "U.S. willingness to engage in concessions with Iran and the Hezbollah not only signaled to its adversaries that hostage-taking was an extremely useful instrument in extracting

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political and financial concessions for the West but also undermined any credibility of U.S. criticism of other states' deviation from the principles of no-negotiation and no concession to terrorists and their demands."^[45]

In Iran Mehdi Hashemi, the leak of the scandal, was executed in 1987, allegedly for activities unrelated to the scandal. Though Hashemi made a full video confession to numerous serious charges, some observers find the coincidence of his leak and the subsequent prosecution highly suspicious.^[46]

Convictions, pardons, and reinstatements

Oliver North and John Poindexter were indicted on multiple charges on March 16, 1988.^[47] North, indicted on 16 counts, was found guilty by a jury of three minor counts. The convictions were vacated on appeal on the grounds that North's Fifth Amendment rights may have been violated by the indirect use of his testimony to Congress which had been given under a grant of immunity. In 1990, Poindexter was convicted on several felony counts of conspiracy, lying to Congress, obstruction of justice, and altering and destroying documents pertinent to the investigation. His convictions were also overturned on appeal on similar grounds. Arthur L. Liman served as chief counsel for the Senate during the Iran-Contra Affair.^[48]

The Independent Counsel, Lawrence E. Walsh, chose not to re-try North or Poindexter. Caspar Weinberger was indicted for lying to the Independent Counsel but was later pardoned by President George H. W. Bush.^[49]

In 1992 President George H. W. Bush pardoned six convicted administration officials, namely Elliott Abrams, Duane R. Clarridge, Alan Fiers, Clair George, Robert McFarlane, and Caspar Weinberger.^[50]

George W. Bush selected some individuals that served under President Reagan for high-level posts in his presidential administration.^{[51][52]} They include:

- Elliott Abrams:^[53] under Bush, the Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director on the National Security Council for Near East and North African Affairs; in Iran-Contra, pleaded guilty on two counts of unlawfully withholding information, pardoned.
- Otto Reich:^[54] head of the Office of Public Diplomacy under Reagan.
- John Negroponte:^[55] under Bush, served as the Ambassador to Iraq, the National Intelligence Director, and the Deputy Secretary of State.
- Admiral John Poindexter:^[56] under Bush, Director of the Information Awareness Office; in Iran-Contra, found guilty of multiple felony counts for conspiracy, obstruction of justice, lying to Congress, defrauding the government, and the alteration and destruction of evidence, convictions reversed.

In Poindexter's hometown of Odon, Indiana, a street was renamed to John Poindexter Street. Bill Breeden, a former minister, stole the street's sign in protest of the Iran-Contra Affair. He claimed that he was holding it for a ransom of \$30 million, in reference to the amount of money given to Iran to transfer to the Contras. He was later arrested and confined to prison, making him, as satirized by Howard Zinn, "the only person to be imprisoned as a result of the Iran-Contra affair."^[57]

Footnotes

1. ↑ Dwyer, Paula. "Pointing a Finger at Reagan (<http://www.businessweek.com/1997/25/b353254.htm>) ", *Business Week*. URL accessed on 2008-04-22.
2. ↑ Pardons and Commutations Granted by President George H. W. Bush (<http://www.usdoj.gov/pardon/bushgrants.htm>) . United States Department of Justice. Retrieved on 2008-04-22.
3. ↑ ^{3.0} ^{3.1} Cave, George. Why Secret 1986 U.S.-Iran "Arms for Hostages" Negotiations Failed (<http://www.wrmea.com/backissues/0994/9409008.htm>) . Washington Report on Middle Eastern Affairs. Retrieved on 2007-01-09.
4. ↑ Iran-Contra: White House e-mail (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/col d.war/episodes/18/archive/>) . CNN. Retrieved

on 2008-06-07.

5. † Seden, Gil, "Who is Hezbollah? (<http://www.ajm.com.au/news/news.asp?pgID=1113>) ", *The Australian Jewish News*, July 14, 2006. URL accessed on 2008-06-11.
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